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From a photograph taken by Cinequist, Washington, one week before General Garcia's death.

THE LATE GENERAL CALIXTO GARCIA.

(Born October 14, 1836, in Holguin, Cuba. Died in Washington December 11, 1896.)

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY

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No. 1.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

*Two Years
in
Retrospect.*

Twelve months ago this department of the REVIEW characterized the year 1897 as one that had closed upon "a vast deal of unfinished business in this particular planet that we inhabit." Among unsettled questions of international concern that the year 1898 had received as a legacy from the year 1897, a considerable number were specified. In view of all that has happened in the eventful twelve months of 1898, it is by no means un instructive to run through that *résumé*, which occupies some pages at the beginning of our issue for last January. There are times when everything seems to drag—when the world, if moving at all, would appear to be drifting backward; but a comparison of the state of the world at large one year ago with the conditions that exist to-day ought to bring assurance to the most skeptical that there is such a thing as progress, and that the times in which we live are very notable times in which to work and to observe. We remarked last January that the year 1898 promised to be a momentous one for the people of Spain and of the Spanish colonial possessions, in view of the state of affairs in the Philippines and in the West Indies. As for ourselves, we had not then determined what this country ought to do about Cuba. We had not settled the question of Hawaiian annexation. We were still confronted with the irritating problem of the seals in the North Pacific. And there were other less conspicuous international questions the discussion of which was carried over into the new year. As for our British friends, they were engaged in a very disagreeable dispute with the French over boundary questions in West Africa; they were anxious over a great variety of difficulties that had come up in the course of their administration of India, the most momentous of which was the costly and dangerous war with the mountaineers on the far northwestern frontier near Afghanistan; they were watching with some confidence, but not without anxiety, the

slow but seemingly sure progress of General Kitchener, who had advanced a considerable distance on his great undertaking for the ultimate rescue of Khartoum and the reconquest of the Egyptian Soudan. England was seriously concerned, moreover, about the condition of affairs in South Africa, and not a little excited over the threatened break-up of China and what was regarded in England as the undue growth at Peking of the power of the European continental governments. It is true that the last month of 1897 had witnessed the signing of the peace treaty between Turkey and Greece; but the Turkish troops had not been withdrawn from Thessaly, while the problem of Crete, about which the war had originated, was seemingly as far as ever from being settled, and the European admirals with their naval forces were still on patrol duty in Cretan waters. Italy and Austria had been seriously disturbed by internal difficulties. France had been almost convulsed by the violent dissensions that had grown out of the Dreyfus question.

*The Historic
Year 1898.*

The year 1898 is to be characterized as one that has witnessed the accomplishment of many things and that has provided several magnificent chapters in the history of progress toward the firm establishment of peace and order among the nations. Nothing could be more mistaken than to suppose that the principal exhibitions of armed force that the world has seen in 1898 have made for the triumph of brute force over justice and right. On the contrary, the English-speaking men who have in 1898 opened the Nile, made Khartoum accessible once more, and brought the Soudan into relations with the outside world, have performed a most noble and humane task for civilization and peace. The empire of the Kalipha meant the sword and the torch as the chief business of life. The men who had destroyed Edhem Pasha's army and had afterward murdered Gor-

don at Khartoum had spread devastation throughout a vast region, destroying the lives of millions of men, women, and children. With much bloodshed, it is true, but with as little as possible, General Kitchener has annihilated that evil dominion of the Kalipha, while leaving every Mohammedan in the Soudan as free as are the Mohammedans in India in their customs and re-



"DREAMING-TIME."—From *Punch* (London).

(Appropos of the success of General Kitchener's appeal for money with which to build the Gordon Memorial College at Khartoum.)

ligious observances. No less praiseworthy than the splendid missionary work of Kitchener and his men has been the execution by the people of the United States of a righteous judgment against Spain's attempt to continue by brute force to exercise sovereignty in colonial possessions where the inhabitants had rebelled for good cause and where it had been demonstrated that those inhabitants could be subdued only by extermination.

*An Act
of Mercy
to Spain.*

If we could have induced Spain to withdraw without our resort to compulsion, it would have been very fortunate. But since Spanish statesmanship saw no way to yield except after some show of resistance, it was only merciful to Spain that we should have sent our ships and our troops. It would have been still kinder to Spain, as one looks back upon the course of the past three years, if we had acted considerably sooner. As matters stand, we have

rendered very substantial service to the people resident in the Spanish West Indies and to all legitimate commercial interests in any manner affected, while we have also performed for Spain an amputation that was absolutely required by the existing conditions. For reasons economic and political, which we may not pause here to sum up, it became inevitable, after the close of our Civil War and the emancipation of the slaves in this country, that Spain must certainly lose Cuba in the near future. The ten years' war, lasting from 1868 to 1878, cost Spain the lives of more than two hundred thousand troops and a stupendous sacrifice of wealth. The end of that war was an inconclusive compromise, and the leaders in the movement for Cuban freedom, far from abandoning their cause as hopeless, took to heart the lessons derived from the ten years' struggle and waited more or less patiently for the time to come when it would be advantageous to renew hostilities, knowing that Spain could not forever hold in subjection a determined people living three thousand miles away. The Cuban question had been so interlinked in the history of American policy for seventy-five years that our intervention when a suitable juncture had arrived was as inevitable as any of the great laws of nature. The successive events in the story of that intervention have absorbed the attention of the people of the United States during the greater part of the year now ended.

*The World's
Improved
Balance.*

The swift success of our aggressive policy has left the whole world in a far more stable position than we found it at the opening of the year. The annexation of Hawaii has given that interesting group of islands a settled status, and our assumption of responsibility for the Philippines will speedily bring about a vastly improved situation in that populous archipelago. We ought to have no serious difficulty in assisting the Cubans to restore order throughout the island and to maintain fairly efficient institutions under republican forms. The wisest men in Spain are venturing to express somewhat boldly the relief that they feel in the wholesome chastening that has come to them in the painful year 1898. This view has been taken by business men especially, and prevailed in the conference of Spanish chambers of commerce that has met at Saragossa. Some of the most intelligent Spanish writers are taking the ground that under modern conditions the responsibility of sovereignty over distant colonies is far more costly than profitable, and that except for the point of pride involved Spain is greatly better off without Cuba and the Philippines than with them. Of course the two situations are totally

different. Cuba was entitled to one sort of administration and the Philippines to another. The Spaniards should have learned long ago to give Cuba to the Cubans in as complete a sense as the English have given Canada to the Canadians, while they should also have learned long ago to administer the Philippines strictly for the benefit of the population, following to a considerable extent the model of England in India. The time had come when it was too late to reform the abuses of Spain's bad colonial government, and there was no remedy except to abandon the colonial business altogether. This heroic remedy is one that the nations which need it never have the grace to administer to themselves. It has to be forced upon them from without. None the less, they may in good time learn to appreciate the service that has been done to them and forget the first smart. Spain may quite possibly have a bad year or two at home with which to end the nineteenth century; but it is reasonable to predict that the Spaniards will open the twentieth with very excellent prospects. For the first time in years they have an undisturbed opportunity to give attention to home affairs.



DON CARLOS DE BORBÓN, THE SPANISH PRETENDER, AND HIS WIFE, DOÑA BERTA DE ROHAN.

The Carlist Rumors and Spanish Prospects.

The Carlists have been making much ado, but it is by no means certain that they can muster a large force or that they will find any very widespread sympathy among the people. There is no large appetite in Spain, any more than in any other country, for civil strife. The Spanish farmers and the Spanish business men alike want peace, not war. The vigorous action of the United States has concluded three Spanish wars—namely, the war against the Cuban army of liberation that had been continuing for three years, the war against the insurgents in the Philippines that had, with some intervals of quiescence, continued for at least two years, and the war with the United States. All these are now at an end. Spanish mothers are welcoming their surviving sons home from the West Indies, and are counting upon the almost immediate return of those in the Philippines, a majority of whom have been held as prisoners of war by the Americans, while a large part of the remainder have been in a more perilous position as prisoners in the hands of the insurgents. The Spanish people have had all the war they want. They are not fond of Sagasta as a prime minister, nor are they devoted in any blind sense to the amiable Queen Regent and her young son. But since the maintenance of the Queen Regent and the young King, together with the orderly continuance of the parliamentary régime, means stability and order, there is no general desire upon the part of the Spanish people to indulge in any revolutionary proceedings whatsoever. There is unrest and discontent beyond a doubt, but there seems no tide of opinion or pub-



THE SPANISH PRETENDER'S SON, DON JAIME DE BORBÓN.

lic sentiment in favor of dynasty-smashing as a mode of relief. Don Carlos is now past the age of fight and struggle. He represents bygone



DON CARLOS IN A HIGHLY PROFITABLE RÔLE.

(The Pretender is represented as having secured English gold and borrowed funds on the strength of a cause that he works for what there is in it.)

From *Don Quixote* (Madrid).

principles; and even his ostentatious devotion to the Church is not likely to serve him any practical purpose, in view of the fact that the Vatican will be on the side of the existing order of things. He is very rich—at least he has a very rich wife—and he has nothing to be seriously unhappy about. The Carlists have undoubtedly been endeavoring to win over to their side the returning soldiers by regiments and brigades; but the government, on the other hand, is thoroughly informed and very much on its guard against that particular danger. The army will be so distributed and dispersed as to minimize the possibility of its being employed against the present régime. General Weyler is understood to have rejected all Carlist overtures and to be supporting Sagasta. It is to be expected, in the constitutional order of things, that the Sagasta ministry will resign and that a conservative prime minister and cabinet will come into office very soon. Even this mild change, however, may be deferred for some weeks or months.

Spanish statesmen and financiers will, if civil wars and revolutions do not take their attention, have enough to occupy them in the readjustment of the public

debt and the general reorganization of affairs on a peace basis. It must be remembered that Spain has been for more than three years upon a war footing, with all that that term implies. After the ten years' struggle in Cuba and the Carlist wars at home the public debt of Spain had grown to such dimensions that it became necessary in about 1882 to go through with what was virtually a proceeding in bankruptcy. The public debt was scaled down about half, and the creditors of Spain were obliged to accept something like fifty cents on the dollar of the principal, not to mention a good deal of reduction in the rate of interest. Spain will doubtless endeavor to divest herself of as large a part of her burden of fresh indebtedness as the never-failing ingenuity of Spanish statesmanship can find ways to repudiate. The first step, probably, will be the disavowal of responsibility for what the Spaniards persistently call the "Cuban" debt. They will perhaps manage to make this phrase carry

something like five hundred million dollars of money that they have borrowed and spent. It will be claimed by the Spaniards that the holders of these particular issues of Spanish bonds must look to Cuba or the United States for their pay. The principle involved is so clear that under no consideration could the Cuban republic or the United States on behalf of Cuba admit responsibility for one penny of this amount. Analogies always help one to understand such questions, and no more perfect analogy could be offered than the supposititious case of Great



DON CARLOS AND HIS SECRETARIES, MARQUIS DE CERRALBO AND COUNT DE MELGAR.



DON CARLOS: "Unless you contribute to the cause I will cross the frontier!"—From *Don Quixote* (Madrid).

Spain's
Overload
of Debt.

Britain's repudiating the debt incurred by her in the Revolutionary War and instructing her bondholders to try to collect the money either from the young American confederacy or else from France. The fact that England might or might not have made pledges of American revenues as a part of the security for such bonds could have no relevancy in view of the success of the American Revolution.

*Outlook
for the
"Cuban"
debt.*

One of the particular reasons why the Cubans fought to throw off the Spanish yoke was their desire to rid themselves of the burden of paying interest every year on an immense portion of the Spanish public debt. The purchasers of such bonds, which, of course, have to a large extent changed hands from time to time, have bought them and sold them with a full knowledge of the risks involved. Such bonds have been selling a very long way below par for the two reasons that, first, Spain herself was close to bankruptcy, and, second, Spain was on the point of losing control of the Cuban revenues which she had pledged as security. The possibility of the Cubans winning their independence was always a depressing element in the market value of those bonds. It was not in the least understood by anybody that the obligation went with Cuban sovereignty, but that it merely went with Spain's hold upon Cuban revenues. If it had been understood that the "Cuban" debt, so called, was in reality a Cuban and not a Spanish liability, then the fact that America was emancipating Cuba would have stiffened the price of those securities in the market, whereas, in fact, it immediately took a large part of the value out of them. Some Spaniards, at least, have been deluding themselves with the idea that the French and other foreign holders of the bonds under discussion would succeed in getting their governments to raise a diplomatic question with the United States. But even if such a question should be raised it would not be seriously pressed. And it would not, of course, be entertained for a moment by the Government of the United States. It appears that most of these obligations are held by Spaniards in Spain, and that they will be altogether repudiated is likely enough, although the current interest coupons are being honored by the Spanish Government in order to prevent a crisis. Fifteen years ago Spain scaled her interest-bearing debt down from about \$2,400,000,000 to \$1,200,000,000.



THE CUBAN DEBT AND THE PARIS CONFERENCE.

JUDGE DAY AND SEÑOR RIOS (in unison): "Whose load is that?"

From *Don Quixote* (Madrid).

*Private Versus
Public
Finance.*

The French and other foreign holders might, if they chose, enlist the services of their governments in an endeavor to secure justice at Madrid. But even this is not likely to happen. The recent practice of using governmental authority and prestige to help private investors collect claims against foreign public treasuries is not to be commended on any account. It is a very dangerous practice. It enables certain great banking combinations in Europe to stimulate recklessness and extravagance on the part of small countries, with the result of the issuing of large public loans, which these bankers are able in the course of time to buy up at low figures because of the irregularity of interest payments and the general uncertainty of the security. Whereupon these bankers at the favorable moment enlist the services of their own powerful governments to secure some arrangement for financial control or intervention to get the revenues of the small state mortgaged for the benefit of the foreign debt, and thus turn the bad securities into gilt-edged ones at very large profits to themselves. If Spain chooses to repudiate her debt there should be no governmental interference from the outside. The speculative investor ought to pocket his losses along with his gains. This topic is a pertinent one in view of

the probability that the whole civilized world will in the present year be called upon to observe, and to some extent to discuss, the solution of Spain's serious financial problems.

One Step at a Time for the United States. In dealing with their own territorial problems the people of the United States will do well if they adopt the motto, "One step at a time." A part, at least, of the discussion that certain well-meaning gentlemen had endeavored to arouse while the treaty of peace was still under negotiation concerned problems that may arise for future generations of Americans to solve, but that have not yet made their appearance in the practical and concrete form. The ratification of the treaty must at least precede some other questions. That the treaty will be ratified, no person of safe judgment and good opportunities for observation has ever for a moment doubted. The argument that the United States is not empowered by virtue of its Constitution to exercise the powers of sovereignty outside of the United States is to be set down merely as an intellectual diversion. It lies essentially in the nature of the modern state to grow and expand as it has reasonable opportunity. To suppose for a moment that a great nation like ours, of more than seventy million people, is in some way estopped by certain forms of words—agreed upon more than a hundred years ago by a relatively small number of people who are all of them now dead—from obeying those same laws of growth and development that inhere in the very nature of our race and of our political organism, is to ascribe to the written Constitution a character that none of its framers ever thought of giving to it. The legal and constitutional case is well summed up elsewhere in this issue by Professor Judson, of Chicago. Many of the mistakes that the French have made in trying to establish colonial possessions have grown out of their fondness for regularizing everything and their desire to make all their acquisitions fit into some logical scheme of colonial organization and administration. We shall be strongly tempted to fall into the same error. Already the flood-gates have burst, and the country is being inundated with a perfect torrent of metaphysics touching the nature of political sovereignty and the transcendental significance of annexation.

A Word to the Despondent. For those who feel really worried or perplexed about all this annexation business there is one word of comfort that we should feel justified in offering. They may consider themselves entirely at liberty to forget all about annexation, with the certainty that the abatement of their vigilance will subject



THE HON. ROUNSEVELLE WILDMAN,
United States Consul-General at Hong Kong.

them to no danger and cause them no inconvenience in the end. It is not in the least true that "we" have "absorbed" ten or twelve million Malays by virtue of taking international control of the Philippine Islands. The ocean is just as wide as it was last year. Those Malays will not attempt to decide disputed Presidential elections in this country, and there is probably not a human being of any complexion who is proposing to bring about any such consummation. The people of the Philippines will not flock to the United States under the new era much if any more freely than they flocked to Spain under the old era. We shall not be precipitated into any very exhaustive wars for their subjugation, because we have no desire to subjugate them. There is no intention in this country to exploit them, and no one wishes to make an empire out of them. There can be no harm in the attempts to forecast in advance all the successive stages of experience through which we shall pass in our endeavor to improve the general condition of things in those islands, and no great benefit. We shall simply have to keep in mind the lesson that the old man in the fable taught his sons, and break our sticks one at a time.

The Practical Side of "Expansion." We are not under the slightest obligations to make haste in propounding a theory of the nature of the new relations between the Philippines and the United

States, nor yet to elaborate any comprehensive scheme of government. We must drop the French model and at this point take up English methods. We need not make definitions at all about the status of the Philippines, but simply proceed to do any particular work that may require to be done, and otherwise do nothing at all. First, if the treaty should be ratified we must make a contract with private shipping companies for taking the Spanish soldiers back home at our expense. That will involve our persuading the insurgents to give up their Spanish prisoners. General Otis and Admiral Dewey would seem to be of the opinion that they can arrange that item of business without much trouble. After the prisoners are yielded up and are all packed off for Spain the insurgents will have to be persuaded to disband. Gentlemen in Boston will not be able to lend much assistance at that point, but it is highly probable that men now in the Philippines or that general part of the world—such as Admiral Dewey, Consul Wildman, of Hong Kong. General Otis, and others who might be named—can arrange very satisfactorily with Aguinaldo and his people. There is little reason to suppose that we should need for any length of time to retain in the Philippines the services of more than a quarter of the American troops who are now there. There are plenty of men who have in times past served in

the native regiments with the Spanish army—many of whom have also subsequently served in the insurgent ranks—who can be readily formed into an excellent body of military police. And since the people are quite certain to be very peaceably inclined and are ready to believe in the benevolence of the mission of the United States, the maintenance of order is not going to be seriously difficult. It will not be a very baffling task to improve the administration of justice as between man and man, nor to simplify the existing system of taxation—removing needless burdens from agriculture and business and replacing the corrupt and rapacious methods of the Spaniards with honest and fair Anglo-Saxon methods. These matters, with the policing, are the principal ones that for some little time to come will have to be attended to. They are matters of precisely the same nature as those which without any fuss whatever Gen. Leonard Wood has been arranging at Santiago. Every one in this country will be delighted to give the people of the Philippines the largest possible control of their own affairs.

*The Process
Already
Begun.*

Quite before the "anti-imperialists" are aware of it, the island of Porto Rico will have been brought into smooth running order under the new régime, and it is quite unlikely that the overburdened intellect of the New England capital will have need to concern itself any more deeply about our relations to Porto Rico than the intellectual aristocracy of Oxford or Edinburgh has occasion to give itself insomnia over the relations between Great Britain and the Bermudas. As for Hawaii, those islands have been governed during the past forty or fifty years by the same white element of the population—chiefly of American and English origin—that is in control at present. The ordinary work of administration at Honolulu is going on as it has been for several years, with an efficiency that deserves the confidence and admiration of civilized men everywhere. Its foreign affairs will henceforth be carried on by our own Department of State and our diplomatic service. We shall have no occasion in ordinary times to bother ourselves with its internal problems, any more than the people of Hawaii will need to bother themselves about the internal problems of the State of North Carolina. All intelligent people are aware that the presence of two or more races of different customs and antecedents in the same community creates difficult and delicate problems, new phases of which will appear from time to time, requiring the exercise of wisdom, forbearance, and the services of the best contemporary statesmanship.



MAJ.-GEN. ELWELL S. OTIS.

(In command of the American troops in the Philippines.)

*What Comes
Next?*

This observation applies to Hawaii precisely as it applies to Cape Colony, the Carolinas and our Gulf States, the West Indies, and several other parts of the world. It is not incumbent upon the people of Boston to work out for the people of North Carolina the solution of their race problems, and it is just as little incumbent upon them to settle such problems for the Sandwich Islands. A certain amount of legislation by Congress will, of course, be necessary; but it will be the part of true statesmanship to hold such legislation down to the very narrowest limits. Good administration, rather than the enacting of laws, is the thing to be desired. And the way to get good administration, generally speaking, is, first, to appoint the right men, and, second, to see that they are not hampered. Thus if Dewey were to be made governor-general of the Philippines for five years, with a few ships at his service and a few regiments of American regulars under his control, and with full liberty to collect and expend such revenues as might be necessary for the establishment of an efficient system of civil service and the carrying on of ordinary public business, there is no reason to think that anything very bad would happen. On the contrary, it is entirely probable that everything would go smoothly there. It is not to be supposed that just this method could be employed, but Congress should approximate toward it as far as possible.

*How England
will Manage
the Soudan.*

Everybody in England expects that General Kitchener, by virtue of the attainments and qualities he has exhibited in his successful reconquest of the Soudan, will be allowed an almost unrestricted hand in the great work of reorganizing the country, creating for it systems of police, finance, and justice, and a full scheme of civil and governmental institutions. What General Kitchener will do with this magnificent opportunity will be one of the things worth living in order to observe through this auspicious new year 1899. The people of Great Britain will be highly interested in General Kitchener's work in the Soudan, but it will scarcely occur to any of them that he is

not competent to do it unless he has the assistance of Parliament at every point. The status of England in Egypt and the Soudan is one that cannot be explained under the forms or terms of international law. Egypt is a quasi-independent state, owing nominal allegiance to the Turkish Sultan, through whose government at Constantinople its international affairs are, in theory at least, conducted. Those parts of the great Soudan that have now been recovered by General Kitchener, were formerly known as the equatorial provinces of Egypt. General Kitchener's expedition has been prosecuted in his capacity as Sirdar—that is to say, commander-in-chief—of the forces of Egypt. He holds no official position under the British Government, whether civil or military. He was formerly an engineer in the British army, but has for some years served the Khedive of Egypt in a capacity which makes him the chief military official of the Egyptian Government, subject to the Khedive and the Khedive's minister of war. The funds for the expedition have been provided chiefly out of the Egyptian treasury. Where, then, does England come in, and why are the British pluming themselves so highly upon their great victory at Omdurman? In order to get rid of the anomaly, a great many people in England would be glad if legal fictions were abandoned, the transparent mask thrown off, and the whole of the country tributary to the Nile boldly declared to be a part



Drawn for the London Graphic.

EGYPT'S NOMINAL RULER AT WORK.

(The Khedive at his desk in the Abdeen Palace granting an interview to an Arab sheik.)

of the British empire. But at present the English Government thinks it better to make sure of the substance and pay little attention to the shadow. British withdrawal would be cruelty to the people of Egypt and advantageous to no legitimate interests. On the other hand, to annex Egypt as France has annexed Madagascar would stir up a great pool of bitterness and wrath. And so England holds to the *status quo* and does not bother about definitions.

What
Congress
May Do.

It is not to be expected that the people of the United States could put up with so anomalous a condition. Our eagerness to push things to logical conclusions is not so great temperamentally as is that of the French, but we have so long lived under paper constitutions that it distresses us to be unable to classify relationships and to show that all things are in conformity with prescribed plans. As a plain matter of fact, there is nothing whatever in our Constitution or our system of government that would require us to regularize our new relationships toward Porto Rico, Cuba, Hawaii, the Philippines, and the Ladrões. All that needs to be said is that the people of the United States, for the purposes of dealing with these outlying dominions, are represented by Congress, and that Congress is authorized to do as it likes. It may, if it chooses, maintain a military occupation of Cuba that shall be as anomalous and apparently as illogical as that which the British are maintaining in Egypt and the Soudan. It may extend the United States tariff arrangements in such a way as to include these outlying islands within our zone of free and unrestricted trade, or it may give to each one a distinct tariff system of its own. It may set up twenty distinct republics in the Philippine archipelago if it so chooses, and may attach them to the United States in twenty wholly different ways.

The Treaty
Signed on
December 10.

The treaty of peace was signed at Paris on December 10. The Spaniards had kept up their metaphysical and hair-splitting policy of discussion until it had become necessary, in order to arrive at conclusions, for the American commissioners to present something like an ultimatum. The Americans stated precisely what they proposed to do and gave the Spaniards a week. At the end of the week the Spaniards accepted. The treaty is an elaborate document, but it is supposed to cover very few points except those enumerated in the protocol of August 12. What purported to be a translation of the Spanish text was cabled from Madrid on the 19th. The protocol had included the cession of Porto Rico, the abandonment of

Cuba, the transfer of an island in the Ladrões, the immediate evacuation of the West Indies, and the holding of the city and port of Manila by the Americans pending the settlement of the future government of the Philippines by the peace commissioners. It would, of course, have been better on some accounts to have included the cession of the Philippines in the protocol.



UNCLE SAM TO SPAIN: "Sign the treaty or take the consequences!"—From *Don Quixote* (Madrid).

Under circumstances such as those that existed at Paris the conferring parties cannot meet on equal terms. The ten weeks of the conference, after all, had somewhat the appearance of the cat playing with the mouse. The Spanish commissioners, especially their chairman, Señor Montero Rios, said a great deal about the manner in which the Americans had used brute strength to compel Spain to accede to terms in the making of which Spain had really no part. This was obviously quite true. But it would have been a curious reversal of ordinary rules if the vanquished had been allowed to dictate terms to the victors. Moreover, it does not follow that the stronger party is wrong or unjust in what he demands. The only ground upon which the United States could be justly criticised was that it should have allowed itself to go through the elaborate form of negotiating and discussing terms which had, in point of fact, been fixed in the instructions that our commissioners took with them from Washington. There were advantages, however, in the ten weeks of discussion. The time thus gained gave full opportunity for the play of public opinion in both countries. It was made clear, on the one hand, to the Government of the United States that the American people would support the decision to stay in the Philippines.

It gave the Spanish Government opportunity, on the other hand, to convince itself that the leading business men and the substantial Spanish interests in general were ready to acquiesce in the loss of the colonies for the sake of peace, and that there was no very serious danger of attempts to make revolution or to overthrow the dynasty. The payment by the United States of the expenses of the repatriation of the Spanish troops in the Philippines, and particularly the tender of twenty millions of dollars to Spain in compensation for supposed Spanish outlays in the shape of public improvements at Manila and elsewhere, were extremely generous concessions for the victor to make to the vanquished at the conclusion of a war. It would be hard to find a precise parallel unless one were to regard our purchase of California from Mexico after the Mexican War as a precedent. The commissioners were expected to reach New York the day before Christmas and to present their finished work to the President as a Christmas present. It was also understood that it would not be given to the public until after it had been presented to the Senate for ratification, although its provisions are well known.

Congress assembled on December 5. *Congress and the President's Message.* The present Congress expires by limitation on March 4. The President's message was largely made up of a recital of the leading events in the war. It is to be remarked that every Presidential message is pronounced a state paper of the highest value and ability by newspapers and public men that are friendly to the chief magistrate, while on the contrary it always seems stale, flat, and unprofitable to the newspapers and public men that do not like the President or his policy. We happen never to have read or heard an impartial opinion of a Presidential message. President McKinley's deliverance in the main takes the narrative form. The future reader who scans the annual messages with a view to finding in them something like a connected history of the United States, will come upon few chapters so thoroughly readable as this one contributed by Mr. McKinley. Without any arguments or exhortations whatsoever, the President manages to tell the story in such a way as to carry his own theory of the war and lead up to his conclusions as to the results. He defers all discussion of the future government of our dependencies, very properly waiting until after the ratification of the treaty by the Senate. The Nicaragua Canal has the President's urgent indorsement, and he takes the ground not only that "the construction of such a maritime highway is now more than ever indispensable," but that

"our national policy now more imperatively than ever calls for its control by this Government."

One of the principal questions that has been pressed upon the attention of Congress by the President's message, the recommendations of the Secretary of War and the House Committee on Military Affairs, of which Mr. Hull, of Iowa, is the efficient chairman, is that of the provision for an enlarged regular army. It is, of course, a hardship to keep under arms for a single day longer than is necessary any of the men who enlisted at the outbreak of the war on patriotic grounds with the understanding that when the war was over they should receive honorable discharge. It is the opinion of the authorities that Congress should give the Government permission to recruit a regular army up to the limit of a hundred thousand men, about half of whom would be needed for duty in Cuba, while the other half would be divided more or less evenly between the United States and the Philippines. But we certainly ought not to need an army in Cuba, except for a very short time. The maintenance of the peace there should in the near future be intrusted to a well-organized native constabulary, distributed and operated very much upon the plan of the



THE RIVAL NURSES.

(Apropos of the two competing army bills attributed respectively to General Miles and Secretary Alger.)
ALGER to MILES: "I wouldn't be found dead with a bill like yours."
MILES to ALGER: "Well, anyway, there is no scandal connected with his name."—From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

Royal Irish Constabulary that keeps the peace of another great island. Nor will the American people believe it right or necessary that we should maintain an army of Americans in the Philippines, except for temporary purposes. The existing emergency in the West Indies and in the Philippines may be regarded, from the military point of view, as belonging to the war period. As soon as that emergency is passed we ought to get along with a regular army of not to exceed fifty thousand men. We must provide, of course, for the education of a much larger number of officers than heretofore, and should greatly improve the militia system. The best way to promote the defense of this country lies in the maintenance of an efficient navy. Let the army expenditures be held down to the strictest point, and let the naval expenditures be generous.



UNCLE SAM: "Gentlemen, give this your immediate attention."—From the *Herald* (New York).

It was understood when the last session of Congress adjourned that Senator Morgan would bring up the Nicaragua Canal question as unfinished business at the opening of the present session. Mr. Morgan did not disappoint that expectation. He brought forward his measure on December 7, and soon made it evident by certain test votes that a large majority of the Senate is in favor of the project. Under the terms of the pending bill the Government guarantees a certain part of the bonds and assumes virtual control through its representation on the board of directors, although the construction is to be carried out by a private company. This proposition is based upon the concession from Nicaragua and Costa Rica obtained years ago by an American company whose charter will have expired next October

unless certain practical steps are taken meanwhile. Another American company has now come forward with a concession, known as the Cragin-Eyre, which it claims will become valid next October in case of the lapse of the concession of the existing company. The Cragin-Eyre project is in the hands of a syndicate of capitalists at the head of which is ex-Mayor William R. Grace, of New York. These new *concessionaires* express great confidence in their ability to construct the canal rapidly with private capital—with a certain amount of governmental backing, which does not, however, involve governmental control. They declare, on the other hand, that they are perfectly willing to step aside if the United States Government should decide in favor of making the canal a public enterprise. The talk in England of opposing the American control of the Nicaragua Canal on the ground that England has rights under the Clayton-Bulwer treaty is fast disappearing in the light of a very sensible and intelligent discussion that has been going on in the London press. That old treaty had reference to a specific private enterprise then under contemplation, and has in simple point of fact no bearing upon the situation as it exists to-day. It will be greatly to the benefit of England if the United States should construct and control the Nicaragua Canal without delay. There is only one absolutely right way to put the thing through. That way may be the most difficult at the outset, but it will be incomparably the best in the end. The waterway should be constructed by the United States Government as a direct public undertaking, and a strip of land on either side of the passage should be purchased by the Government of the United States in order that the canal may be wholly within our own territory and under our sovereignty. Such a bit of annexation would redound more certainly to the credit of President McKinley's administration than its acquisition of islands, whether in the West Indies or in the far Pacific.

Mr. McKinley
in
the South.

The "peace jubilee" at Atlanta, as matters turned out, was very felicitously timed. Although the arrangements had been made a number of weeks in advance, it happened that the celebration occurred four days after the signing of the treaty of peace. It must be borne in mind that there were public men of a good deal of weight and standing, both in this country and abroad, who had grave doubts about the outcome at Paris, and who thought it not unlikely that the conference might fail to agree and that hostilities might be resumed. The signing of the treaty lent a particular significance, therefore, to the Atlanta

gathering, and it attracted more attention by far than the earlier celebrations, impressive as they were, that had occurred at Philadelphia, Chicago, Omaha, and elsewhere. President McKinley's speeches at Atlanta were received with genuine enthusiasm by the people of the South, and their warmth of good feeling undoubtedly expressed the sentiment that prevails everywhere throughout the North. The country has never in all its history been so harmonious as it has been during the year 1898. The President, not only at Atlanta, but elsewhere on his Southern tour, spoke freely of the causes and results of the recent war, and justified the position of the United States in the West Indies and in the islands of the Pacific on the high ground of humanity and duty. It does not appear that President McKinley is in the least carried away by any of that sort of sentiment that is in certain quarters condemned as "imperialistic." The President has made it plain that his view of Cuba continues to be that which he expressed in his famous message to Congress at the beginning of the war. His policy in the Philippines may perhaps be called opportunist—that is to say, he would seem to be in favor of our doing the work that is now at hand in the best possible way, on the theory that the problems of the future can best be decided when they in their turn become the problems of the present.

*Parties
and Foreign
Policies.*

Mr. McKinley, ever since the war broke out, has seemed to us to be very careful to make it appear that he does not regard the country's foreign policy as either Republican or Democratic. It should be noted that the strong positions lately taken in foreign affairs by Lord Salisbury's government have been immensely aided by the support that the cabinet's positions have received from Lord Rosebery and other eminent leaders of the Liberal party. The people of the United States do not wish to have any of the principal questions arising out of the recent war thrown into the arena of party politics. Several Democratic leaders have issued pronouncements within the past few weeks which would seem to indicate their intention to make what they choose to call the "imperial" policy the leading contention of the next Presidential campaign. Colonel Bryan himself has taken that position, although it is only by way of adding an anti-imperialist plank to the Chicago platform, to which he still professes his full allegiance. As against this programme of Colonel Bryan's and of some other Democratic leaders, it is to be urged that the Democratic party would have scant prospects, indeed, without its accustomed support from the

South. But no matter what individual leaders may say, the South as a whole believes in the extension and growth of American influence. The South has always championed the Monroe doctrine, and the South was zealous for the liberation of Cuba, not shrinking from the resort to war. It is true that many of the leading Southern papers seem to be opposed to what they call the "policy of expansion;" but Senator Morgan, Gen. Joseph Wheeler, Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, Mr. Henry Watterson, and other Southern Democrats who have been prominent in action or discussion during the past few months, are the men whose views about the present international situation of America best represent the sentiment of the great South. At least, it is not going to be found feasible to set the Democratic party in line against the Republican party on a fictitious issue to be entitled "imperialism" or "expansion." A good many men who imagine themselves at the very opposite extremes on such questions would find upon a familiar comparing of notes that their points of view are not seriously unlike. Certainly President McKinley in his remarkable Southern tour did not encounter any hostility on the score of deep antagonism to the principal clauses in the protocol and the peace treaty, any more than he had encountered antagonism on those grounds in his Western traveling some weeks previous. Colonel Bryan, it may be noted in passing, resigned the command of his Nebraska regiment as soon as the treaty of peace was signed, on the ground that he could be more useful as a civilian than as a soldier, and his honorable discharge



BRYAN AND CLEVELAND FIND SOMETHING IN COMMON AT LAST.—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



MR. BRYAN AS COLONEL OF THE THIRD NEBRASKA VOLUNTEERS.

was obtained without delay. His regiment was one of those reviewed by President McKinley in the South, and it was highly complimented upon its good appearance, while Mr. Bryan himself, in connection with his discharge, was in receipt of warm and sincere words of praise for the faithful and efficient manner in which he had performed all of his military duties. It is understood that he will devote himself to political matters during the next year or two, and the opinion seems very general at present that his friends will succeed in obtaining for him the Democratic Presidential nomination in the year 1900.

*The President
and the
Colored Men.*

President McKinley's Southern tour embraced several States, and he was received with great courtesy wherever he went. His tributes to the valor of the Confederate troops were grateful to the survivors of the great struggle, and will have served a useful end in helping to remove such slight feelings of sectional prejudice as may have persisted. The events of 1898 have however, effaced almost all such feelings. The visit paid by the Presidential party to the great industrial school over which Mr. Booker T. Washington presides at Tuskegee, Ala., has done a great deal to call the country's attention to the importance and usefulness of practical education for the negro race. It is to be hoped that Mr. McKinley's words will have carried considerable weight with those leaders of the colored men throughout the South who have at this time so critical a responsibility for the wise direction of negro opinion. It is exceedingly hard for the colored man to be patient while he notes the

growth of a movement everywhere in the South to exclude him from his constitutional political rights. Nor can any one expect it to be easy for the colored man to accept the theory that such exclusion is for his own good. Nevertheless, it is probably the opinion of a large majority of the wisest friends of the negroes that the franchise is at present more harmful than useful to them, and that they might well afford to allow white men to do the voting and hold the offices, if only colored men are accorded justice in the courts of law, with fair and equal opportunities to obtain education and to acquire property.

In any case, it is obvious that equal political privileges will never be exercised to advantage, except as the race has built itself up upon the foundations of education and thrift. It is wholly harmful to colored men to be given postmaster-ships in communities where nine-tenths of the mail matter sent and received belongs to white patrons of the office who are opposed to a colored postmaster. Mr. McKinley himself has made mistakes in that direction.

*The
Transfer
of Cuba.*

The transfer of Cuba from Spain to the United States bears the date for official purposes of January 1. The last days of December witnessed a good deal of activity in the sailing of American troops for Cuba and a corresponding departure of Spanish troops for Spain. The newspapers in December, almost every day had reports of rioting somewhere in the city or province of Havana. It was to have been expected, however, that the inevitable relaxation of Spanish authority while large bodies of Spanish troops were still awaiting the opportunity to sail, and before the Americans were able to assume police control, would result in a good deal of petty friction between individuals and also between groups of Spaniards meeting Cubans on the streets or in public places. The only wonder is that the great work of evacuation up to the present time has been accomplished with so marvelous a smoothness, and that the process of turning the island over to the American soldiers as temporary caretakers should have been carried out so effectively and so rapidly. When the facts come to be fully known and can be estimated justly from some distance of time,

It will be admitted that Spaniards, Cubans, and Americans alike are entitled to no small degree of praise for the parts they have played, respectively, in the extremely trying and delicate business of October, November, and December, 1898.

How to Deal with Insurgents and Patriots. All essential questions as between Spain and the United States have been disposed of, by virtue of the plans which will almost immediately have resulted in the complete withdrawal of Spanish soldiers and civil officials from the West Indies and the Philippines. The next practical step of first importance, obviously, is the adjustment of questions that may arise between the United States and the insurgent troops. There is everything to be said in favor of the most generous and considerate treatment by this country of the men who have been fighting for independence, and who now find themselves in many if not in most cases hungry, ragged, and poor. It is for the best interest of Cuba that the members of the Cuban army of liberation now remaining in camps and under arms disperse rapidly and become absorbed in the agricultural and industrial life of the country. But it will greatly facilitate that dispersion, and also greatly promote good feeling, if the United States advance money to pay off the rank and file of the troops. Almost exactly the same thing might be said of the situation in the Philippines. Generous treatment, even apart from the fact that it is just and right, will be the cheapest policy in the end. It is understood that the inclusion of a three-million-dollar emergency fund in the deficiency appropriation that was hurriedly passed through both houses and sent to the conference committee last month—a sum that, according to the Senate vote, is to be expended at the President's discretion—was intended for precisely such purposes, the Philippine situation, however, being chiefly the one for which the money was designed. A government that has lubricated the removal of Spaniards by paying bills for their return trip to Europe, ought to find it entirely easy to win the hearty confidence and good-will of the patriotic troops of Cuba, whose cause we have espoused, and the insurgents of the Philippines, whose wrongs have entitled them to our friendly consideration.

Military Government in Cuba. For the military purposes of the United States, the island of Cuba becomes a territorial division, coordinate with those into which the United States itself is mapped off and with the new Division of the Pacific with its headquarters at Manila. The Division of Cuba has its headquarters at Havana. It is under the command of Maj.

Gen. John R. Brooke, who in addition to the command of the troops is also charged with the duties of a military governor of the island—his functions as such being similar to those which were assigned to General Merritt when he was sent to the Philippines. Maj.-Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, who sailed early in December, is in charge of all the troops in the province of Havana. The jurisdiction of Maj.-Gen. Leonard Wood over the east end of the island remains unchanged. In the province of Santa Clara Gen. Simon Snyder commands; Puerto Principe is assigned to Gen. L. H. Carpenter and Pinar del Rio to Gen. G. W. Davis. The practical work of carrying on civil administration in the city of Havana is separated by a very distinct line from that of General Brooke as military governor of the island and that of General Lee as immediate commander of the Seventh Corps—although both of these generals have their headquarters in Havana. It is to Maj.-Gen. William Ludlow that the administrative work of the governorship of the city has been assigned, and the order of the War Department declares that "he is charged with all that relates to the collection and disbursement of revenues of the port and city, and to its police, sanitation, and general government, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the President."



Photo by Bell.

BRIG.-GEN. G. W. DAVIS.
(Commanding American troops in the province of Pinar del Rio.)

*The New
Ruler
of Havana.*

It had been expected that Gen. Francis V. Greene, who had been brought back from the Philippines and assigned to duty at Havana, would have charge of this important work of managing the city. General Greene is an engineer of high reputation. But as soon as the treaty of peace was signed he sought and obtained relief from active service in order to resume charge of his private affairs. Interest in his home-coming from Havana to New York was enhanced by the report that Colonel Roosevelt had urged him to accept the position of superintendent of public works of the State of New York, in order to carry on the canal improvements about which there has been so much scandal under the State administration now expiring. General Ludlow is undoubtedly well fitted to administer Havana, and all his fellow-countrymen will earnestly hope that he may make for himself a reputation quite as enviable as that which General Wood has already gained by his admirable conduct of affairs in the city of Santiago de Cuba. General Ludlow was formerly water-works engineer at Philadelphia, from which position President Cleveland called him to Washington to serve as the engineer member of the board that manages the affairs of the District of Columbia. Since then he has served on the lighthouse board. His municipal experience at Philadelphia and Washington has qualified him for much of the business that will claim his attention at Havana. It is interesting to note the fact that the services of Mr. John McCullagh, who was made chief of police for New York City at the time when Mr. Roosevelt was president of

the board of police commissioners, has been sent to Havana to aid in the reorganization of the local police establishment. Mr. McCullagh, after his dismissal from his place as chief of police by the present Tammany board of commissioners, was appointed by Governor Black to the new



Photo by Prince.

GEN. WILLIAM LUDLOW.

(Military governor of Havana from January 1.)

office of superintendent of elections for the metropolitan district, a position which he still holds, but which does not entail any very active duties except in election seasons.



JOHN M'CULLAGH.

(Appointed to reorganize the Havana police.)

*General
Garcia's
Death.*

The death of Gen. Calixto Garcia at Washington' on December 11 was deeply deplored by those who have respected and admired the Cuban leaders for their brave and persistent efforts to win the independence of their island. We publish elsewhere, from the pen of one who knew him intimately, an appreciative article on General Garcia's career. He was a man of uncommon force and ability who won for himself, by his brave deeds and indomitable perseverance, a place in the list of the great Spanish-American patriots of the nineteenth century whose work for the emancipation of the Spanish-speaking colonies was begun in the opening years of the century and has only now reached its end. A few days before his death General Garcia had joined General Wheeler and several gentlemen in New York in forming a Cuban educational association, the object of which is to aid worthy young Cubans in obtaining the advantages of collegiate education in the

United States. Few persons realize how numerous are the men of education in Cuba who have in the past pursued professional and higher studies in the United States; nor is it commonly understood how influential that element of American-trained Cubans has been in the cause of independence. General Garcia appreciated the fact that it will now be more important than ever for Cuba to have many young men and women brought to this country and trained for subsequent careers of usefulness at home. He had gone to Washington as head of a commission representing the civil and military organization of the Cuban patriots.

*The
Liberal
Leadership.*

The English at home have been much taken up with the discussion of the leadership of the Liberal party. Sir William Vernon Harcourt has for some time past been the party's recognized chief, but he has now resigned from that position. The strain between Sir William and Lord Rosebery has been serious for a long time, and these two rivals for Mr. Gladstone's position are not even on speaking terms. Mr. John Morley is regarded as the chief intellectual light of the party, but he has been a stanch adherent of Sir William Harcourt. Mr. Henry Asquith is one of the most efficient parliamentarians, but he is objected to on the ground of his devotion to Lord Rosebery. So far as leadership on the floor of the House of Commons at the approaching session is concerned, a compromise has now been effected by the selection of Mr. Henry Campbell-Bannerman. This gentleman has had a parliamentary career of perhaps thirty years, and he has gradually taken the position of a steady party wheel-horse, reliable, esteemed, calm in temperament, and untouched by the rivalries of the more brilliant men. Sir William Harcourt is the greatest political debater in England, but he has too long practiced the art of making enemies ever to attain his great ambition to become prime minister of England. The next general parliamentary election, unless something wholly unexpected should happen to precipitate an appeal to the country, will not occur until the year 1901. Neither one of the two great English parties has for many years been at as low an ebb as is Liberalism to-day, so far as numbers, unity, and immediate prospects are concerned. None the less, Liberalism will revive to reform the House of Lords.



MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

*Militarism
Unabated.*

The celebration of the Austrian Emperor's fiftieth year on the throne passed safely and quietly, his subjects paying him many tributes of honor. The Emperor's most noteworthy utterance on that occasion was his address to the army, to the loyalty of which he looks for the future security of his dominions. At the opening of the Reichstag last month the German Emperor declared his warm adherence to the Czar's plan of a peace conference, and avowed the maintenance of peace to be the great object of his own policy. Nevertheless, he has spared no pains to push the passage by the Reichstag of the new army proposals, the net result of which will be the addition of from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand more men to the regular standing army and the increase of the war budget by perhaps seven or eight million marks. Next year, moreover, it is the plan to make another similar addition to the number of men and the cost of army maintenance. In England, where there is also much pious talk about peace, the naval expenditures have been enormously increased. The *Formidable*, the largest battleship ever launched, is rapidly approaching completion, and the programmes of army improvement, as well as of naval expansion, go on apace. Even the business men of Spain, who are eager for what they call the regeneration of the country and its delivery from militarism and politicians, have advocated in their recent conference of chambers of commerce at Saragossa the establishment of compulsory military service on the plan of all the great continental powers.

*Russia and
the Peace
Conference.*

Russia, according to reports, has succeeded in selling to the Chinese empire half a million rifles of a pattern that the Russian army is discarding as obsolete; and every effort is being made in the shortest possible time to provide the whole Russian army with new rifles of long range, small caliber, and high power. All the continental powers—and the Russians foremost of all—have been disposed to utilize such lessons as might be learned from recent campaigns. The Czar shows no disposition to stop Russian military preparations while preparing for his international peace conference for devising ways to check the growth of militarism. Mr. W. T. Stead, who contributes to this number a very interesting character sketch of the young Czar, with whom he has lately had personal interviews, is not only convinced of the absolute sincerity of the Czar's desire to promote the cause of peace, but is also persuaded of the great practical utility of the Russian ideas which have led to the call for the conference. It is not

expected that the conference will do anything more radical than to devise a way to limit the further growth of military budgets for a fixed term. In the past ten years there has been a large regular increase in the aggregate amount of money spent each year by Europe for the support of armies and navies. It is argued that if nothing is done to check the tendency this increase will go on. The Czar would secure an agreement among the nations that for five years they would not add anything to the burdens of militarism that their peoples are already carrying. This might prove a beginning which would, as a result of future agreements, lead to steps toward gradual disarmament.

**America
and the
Conference.**

Mr. Stead is of opinion that the people of the United States and England might exert a well-nigh decisive influence in making this proposed conference a real success. To the argument that the United States should play a prominent part in that conference it may be said that the situation to which the Czar addressed his famous peace manifesto is purely and strictly a European situation. The United States is in no sense a military power. This country holds itself responsible in a general way for the peace and good order of the western hemisphere. In its capacity as responsible guardian of affairs in this part of the world it has just accomplished successfully a piece of police work that required the use of force in the West Indies. But the United States has suc-



THE PLAYTHING OF THE POWERS IS THE BURDEN OF THE PEOPLES.—From the *Herald* (New York).

ceeded in getting almost all of the republics of the western hemisphere to give their approval to a plan for the arbitration of differences between nations on this side of the Atlantic, and it has been the cardinal point in American policy for almost a century to promote a condition of things in our part of the planet that should make it possible to avoid the military burdens which Europe has always borne. But while, on the one hand, we have singly assumed the responsibility for maintaining certain principles in the western hemisphere, it has belonged to the concert of Europe to deal with matters of common interest and concern in Europe and the adjacent parts of Asia and Africa. It is true that the invitation to the Czar's conference was a general one; and the United States ought to be well represented, by men instructed to express America's great desire that the European people should find it feasible to rid themselves of so oppressive a system. This country will have to increase its army, undoubtedly, but there is no prospect of our having a military establishment much more extensive than those of such minute European powers as Roumania, Serbia, or Bulgaria. With our immense trade, our outlying islands, and our extensive seacoast, we shall, of course, in-



GIVE THE DOVE A CHANCE.

DOVE OF PEACE TO THE AMERICAN EAGLE: "Excuse me for interrupting, but would you mind coming off the perch?"
From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

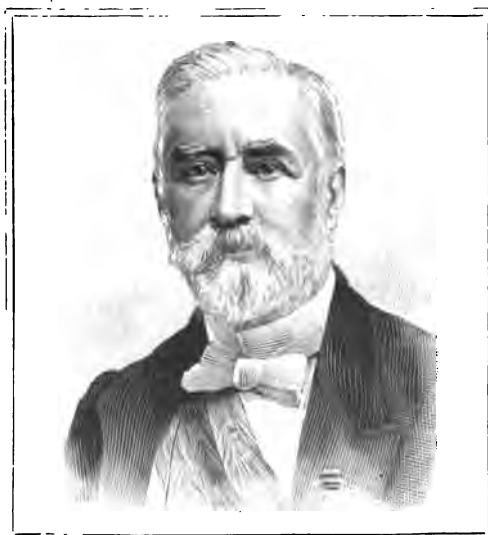


M. CHARLES DUPUY,
Premier and Minister of the Interior of France.
(Drawn from life for the *Graphic*, London.)

crease from time to time the size and efficiency of our navy ; but we shall not enter upon any policy of armament that will affect in any manner the questions of European policy that it is proposed to discuss at the Czar's conference. Something, of course, may be done in the way of fixing arbitrary limits to the extent of European military preparation, but in the long run the cause of peace is to be promoted most effectually, first by the final adjustment of those unsettled questions which threaten the peace of nations—Alsace-Lorraine, for example—and, second, by an increased use of such means as arbitration for the settlement of disputes.

France has experienced a good deal of unhappiness in the year 1898, but some of the events that have most humiliated and disheartened the majority of the French people have in fact made for the security of the republic. Thus the decision by the Court of Cassation that the Dreyfus case should be reopened, and the subsequent decision that has made it certain that Colonel Picquart (whose crime consisted in believing that Dreyfus was innocent) should not be made the victim of court-martials in a time of profound peace, have been

very unpopular in France and have gone against the weight of current prejudice. Nevertheless, they may be said to have saved the republic. It matters comparatively little whether—as a result of a fair judicial review of the proceedings under which he had been convicted—Dreyfus should be found guilty or found innocent ; but it matters profoundly whether or not any man in France, civilian or soldier, can be condemned and punished without a chance to defend himself and without even knowing the precise nature of his offense or the character or source of the evidence against him. The Dreyfus case has shaken France profoundly. But the real crisis was passed when the righteous decision of the Court of Cassation was made and acquiesced in. The present prime minister and cabinet, while holding still to the prevailing French opinion that Dreyfus is guilty, stand firmly upon the principle that civil authority is superior even to the army in France. That principle having triumphed, the further history of the Dreyfus matter may indeed be interesting ; but the question of vital importance has already been settled. Thus France enters upon the new year with the increased strength that comes from a hard won moral victory. In some points of foreign policy France has also been much irritated and humiliated in the year now passed ; but far from being the loser for having yielded to England on the Fashoda question, France has escaped a great danger. There was no practical chance to establish a post at Fashoda or anywhere in that region of the upper Nile that France could have maintained advantageously.



SIR EDMUND MONSON.
(Great Britain's ambassador at Paris.)



MAJOR MARCHAND AND THE SPHINX.

(This photograph suggests Marchand's speech to the French Club at Cairo, in which he suggested that the sphinx "which saw the passage of Bonaparte, which saw De Lesseps and his work" might yet pronounce for France in Egypt.)

Having settled the West Africa dispute with England earlier in the year and having yielded the Fashoda contention, French diplomacy should now face about and cultivate the best possible relations with England, with a view to some substantial help and support at other points. The French have a great sphere in their own conceded African territories. They ought to find more profit in a policy of friendliness toward England than in what Sir Edmund Monson has called the policy of "pin-pricks." Sir Edmund, who is now British ambassador at Paris, ventured several weeks ago—on the occasion of a banquet given by an association of British merchants in Paris—to make a speech on the lines of what he called "the new diplomacy," which is supposed to consist in saying exactly what you mean, without any of those circumlocutions and grandiloquent paraphrases that used to pass for the correct thing in the discussion of affairs between nations. Sir Edmund gave credit to the Americans for originating this new method of diplomacy, having in mind, evidently, the presence of the American peace commissioners in Paris at that time, and the somewhat peremptory manner in which they were meeting the tedious argument of the Spanish commissioners. Sir Edmund's speech discussed without reserve the questions recently at issue between France and England, and particularly the Fashoda incident. It irritated the French press to a high degree.

The events of the year 1898 have subjected the European alliances to a good deal of strain, so that it is somewhat freely predicted that the coming year may witness some changes. There is reason to think that the French people are not altogether happy in their Russian alliance, while neither Italy nor Austria finds abiding contentment in the alliance with Germany. Italy has found it exceedingly expensive to maintain the military and naval establishments that the terms of the triple alliance require, while Austria for its part has been deeply offended by certain German domestic policies over which a bitter controversy has arisen. It has long been the general policy of Germany to assimilate all

elements of population as rapidly as possible, no matter how arbitrary the methods used; and of Prussia it is particularly true that it has been the programme to Prussianize every locality coming under the national jurisdiction. Within the past year, however, the policy has been enforced in a more arbitrary manner than ever before. In pursuance of this policy the expulsion of aliens has been proceeding by wholesale. A great many Danes have resided in those Schleswig-Holstein districts of Prussia which formerly belonged to Denmark, and hundreds of these Danes have lately been driven across the line into their own country in spite of protests from Copenhagen.

JOHN BULL AN EGYPTIAN FIXTURE.—From *Punch* (London).



PRESIDENT TIMOTHY DWIGHT, OF YALE.
(Whose resignation has been announced.)



REV. JOHN HENRY BARROWS, D.D.
(Who has accepted the presidency of Oberlin College.)

By virtue of a similar policy a great number of subjects of Austria—Polish and of other races—have been expelled from German soil as a part of the scheme of colonizing the frontier with Germans and thus strengthening the nation and preparing it for further territorial encroachments at such future times as may prove opportune. It is not strange that the Austrian Government, as well as the Austrian press, should resent these methods as unneighborly and out of keeping with the spirit of the intimate alliance that has existed for many years between Germany and Austria. The irritation on the part of Austria is not diminished by the fact of the great influence of Germany in the Turkish empire, as illustrated in many ways during the German Emperor's recent visit to the Sultan and Palestine. Germany seems to have entered upon a deliberate plan of growth toward the southeast, and this can hardly mean anything else except the intention some day to annex parts of Austria.

*American
Educational
Leaders.*

The year 1898, while registering many substantial advances in the great work of American education, with tokens of increased liberality from private as well as public treasuries for the maintenance of schools, libraries, and kindred agencies of civ-

ilization, has also been marked by an unusual number of vacancies or changes in conspicuous educational posts. In November came the announcement that President Timothy Dwight is about to give up his eminently useful and successful work as president of Yale University, on the ground that a younger man should now take the helm. Earlier in the year President E. Benjamin Andrews left Brown University, for the upbuilding of which his energetic administration had accomplished such wonders, in order to assume the more arduous task of the superintendency of the school system of Chicago. Dr. Andrews, after difficulties that would have discouraged a less resolute man, seems to have secured the school board's indorsement of his policy for the maintenance of strict merit principles in the appointment of teachers. The presidency of Oberlin College, which has been for some time vacant, has now been filled by the appointment of the Rev. Dr. John Henry Barrows. Dr. Barrows, who was already well known throughout this country, gained for himself an international reputation and acquaintance through the prominent part taken by him in the world's congress of religions five years ago. Since that time he has devoted himself to travel, study, and authorship, and his writings and

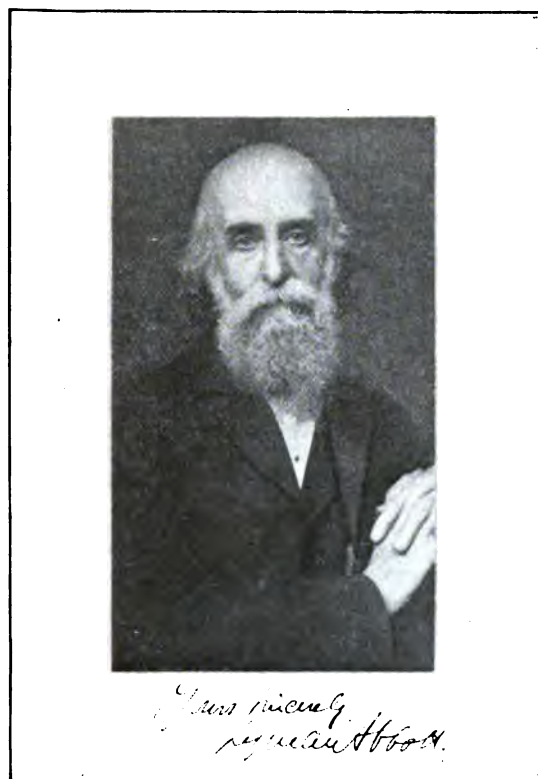


Photo by Hollinger

DR. LYMAN ABBOTT.

lectures upon Oriental religions and kindred subjects have had much success. The presidency of Amherst College has been left vacant by the retirement of President Merrill E. Gates, who is spending a year or two in Europe.

*Dr. Lyman
Abbott and
Plymouth
Pulpit.*

One of the great educational as well as religious institutions of this country for half a century has been Plymouth Church of Brooklyn. Henry Ward Beecher was succeeded in the pastorate of that church by Dr. Lyman Abbott. Dr. Abbott had been Mr. Beecher's associate and afterward his successor in the editorial chair of the *Christian Union* (now the *Outlook*). For ten years he has performed double duty by serving as pastor of Plymouth Church while remaining senior editor of the *Outlook*. Besides filling these two positions with great ability and acceptance, Dr. Abbott has been constantly producing books, delivering lectures, and participating actively in important public movements. He has accomplished such prodigies of useful work since his entrance upon the ministry almost forty years ago that many people who know him only by reputation have the impression that he is a man of advanced years. On the

contrary, Dr. Abbott is only a little beyond sixty, and at the very height of his power to inspire the sentiments and guide the opinions of his countrymen. His strength, however, is not equal to the multiplicity of the responsibilities he has been carrying during the past ten years, and he has now decided to give up the pastorate of Plymouth Church. His wider audience will claim his more undivided attention, and thus the country may hope to gain something where Plymouth Church loses. It will be hard for Plymouth Church, however, to find leaders for its second half century who can maintain the eminence that its pulpit and platform have steadily occupied under Beecher and Abbott.

*Some
Obituary
Notes.*

The winter has opened with exceptionally bad weather, with the result of many deaths from pneumonia, grippé, and kindred causes. Among the prominent men who have succumbed to pneumonia are to be named General Garcia and ex-Senator Calvin S. Brice. Mr. Brice was one of the ablest and most successful of the typical Americans who in this generation have come into the control of great enterprises and amassed large fortunes through sheer ability, quickness of wit, and audacity. His career was wonderful in the variety and picturesqueness of its incidents. When he chose to turn to politics he readily took high rank in the Democratic party. The most distinguished foreign name in our list is that of William Black, the British novelist.



THE LATE CALVIN S. BRICE.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From November 21 to December 20, 1898.)

THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN—ENDING OF THE WAR.

November 21.—The request of the Spanish peace commissioners at Paris for arbitration of the third article of the protocol is declined by the American commissioners, who make a formal offer of \$20,000,000 for the Philippines and allow one week for discussion of the proposition.

November 22.—Col. Theodore Roosevelt is a witness before the war investigating commission in New York City, pointing out defects in the military system.

November 23.—The First Brigade, Third Division, of the Second Army Corps, consisting of the Third New Jersey, Fifteenth Pennsylvania, and Two Hundred and Second New York Regiments, commanded by Brig.-Gen. W. C. Oates and now at Athens, Ga., is ordered to embark at Savannah to occupy Pinar del Rio, Mariel, and Guanajay, Cuba.

November 24.—General Blanco accepts the resignation of the members of the Cuban colonial government.... General Wood issues an order prohibiting gambling in Santiago de Cuba.

November 25.—General Wood appoints Señor Bacardi, a Cuban civilian, mayor of Santiago de Cuba.... Four companies of United States volunteer engineers land at Marianao Beach, near Havana.

November 26.—General Blanco resigns as Governor-General of Cuba and is succeeded by General Castellanos.... General Butler, of the Cuban evacuation commission, reports to President McKinley on conditions in Cuba.... General Wood commissions judicial officers at Santiago de Cuba.

November 28.—The Spanish peace commissioners at Paris announce the acceptance by their government of the terms proposed by the United States; the secretaries are directed to prepare a treaty.

November 29.—The commission investigating the conduct of the war begins taking testimony in Boston.

November 30.—The American and Spanish peace commissioners in Paris reach an agreement on the first four articles of a treaty.

December 1.—President McKinley authorizes the expenditure, from available funds, of \$50,000 for cleaning the city of Havana.

December 2.—The judges of the Supreme Court of Santiago de Cuba appointed by General Wood are formally installed in office; the United States is recognized as the supreme power in the province.... The commission investigating the War Department resumes its sessions in Washington.... A division of the Seventh Army Corps, under command of General Williston, is ordered to proceed from Savannah, Ga., to Havana.... President McKinley receives the commission appointed by the Cuban Assembly to treat with him.

December 3.—American officials begin the work of cleaning the streets of Havana.

December 5.—General Henry succeeds General Brooke as military commander in Porto Rico.... General Car-

penter, American commander in Puerto Principe, Cuba, suppresses the stamp duties, appoints a special collector of taxes, and removes the civil governor of the province.... The United States cruiser *Raleigh* is ordered home from Manila.

December 6.—About 2,000 Spanish troops sail from Havana for Spain; several towns in the province of Havana are evacuated.... Orders are issued for the establishment at Havana of the first United States garrison, to consist of the Eighth and Tenth Infantry.

December 7.—The cruiser *New York* enters the harbor of Havana.... Armed Cubans make a demonstration at a memorial meeting in honor of Maceo at Santiago.

December 10.—The American and Spanish commissioners at Paris sign the treaty of peace.



Photographed by Clinedinst for the REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

GENERAL RIVERA, THE CUBAN PATRIOT.

(Who was recently released from a Spanish prison and is now in this country coöperating with the Cuban commission at Washington.)

December 11.—A riot in Havana, arising from an attempt to close a theater because of General Garcia's death, results in the killing of 3 Cubans.... The First North Carolina Volunteers arrive in Havana.

December 12.—Major-General Ludlow is appointed first military and civil governor of Havana.

December 13.—Major-General Brooke is appointed military and civil governor of Cuba....Gen. Fitzhugh Lee arrives at Havana....President McKinley's orders establishing a customs district and port regulations for Cuba are published.

December 14.—The battleship *Texas* sails from Hampton Roads for Havana.

December 15.—Spain agrees to pay the January coupon on the Cuban debt....The cruiser *Brooklyn* sails for Havana.

December 16.—The American peace commissioners leave Paris; Agoncillo, the agent of Aguinaldo, files a protest against the peace treaty with the commissioners.

December 18.—The Spanish peace commissioners arrive at Madrid.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS.

December 5.—The closing session of the Fifty-fifth Congress begins with the reading of President McKinley's annual message in both branches.

December 6.—President McKinley transmits the report and bills drawn up by the commission on the government of Hawaii....The army and navy deficiency appropriation bill is reported in the House.

December 7.—The House, by a vote of 119 to 101, passes the bill to prohibit the "scalping" of railroad tickets.

December 8.—The Senate takes up the Nicaragua Canal bill....The House passes the urgent deficiency appropriation bill, providing funds for the support of the army and navy.

December 12.—In the Senate Mr. Morgan (Dem., Ala.), in charge of the Nicaragua Canal bill, accepts an amendment to the neutrality section inserting the words "except as to nations at war with the United States"....In the House Mr. Hepburn (Rep., Iowa) introduces a bill appropriating \$140,000,000 for the construction of the Nicaragua Canal and authorizing the President to purchase such land as may be necessary, so that the United States shall absolutely own and control such canal.

December 13.—The Senate passes a bill for the purchase of a site for a Supreme Court building....The House passes the District of Columbia appropriation bill.

December 14.—The Senate continues debate of the Nicaragua Canal bill.

December 15.—The Senate passes the urgent deficiency appropriation bill for the immediate needs of the army and navy....The House passes the pension appropriation bill.

December 16.—The House passes a bill to extend the customs and revenue laws of the United States over Hawaii and defeats the bill providing for an American international bank.

December 17.—The House passes the Indian appropriation bill.

December 19.—In the Senate Mr. O. H. Platt (Rep., Conn.) defends the right of the United States to hold territory under any form of government it pleases.

December 20.—The Senate agrees to the House resolution for a recess from December 21, 1898, to January 4, 1899.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

November 21.—Governor Tanner, of Illinois, issues a proclamation placing the town of Pana under martial law.



THE HON. JOSEPH H. CHOATE, OF NEW YORK.

(Who has been mentioned as likely to be named by President McKinley as ambassador to Great Britain.)

November 22.—Rear Admiral Joseph N. Miller, U. S. N., is placed on the retired list, having reached the age limit....The New York Court of Appeals declares the anti-ticket-scalping law unconstitutional.

November 26.—The United States battleship *Wisconsin* is launched at San Francisco.

November 30.—On receipt of the report of special counsel on the canal investigation, Governor Black, of New York, requests the Attorney-General to begin criminal proceedings against Superintendent of Public Works Aldridge and State Engineer Adams.

December 1.—Governor Tanner, of Illinois, is indicted by the grand jury of Macoupin County for omission of duty and malfeasance in office in connection with the Virden coal miners' riots on October 12....The New York City Board of Estimate appropriates \$100,000 for preliminary surveys for two new East River bridges.

December 2.—Governor Black, of New York, suspends Superintendent of Public Works Aldridge from office pending proceedings in the courts.

December 6.—Seventeen Massachusetts cities hold elections; in a majority of cases independent candidates win on local issues....The Ohio Supreme Court orders the books of the Standard Oil Company to be produced in an investigation of an alleged violation of the court's orders.

December 7.—James G. Woodward, a printer in the employ of the *Atlanta Journal*, is elected mayor of

Atlanta, defeating Edmund W. Martin, a prominent lawyer....Mass-meetings are held in Chicago to protest against the extension of street-railroad franchises for fifty years....The brewers of the country organize an agitation for the repeal of the war tax on beer.



QUEEN VICTORIA AND HER GRANDCHILDREN OF YORK.

December 8.—The Democratic majority of the Alabama Assembly declare for a constitutional convention....The United States Government purchases at private sale the Lookout Point property near Chattanooga, Tenn.

December 10.—A caucus of the Democratic members of the House of Representatives declares the action of a Democratic caucus binding on all who participate, with certain qualifications and restrictions.

December 14.—President McKinley makes a notable address before the Georgia Legislature at Atlanta.

December 15.—President McKinley speaks twice in connection with the peace jubilee exercises at Atlanta, Ga....The National Civil Service Reform League meets in Baltimore....The Alabama Legislature votes to submit to the people in July, 1899, the question of calling a constitutional convention.

December 17.—President McKinley speaks on the subject of territorial expansion at Savannah.

December 20.—President McKinley returns to Washington.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

November 23.—Colonel Picquart is examined before the Court of Cassation....Signor Vacchelli, Minister of Italian Finance, makes his budget statement to the Chamber in Rome.

November 24.—General Zurlinden, as military governor of Paris, signs an order for the court-martial of Colonel Picquart on charges of forgery and using forged documents in connection with the Dreyfus case.

November 28.—The French Chamber of Deputies votes

to sustain the policy of the government in the case of Colonel Picquart.

November 30.—Premier Banffy, of Hungary, agrees to a provisional Austro-Hungarian *Ausgleich*....A plot to assassinate Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria is discovered.

December 1.—President Alfaro, of Ecuador, assumes a dictatorship over the country.

December 2.—By a vote of 243 to 228 in the French Chamber of Deputies the ministry of Premier Dupuy is defeated on a question concerning the election of senators....Emperor Francis Joseph's semi-centennial jubilee is observed throughout Austria.

December 4.—President Zelaya, of Nicaragua, appoints a new cabinet.

December 6.—At the opening session of the German Reichstag a budget providing for an increase in the army is submitted.

December 8.—The Court of Cassation at Paris orders a stay of proceedings in the Picquart court-martial.

December 9.—Dr. Szilagyi resigns the presidency of the lower house of the Hungarian Diet.

December 12.—The French Chamber of Deputies expresses confidence in the government by a vote of 463 to 78.

December 13.—The resignation of Sir William Vernon Harcourt as leader of the British Liberal party is announced.

December 15.—M. Müller is elected president of the Swiss Confederation....A warrant is issued in Paris for the arrest of Count Ferdinand Esterhazy in connection with the Dreyfus case....The French Chamber of Deputies adopts the bill loaning 200,000,000 francs for the construction of Indo-Chinese railroads.

December 19.—The French Chamber of Deputies again votes to sustain the government in the Dreyfus case.... A German artist is sentenced to six months' imprisonment for caricaturing the Emperor's journey.



PRINCE GEORGE OF GREECE.
(Commissioner of the great powers in Crete.)

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

November 21.—A commercial treaty is concluded between France and Italy.

November 24.—The European nations are represented in an anti-anarchist conference at Rome.... Italy sends an ultimatum to the Sultan of Morocco concerning the ill-treatment of Italian *protégés*.



Photo by Clinedinst.

PRESIDENT IGLESIAS, OF COSTA RICA.

(Who has just visited the United States and had several conferences with President McKinley and Secretary Hay on the subject of the Nicaragua Canal.)

November 25.—The Anglo-American commission closes the hearing of testimony in the Bering Sea case.

November 26.—Marines are landed at Tien-tsin, China, from the United States cruiser *Boston* for the purpose of guarding the American legation at Peking.... United States Minister Straus obtains from the Turkish Government the concession of traveling permits for Americans in the interior of Asia Minor.... President Iglesias, of Costa Rica, confers with President McKinley and Secretary Hay on the attitude of Costa Rica toward the Nicaragua Canal.

November 29.—Premier Von Thun-Hohenstein, of Austria, declares in the Reichsrath that Austria has protested against the expulsion of Austrians from Prussia and will adopt retaliatory measures if necessary.

November 30.—The union of Nicaragua, Honduras, and Salvador, known as the United States of Central America, is formally dissolved, owing to failure to suppress a revolution in Salvador.

December 1.—The French Government issues a decree forbidding the importation of fruit and plants from the United States.

December 3.—Nicaragua issues a decree resuming her full sovereignty, the federation known as the United States of Central America having collapsed.

December 6.—At a banquet of the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris Sir Edmund Monson, the British ambassador, warns the French Government against a policy calculated to irritate Great Britain.... France demands of China the release of a French missionary.

December 8.—Joseph Chamberlain, British Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a speech advocates alliances with Germany, Russia, and the United States.

December 9.—M. de Giers, the new Russian minister to China, presents his credentials to the Emperor, declining to recognize the Dowager Empress.

December 12.—In the German Reichstag members of the government express hopes for the speedy conclusion of an "economic peace" with the United States.

December 16.—Prince von Lichtenstein, Austro-Hungarian ambassador to Russia, resigns.... In the Italian Chamber of Deputies the existence of an agreement between Great Britain and Italy for the maintenance of the *status quo* in Africa is asserted, and not denied by the government.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

November 21.—Gen. Ruiz Rivera, the Cuban patriot, is released from the Spanish prison at Barcelona.... Star Pointer, believed to be the fastest harness horse in the world, is sold at auction in New York City for \$15,000.

November 23.—The Baldwin Hotel and Theater in San Francisco are burned, with a loss of several lives and damage to the amount of \$1,500,000.

November 24.—The United States battleships *Iowa* and *Oregon* arrive at Montevideo, Uruguay.... In a street fight at Anniston, Ala., a negro soldier of the Third Alabama Regiment is killed and two others fatally shot.

November 27.—A heavy snow-storm and high gales of wind cause the loss of many vessels along the New England coast; in Boston harbor 35 vessels are sunk or driven ashore; the steamer *Portland* founders off Cape Cod, and all on board (about 115 persons) are lost; many other lives are lost up and down the coast; railroad travel is almost suspended in New England.

November 29.—General Kitchener proposes a public subscription of \$500,000 to found a Gordon memorial college at Khartoum, and obtains the support of many prominent persons in Great Britain.

December 1.—A mass-meeting of Princeton University students adopts resolutions for the abolition of hazing.... Thirty-seven lives are lost in the wreck of the British steamer *Clan Drummond* in the Bay of Biscay.

December 4.—A fire in a sixteen-story building on Broadway, New York City, does damage to the amount of \$750,000.

December 5.—Fifteen women and girls are killed by jumping from the windows of a burning factory in Vilna, Russia.

December 7.—The former president of the Keystone National Bank in Philadelphia pleads guilty to indictments found against him in 1891 for misuse of funds.

December 8.—Henri Lavedan is elected a member of the French Academy.

December 12.—The American Federation of Labor meets in Kansas City, Mo.

December 13.—The corporation of Yale University accepts the resignation of President Dwight and eulogizes his services....The collapse of a great tank erected for the Consolidated Gas Company of New York City causes several deaths and a very large property loss.

December 15.—The officers of the Mormon Church at Salt Lake City, Utah, advertise an issue of \$500,000 eleven-year 6-per-cent. gold bonds.

December 17.—The battleships *Oregon* and *Iowa* reach Valparaiso, Chile.

OBITUARY.

November 21.—Sir John Fowler, engineer-in-chief of the Forth Bridge, 81.

November 24.—Prof. George James Allman, F.R.S., of the University of Edinburgh, 86....Theodore Sedgwick Fay, formerly American minister to Switzerland, 91....Col. Henry Lee, of Brookline, Mass., 81.

November 25.—Gen. Andrew T. McReynolds, who served in the Civil War, 91.

November 27.—Edwin Dunkin, the British astronomer, 73....Charles W. Coudock, a veteran actor, 83.

November 28.—Mrs. Mary Haweis, an English woman well known in philanthropic, artistic, and literary circles.

December 2.—Ex-Congressman Barnes Compton, of Maryland, 68....Prof. Edward Olmstead, of Wilton, Conn., 74.

December 5.—Judge William H. Robertson, a well-known Republican politician of Westchester County, N. Y., 75....Ex-Senator Hugues Marie Henri Fournier, of France, 77....Mrs. Henry Boynton Smith, a writer of popular poems, 81.

December 6.—William Giles Dix, a New England writer, 75.

December 7.—Thomas Whitney Waterman, distinguished lawyer and legal writer, of Binghamton, N. Y., 70.

December 8.—Frederic Waite Burke, said to be the oldest living graduate of Bowdoin College, 93.

December 9.—Sarah Starke Thorn, a well-known actress, 75.

December 10.—William Black, the British novelist, 57....Judge John W. Showalter, of Chicago, 54.

December 11.—Gen. Calixto Garcia, the Cuban pa-

triot, 62 (see page 52)....Sir William Anderson, British engineer, 64.

December 12.—Ex-Congressman Samuel McKee, of Kentucky, 65....Rev. Dr. Mathias H. Richards, of Muhlenburg College, 58....Sir William Jenner, physician-in-ordinary to Queen Victoria, 88....Gen. William DeLacy, a veteran of the Civil War, 70.

December 13.—Joseph Lamb, a well-known authority on ecclesiastical and memorial art, 65....Dr. Charles S.

Hoyt, former secretary of the New York State Board of Charities, 76....Former Chief Justice J. E. Waite, of the Oregon Supreme Court, 85.

December 15.—Ex-United States Senator Calvin S. Brice, of Ohio, 53.

December 16.—Col. Charles Wilder Davis, of Chicago, commander of the Loyal Legion, 65....Prof. John Stillwell Schanck, of Princeton, 82....Henry A. Chapin, millionaire Michigan mine-owner, 86....Harlan P. Halsey ("Old Sleuth"), the writer of more than 600 "dime novels," 61.

December 17.—Baron Ferdinand James de Rothschild, M.P., 59.

December 18.—Edward Gay Mason, a prominent Chicago attorney, 58....Lord Napier, British minister to the United States in 1857, 79.

December 19.—Rev. Thomas McKee Brown, a prominent ritualist of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 58....Rev. Dr. Daniel Wise, author of religious works for young people, 86.



THE LATE WILLIAM H. ROBERTSON.

(An influential Republican politician of New York State, whose appointment to the collectorship of the port of New York by President Garfield precipitated the Garfield-Conkling quarrel and led indirectly to Garfield's assassination.)



The late Sir John Fowler.

The late Sir Stuart Knill.

The late Sir George Baden-Powell.

The late Mr. George Dennis.

The late Dr. Kane.

EMINENT ENGLISHMEN RECENTLY DECEASED.

SOME SPANISH AND AMERICAN CARTOONS ON THE PEACE TREATY AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

THE cartoons of *Don Quizote*, of Madrid, from week to week have continued to be very striking expressions of average Spanish sentiment upon the terms of the peace treaty and the political results for Spain. The five grouped on this page are expressive of the opinion that the United States has played the rôle of a thief and a robber, for which this country ought to be punished by Europe. The drawing at the bottom of the page represents Uncle Sam as fanning the flames of insurrection in the Philippines during the truce, in order to strengthen the arguments of the American peace commissioners against the possibility of Spain's retaining the archipelago. *Don Quizote* seems to enjoy a privileged character in Spain, for in spite of the press censorship it has exercised an amazing boldness of criticism on the Sagasta ministry. It never attacks the throne.



LADRONES! LADRONES!
(Thieves! Thieves!)



A BIRD OF PREY.—From *Don Quizote* (Madrid).



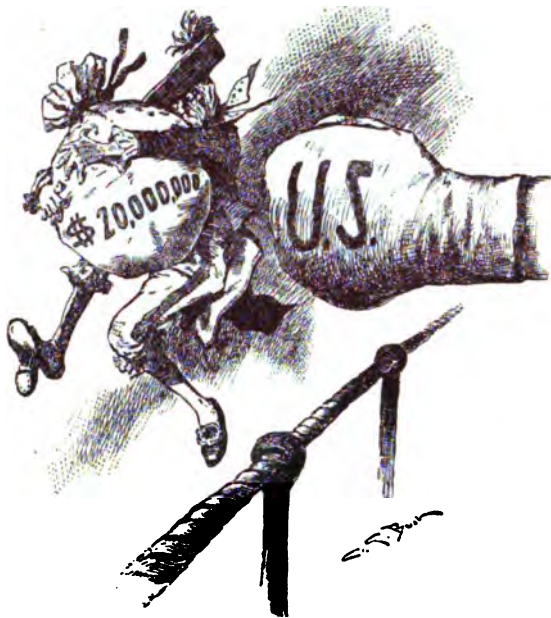
WHAT EUROPE OUGHT TO DO TO UNCLE SAM FOR BREAKING THE COMMANDMENT AGAINST STEALING.



THE GENEROUS M'KINLEY.



THE YANKEES CONTINUE THEIR HUMANITARIAN WORK.



BUT THE LOSER GETS ALL THE GATE-MONEY.
From the *World* (New York).

The American cartoonists are naturally much more jaunty than the Spanish in their treatment of the terms of peace. The twenty million dollars accepted by Spain for the Philippines appeals to the American sense of humor; and a readiness to resume friendly relations with the Spaniards is evident on all hands. The Spanish resentment, however, will smolder for a generation or two, unless the Spanish character becomes less medieval and more modern.



A STOCKING FROM UNCLE SANTA CLAUS.

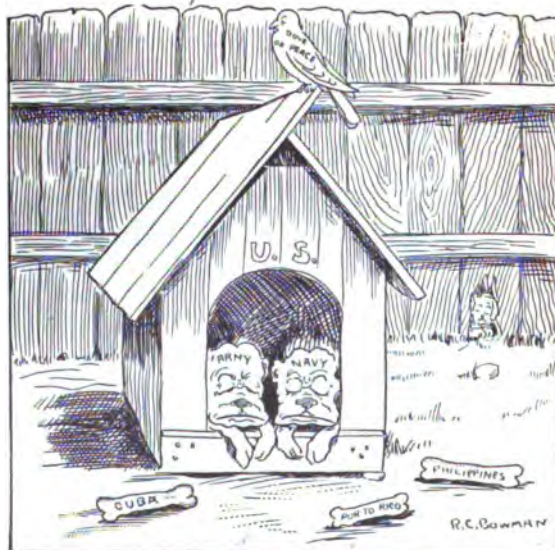
LITTLE ALPHONSO: "Well, the old fellow really wasn't so bad, after all."—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



FIRMNESS VS. STUBBORNNESS—From the *Herald* (New York).



UNCLE SAM TO SPAIN: "Forgive and forget."
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



THE TREATY IS SIGNED "AND ALL IS QUIET ON THE POTOMAC."—From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

As to political affairs at home, the Spanish cartoonists and the Spanish press and public in general are evidently demanding a period of reform and rehabilitation on a business basis, with a heavy discount on mere orators and professional politicians. Sagasta is execrated, as the pictures on this page clearly indicate. But even Sagasta will be tolerated for a while, if his continuance in power should prove to be the best way to avert the upset of the dynasty and a period of civil



SPAIN GRASPS THE NEW BROOM.



SAGASTA, WRAPPED IN THE AMERICAN FLAG, WATCHES THE APPROACH OF THE STORM.



SPAIN CALLS HER SONS.

war. The two symbolic figures of Spain are represented on this page—the one seizing the proverbial new broom, the other sounding the reveille that is to awaken Spain to the new issues of a new era. All of the drawings on this page are reduced from late issues of *Don Quixote*.



CITIZEN TO SAGASTA: "Where's the ass taking you?"



SAGASTA'S NIGHTLY VISITORS.



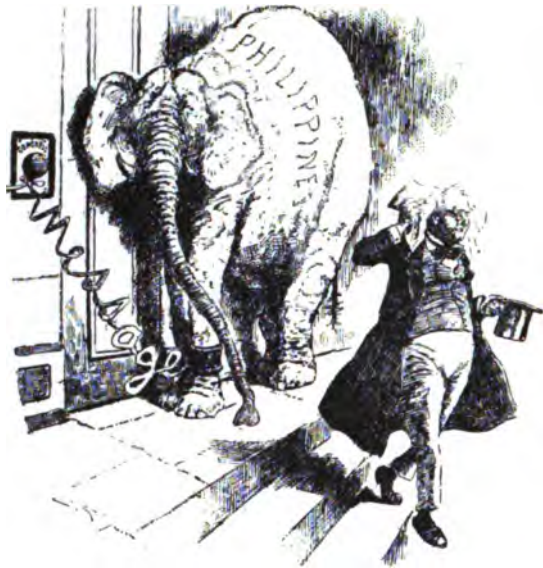
ACCORDING TO LATEST ADVICES SAGASTA HAS LOST HIS HEAD.



THE OPENING OF CONGRESS.

UNCLE SAM: "Well, boys, get busy. There's work for you."
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

Mr. Bush, of the *New York World*, is using his powerful pencil from day to day in the drawing of cartoons that are intended to satirize the so-called "imperialism" of the peace treaty and the McKinley administration. In one cartoon on this page he represents the Philippines as a white elephant tied to the Congressional door-knob by the President's message; while in another he depicts Mr. Bryan, of Nebraska, and Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, trampling the dead party issues of the



RESPECTFULLY REFERRED.

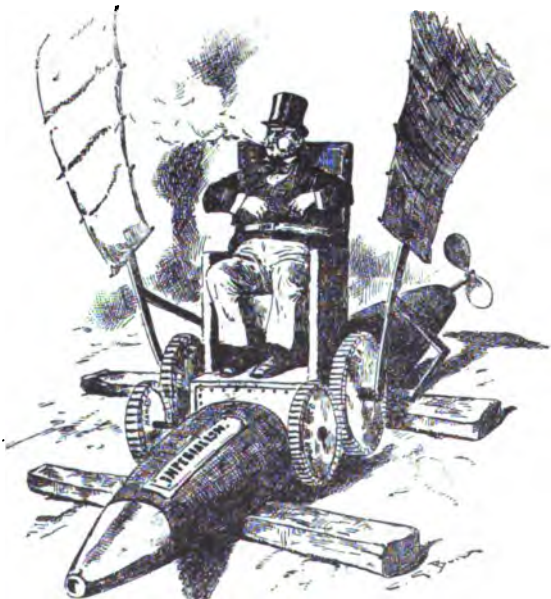
From the *World* (New York).

past under their feet and clasping hands in dramatic fashion in the bright light of the rising new issue of Anti-Imperialism. The cartoonist of the *Minneapolis Journal* employs a seasonable idea in his drawing, which represents the Capitol building at Washington as snowed under with great drifts of new bills growing particularly out of the military, naval, and territorial conditions that have resulted from the war.



THE POWER OF A LIVING ISSUE.

From the *World* (New York).



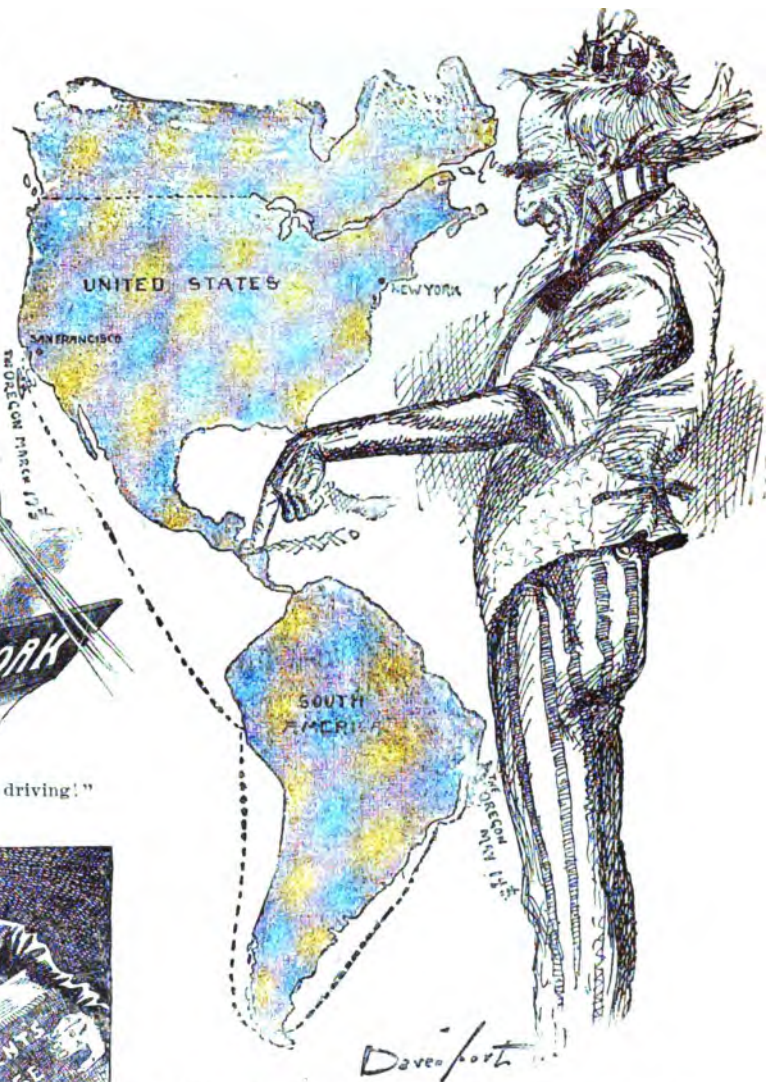
"BIRDS KIN FLY, SO KIN I!" (Darius Green.)

From the *World* (New York).

Colonel Roosevelt, who enters upon his duties as Governor of New York on January 1, has made it clear that he is going to drive the party band-wagon himself. The President's message, as a *New York Journal* cartoon suggests, was remarkable for some things that it omitted. About the most popular line of policy recommended in the President's message is that of the prompt construction of the Nicaragua Canal.



ROOSEVELT: "Hands off, Tommy! I'll do the driving!"
From the *Herald* (New York).



"WELL, I HAVE BEEN A FOOL NOT TO CUT THIS STRIP, BUT IT GOES NOW."—From the *Journal* (New York).



TWO PRESIDENTIAL PETS OVERLOOKED.
From the *Journal* (New York).



NO HELP NEEDED.
UNCLE SAM: "Thank you, John—you're very kind; but I can manage this job myself."—From the *Journal* (New York).



NICHOLAS II., CZAR OF RUSSIA.



YALTA, THE CRIMEAN PORT.

(Livadia, the Czar's palace, where Mr. Stead's interview took place, lies on the slope of the hills to the left.)

NICHOLAS II., CZAR OF RUSSIA AND "EMPEROR OF PEACE."

BY W. T. STEAD.

I.—WHY I WENT TO SEE THE CZAR.

IF any of my readers imagine that I am going to report what passed when I was received by the Emperor at Livadia they will be very much disappointed. No Russian emperor, so far as I know, has ever permitted himself to be interviewed, and certainly Nicholas II. has not broken through this salutary rule. Czars have burdens enough to bear without being exposed to the cross-examination of every enterprising journalist who desires to turn an honest penny at somebody else's expense. Besides, it is altogether a mistake to think that the Czar received me as a journalist. It may save some of my *confrères* some trouble and the imperial household from considerable nuisance if I explain simply,

once for all, how it was I came to be privileged with the opportunity of discussing public questions face to face in frank and friendly conversation with the ruler of Russia.

It was not until 1888 that I first thought it possible I might have a good square talk with the Czar. I was then editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and by the vigorous method in which I had championed the Russian cause during the Penjdeh dispute and afterward I had succeeded in establishing for myself a more or less recognized position as a "Russian organ." I was abused as a Russian agent, I was said to be in the pay of the Russian embassy, and, in short, I enjoyed the distinction of being pelted by all the vituperative brickbats which came handiest to those gentlemen who did the honor to disagree

with me. I need hardly say, at this time of day, that these complimentary assertions were—well, about as accurate as the majority of the statements which serve as the stock in trade of the Russophobic. Ever since I first wielded a pen as a journalist I had been a faithful and resolute advocate of an Anglo-Russian *entente*. I got my ideas on this subject originally from Richard Cobden's political writings when I was quite a boy, and I have never departed from them a hair's breadth ever since. Nevertheless, although I had never received any communication from the Russian Government, and although I had often sought in vain even the most ordinary facilities in the way of acquiring information, the ordinary British Philistine got it firmly fixed into his thick head that in some way or other I was the officious, if not the official and inspired, organ of the Czar.

The more I reflected upon the consequences which might follow from this absurd misconception of the actual state of things, the more necessary it seemed that I should make an effort to ascertain at first hand from the Emperor himself the general drift of his policy in all matters likely to affect the relations between the two empires. The possibility of altogether misleading British opinion by putting forward my own ideas of Russian policy and having them accepted instantly, despite all my disclaimers, as the authoritative expression of the views of the Russian Government, seemed to me to justify an attempt to ascertain directly from the Emperor what his policy actually was. Madame Novikoff, with whom I had had the pleasure and privilege of working in this good cause for ten years or more, was good enough to obtain me a reception at Gatchina in the early summer of 1888. When I met Alexander III. I put the case frankly before him, pointing out the danger of having accorded to me a position to which I had no claim, and suggesting that as I could not, despite all my disclaimers, rid myself of the reputation of being his English organ, it would at least be safer if he could give me more or less definite information as to what were his ideas upon the questions which were involved in the relations between England and Russia. The Emperor thought a little and then said he thought the suggestion was reasonable. What, he asked, did I want to know? "Everything," I replied, at which he smiled and said: "Ask what questions you please, and I will answer them if I can." I availed myself of the opportunity to the full, and the Emperor was as good as his word. I asked, he answered, and by the time that the interview was over I had received a comprehensive and definite exposition, direct from the Emperor's own lips,

of the policy he intended to pursue in relation to all the questions in which England was interested.

Sir Robert Morier, our then ambassador at St. Petersburg, speaking of this interview, said that no Russian emperor had ever spoken so freely and fully upon all questions of foreign policy to any Englishman, and he added that he could not conceive of any circumstances better calculated to secure absolute candor on the part of the Czar than those in which our interview took place.

I must confess that I look back to that episode in my career with considerable satisfaction. There was no undertaking, expressed or implied, that I would support the policy of the Emperor. He asked nothing from me. I only asked from him the exact truth in order that I might avoid misleading my countrymen. He told me the exact truth, and as a result during all the rest of his reign I was able to speak with absolute certainty where all the rest of my colleagues were compelled to rely upon inference and con-



THE LATE CZAR ALEXANDER III.

jecture. I had no occasion to oppose his policy. It coincided with the policy which I had been advocating independently for years. But if I had differed from it, I never felt myself under the slightest obligation to abstain from opposing it to the uttermost of my ability.

When I was taking my leave of the Emperor, he was good enough to say that if at any time

unforeseen difficulties should arise between Russia and England, he would be glad to see me again. "See M. Giers," he said, "and arrange this before you go back to England." There was, however, no occasion for me to avail myself of this invitation. As long as Alexander III. lived there were no difficulties necessitating another interview with him at Gatschina.

It was not until the dispute about the future of China began to be acute that I felt it was about time that I was justified in recalling the Emperor's invitation. I did not know, of course, whether Nicholas II. would be willing to see me, but I thought it well, under the circumstances, to recall his father's promise and to inquire whether or not he would accord me the same privilege of frank and direct communication. The answer was in the affirmative: and that was why I went to Livadia.

It is obvious, therefore, that there was no question here of an ordinary or extraordinary newspaper interview. Equally of course there could be no question of the publication of any report of the conversation that took place. All that I can say is that Nicholas II. received me with cordiality and accorded me equal facilities to those I received from his father for ascertaining exactly what were his ideas upon the questions which now or at any future time might endanger the friendly relations of our two countries. As to what he said I can of course say nothing here, excepting to affirm in the strongest possible terms my absolute conviction that the Emperor is as passionately devoted to peace as was his father, and that in no point of the whole range of his policy is there any antagonism whatever between his aims and the interests of the British empire. And as I do not say this without having had ample opportunities of informing myself as to the aims and objects of the foreign policy of her majesty's government, I have a

right to feel that I have indeed brought back from Livadia glad tidings of great joy, promising peace to the world and good-will to England.

II.—LIVADIA AND GATSCHINA.

At St. Petersburg in 1888, for some reason or other, it was held to be necessary to preserve

the most absolute silence about the fact that I had been admitted to talk face to face with the Emperor of all the Russias. So well was the secret kept that on the very day I was received at Gatschina, when the wife of the German ambassador was expressing to the wife of the British ambassador her pitying compassion for the inevitable disappointment of my presumptuous aspiration to see the Czar, it was thought inexpedient to deceive her. Until the day the Czar died I never permitted myself to state in print that I had even so much as spoken to him. The first statement that was ever published that I had seen the Emperor appeared twelve months after my visit, and it did not



NICHOLAS II.—HIS LATEST PHOTOGRAPH.

come out through any act of mine. It was when the German Emperor paid his first visit to St. Petersburg that the story got about. It was one of the jokes of the Russian court that I was the only man who had ever dismissed the Czar. Alexander III. was much amused at my unwitting breach of court etiquette and told the story to his German visitors, through whom it found its way into the press.

I shall never forget the expression of mingled horror and amusement on Sir Robert Morier's face when, on returning from Gatschina to report to the British embassy, I told him how the interview had terminated. "You don't mean to say you dismissed the Emperor!" he exclaimed. "It's perfectly monstrous!" "Well," I said, "I don't know about that. But I knew the Empress had been kept waiting for her lunch for

half an hour or more. As I had got through all the questions I wished to put to the Czar, I got up, thanked him for his patience and kindness, and said I would not detain him any longer. "You did, did you?" said Sir Robert. "Don't you know it is an unpardonable breach of etiquette even to stir from your seat till the sovereign gives you the signal to rise?" "I knew nothing about that," I replied. "I only knew that when I saw the Emperor smile as he got up I had been an idiot for my considerateness. If I had only sat still he might have gone on talking for another half hour; and one does not talk to an emperor every day."

The homely simplicity of life in Yalta and Livadia was another contrast not less striking. In 1888 the Czar lived more or less under the shadows of assassination. His father had been blown to pieces in the streets of the capital, where now a stately church is being built to commemorate the sacrifice. He himself had narrowly escaped destruction at the catastrophe at Borki, where also a gorgeous fane with gilded dome has been erected as a thank-offering for a great deliverance. When I went down to Gatschina in company with General Richter there was everywhere the consciousness of a constantly impending invisible danger. I had to wait for an hour and more for the audience, and then I was conducted through what seemed a furlong of ante-rooms and corridors and state apartments, a perfect maze of labyrinthine perplexity, until at last I was ushered into the small work-room where Alexander III. received me. He was alone save for the presence of a huge dog, which had a most uncomfortable habit of jumping up every three minutes and walking backward and forward impatiently in front of the Czar, as if to intimate that it was time for the visitor to go. It is true that nothing could be more cordial, more simple, and more kindly than the Emperor's demeanor. But I could not escape from a certain all-pervading sentiment of awe, which lasted all through the solitary lunch and the journey home.

How different it was at Livadia! There was no mystery, no distance, no solitude, no sense of indefinable danger. There are few more beautiful spots in Europe than the neighborhood of Yalta. The drive to Livadia up hill and down dale at breakneck speed between the mountains and the sea is magnificent. The Euxine, not a black, but an azure sea, stretches out far below, an immense expanse of sunlit water, across which flit interminable strings of birds, migrating southward from the approach of winter. The Mediterranean, seen from the Riviera, never looked more radiantly beautiful than did the Black Sea

on the day when I visited Livadia. On the road you came at every turn upon something quaint and strange. Now it is a string of creaking country carts drawn by diminutive oxen; then it is the curious stage wagon of the Crimea, like a long double bench, on which the passengers sit back to back with their legs dangling in the air. Suddenly you hear a trampling of hoofs, and a gay cavalcade of ladies and gentlemen, splendidly mounted and escorted by picturesque Tartars, gallop by, calling up I know not by what strange association of ideas a flood of mingled memories of "The Bride of Abydos" and of the hawking parties of the Middle Ages. A gilded landmark indicates the point where the road to Livadia turns to the left from the high road. The driver removes the bells from his horse's neck, we show our *laissez passer* to the officer in command at the entrance, and then off we dash along a road good enough to be made in France through the undulating vineyards in the midst of which Livadia stands. The vineyards are studded with prettily designed watch-towers, from which soldiers standing on sentry keep a vigilant eye on all possible marauders or interlopers. A sailor paces backward and forward under the Russian flag which floats high above the trees. A Circassian, apparently on duty, glances at you as you drive by, but other traces of vigilance there is none, any more than in the grounds at Balmoral or in the park at Windsor.

It was at the latter end of October when I was at Livadia, and the changing color of the vine leaves, varying from the deepest purple to the hue of burnished gold, produced a singularly beautiful effect. All the grapes were gathered save those for the table; the rest had gone to the wine-press. Alexander III., being a thrifty man and keenly alive to the importance of developing the resources of Russia, paid great attention to his vineyards; and wines from his vineyard figure in the wine-list in all the hotels of St. Petersburg. The hills are well wooded, and the dark foliage of the plantations contrasted splendidly with the glowing carpet of color that spread over hill and vale down to the wooded edge of the deep blue sea. Inland the mountain tops swathed in clouds formed a fitting background to the romantic scene. Better site for an imperial pleasure-house could not be imagined.

There are several houses within the park limits, some of them hardly distinguishable in appearance from the Emperor's. They are all of the same general aspect and are characterized more by the air of comfort and taste than by magnificence. The Emperor's house is a beautiful country villa, the stones high, with spacious veranda, plentifully overgrown with foliage, with

wide eaves, standing like a nest among the trees in a wilderness of flowers. You enter a hall, remarkable chiefly as the location of the loudest clanging telephone I ever heard, rest for a few minutes in a simply furnished waiting-room, and then comes the summons. You follow an officer a few stairs up a staircase and you are in the Emperor's study. You might be in an English country-house. Everything is simple and comfortable. The only feature not quite familiar were the lovely baskets of fruit, which, both in color and fragrance, added an element unusual but in delightful harmony with the sylvan character of the rural retreat.

III.—THE CHARACTER OF THE CZAR.

On the night of October 28 Sebastopol was *en fête*.

The Emperor and Empress had come over in the imperial yacht from Yalta to inspect the Black Sea fleet and to meet the Dowager Empress on her arrival from Copenhagen. The yacht was lying opposite the landing-place, all aglow with bright electric light. A short distance further down the harbor lay five battleships black and grim, their huge bulk looming large across the gleaming water. Viewed from my balcony, the scene was singularly beautiful. The moon, now at her full, shone down from a cloudless sky, flooding the white city with whitelight. From the boulevard, where once frowned the three-tiered rows of the two hundred and sixty cannon of Fort Nicholas, there came, as the music rose and fell, throbbing strains of melody. In the streets the bright lights of the electric cars shone out here and there through the leafy avenue; in the harbor the lynx-eyed patrol-boat, with its double lamp, steamed ceaselessly round and round the imperial yacht, keeping jealous watch, like the fire-eyed water-snake of fairy legend over the prince's bower.

I had crossed that afternoon the battlefield of Balaklava and the site of the famous Flagstaff Battery, behind which the Russians kept at bay for two years the allied forces of four nations. Forty-two years ago the whole south side of the city where I was standing had been battered



NEW STATUE TO ALEXANDER II. IN MOSCOW.

into blood-stained, smoking ruin. Two miles to the northward stood the gray pyramid erected in the Russian cemetery to the memory of the tens of thousands of Russian soldiers who died in the defense of their fatherland against the foreign invader. The ink with which I write is taken from an inkstand made out of case-shot picked up on the battlefield. Everywhere some name recalled the somber memories of the great crime whereby the long peace was broken up and the half century of war was begun. Two lines came humming through my head:

"Here, where Murder breathed her bloody steam,
And man was butchered by his fellow-man.
And wherefore butchered?"

Wherefore but because those who decreed the slaughter wished to destroy Sebastopol and to forbid Russia being the naval mistress of the Black Sea? Now Sebastopol is far more strongly armed than it was in 1853. And the great floating fortresses of iron and steel anchored in the harbor make the Czar the undisputed lord of the Euxine up to the very gates of the Bosphorus. Everything is as it was before the war began, only more so—excepting the hundred thousand gallant soldiers who died that it might be otherwise than it was written in the book of fate.

Sebastopol was half a century since the Colosseum of the continent. But as in the Colosseum a simple cross reared in the arena once drenched by the blood of so many martyrs symbolizes the triumph of the Prince of Peace over the pride and cruelty of imperial Rome, so that night, in the harbor of Sebastopol, the Czar's yacht seemed an emblem not less significant of the triumph of peace. For there, in the midst of all that could most easily tempt a monarch to swell with pride at conscious strength or indulge in bitter feelings against the enemies who invaded his country, was the Czar of Russia, fresh from reviewing his ironclads and inspecting his stronghold, thinking only with passionate, impatient preoccupation of how he can best bring about the establishment of the kingdom of peace. The gladiatorial games went on in the Colosseum until the day when the monk Telemachus flung himself into the arena and sealed his protest with his life.

If the Czar is not a Telemachus, a fanatical enthusiast wild with a fixed idea, in pursuit of which he is ready to sacrifice everything, what may he be? What is the precise equivalent of this new factor in the sum of the forces which govern the world? Ever since the publication of the peace rescript, the question every one has been asking is: What manner of man is its author? He is the x in the equation. What does x amount to? Upon the answer to that question everything depends. It was to solve that problem I came to Russia, and now, after a week's sojourn, I think I have found the answer. I have heard a great deal from those who are in the best position to know—his ministers, the people of his household, the ambassadors of foreign powers, and his own personal friends. I have also been freely entertained by all manner of stories, told by—I do not say his enemies, for he has few, but by those who dissent from his policy and occupy themselves with more or less belittling his personality. And, lastly, I have had the privilege of meeting the Emperor himself and of basing my judgment upon my own personal impression of the man at close quarters. It is necessarily upon those personal impressions that my judgment is chiefly based.

When I set out on my quest I was told that the Emperor was weak physically and mentally. He was said to be the mere tool of "the wily Mouravieff" or the obedient puppet now of the Empress Dowager and then of the present Empress. He was a good-hearted young man, no doubt, but possessing neither the physical nor intellectual qualities to make a great sovereign. Even those who spoke kindly of him said that although he was well-meaning, he had no decision of character, and that he constantly allowed

his own convictions and inclinations to be overshadowed by the authority of the ministers whom he inherited from his father. And, finally, I was always told not to think too much of the rescript, for the Emperor was not strong enough to bear up against the forces brought to bear against him. It was with all this in my mind that I had my first audience at Livadia. A princess at the court, as I was leaving, asked me: "Well, and what is your opinion?" To whom I replied simply: "I thank God for him! If he be spared to Russia that young man will go far."

That was my opinion then. It is my opinion still. But it is deepened and confirmed by subsequent communications. "What went ye out into the wilderness to see? A prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet," was the old question and answer. And so if I am asked, "What went ye out into the wilderness to see? A reed shaken by the wind?" I reply, "An emperor, yea, I say unto you, and more than an emperor." For while no unworthy successor of the most illustrious line of monarchs who have ruled in Europe this century, he aspires after greater conquests, he indulges a nobler ambition. A group of peasants the other day were talking about his peace rescript, the drift of which they divined rather than understood. Said one of them with deep feeling: "His grandfather made us peasants free. The grandson is trying to liberate all mankind from war." And that peasant spoke the true word. After hearing him speak of evils and miseries entailed by the war system of the world, the familiar words of the seventh beatitude recurred to my mind almost as a benediction from on high: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God!"

Nicholas II. in stature does not resemble his father, who was a son of Anak. It is a mistake, however, to speak of him as if he were exceptionally slight. He is about the same height as General Gordon, whom he resembles in other things besides the number of his inches. When he rides or sits the Emperor seems as tall as most men. When he stands he is a little taller than Lord Nelson or Napoleon Bonaparte. Good stuff, says the old adage, is often put up in little bundles, and the giant in popular legend is usually as dull as he is huge. In physique the Emperor is wiry and vigorous. One who sees him every day told me that physically Nicholas is a much healthier man than his father. Alexander III., although great in stature and with immense muscular development, was, from the insurance company's point of view, by no means so "good a life" as that of his successor. The

Czar is full of vitality, quick and active in his movements, fond of outdoor exercise. Certainly no one meeting him for the first time would put him down among the weakly.

The first and most conspicuous characteristic of Alexander III. was the solidity—it would be wrong to call it the stolidity—of his mental temperament. He was by no means dull. But he was slow. He put his foot down like an elephant, and when he put it down he was not quick to take it up again. The characteristic of his son and successor is quite different. The note of his intellectual temperament is that of extreme alertness. As he is also extremely sympathetic, this makes him one of the most charming persons to talk to I have ever met. The two qualities were also united in General Gordon, whose nimbleness of mind was so excessive that it was somewhat difficult to keep up with him. If in talking to the late Czar you were at a loss for a word or an illustration, he patiently waited until you found it. His son, on the other hand, would divine your meaning and help

you out. He is as quick as a needle and quite as bright. Speaking of one of her majesty's ambassadors the other day, I tried to explain his excessive slowness in the up-take by saying that the only way to get an idea into his head was to take a hammer and drive it in like a tenpenny nail. This is the very antithesis of Nicholas II. I have seldom met any one so quick to seize a point. Whatever he may fail in, it will not be in lack of capacity to see and understand.

This exceptional rapidity of perception is united with a remarkable memory and a very wide grasp of an immense range of facts. I know at least some eminent English politicians holding high office who in this respect are a mournful contrast to the Emperor. When questioned even about the affairs of their own department their

fingers seem to be all thumbs. They have not got their dates right or they are vague and misty about the exact drift of important negotiations. There are plenty of such woolly minded men in high places, and it is a real pleasure to meet any one who has his facts at his finger ends, who tells you in a flash what was done or what was not done, and whose ideas, be they right or

wrong, are lucidly expressed in a very definite form. Alertness, exactness, lucidity, and definiteness are four excellent qualities in a man, and the Emperor has them all.

With all this there is an absolute absence of anything even distantly approaching priggishness. Many years ago Mr. Gladstone described the present Emperor as a charming type of the best of our public-school boys. He was frank, fearless, perfectly natural, and simplicity itself. Nicholas II. is no longer a boy. He has borne for several trying years the burden of one of the greatest empires in the world. But he is still as absolutely simple and unaffected as he was when Mr. Gladstone met him in Copenhagen fifteen years ago. There is



THE CZAREWITCH.

still in him all the delightful school-boy *abandon* of manner, a keen sense of humor, and a hearty, outspoken frankness in expressing his opinions which makes you feel that you are dealing with a man whose character is as transparent as crystal. Add to all this a modesty as admirable as it is rare, and it must be admitted that even if the net human product should fall short of being a great ruler, he has at least all the qualities which make men beloved by their fellows. The bright, clear blue eye, the quick, sympathetic change of feature, the merry laugh, succeeded in a moment by an expression of noble gravity and of high resolve, the rapidity and grace of his movements, and even his curious little expressive shrug of the shoulders, are all glimpses of a character not often found unspoiled by power.

Those who know him best appear to love him most, and, naturally enough, each one thinks his only fault is that he is too ready to sacrifice his own convenience and his own wishes to oblige the others. A more dutiful son never sat on a throne. It was, perhaps, carrying filial affection a long way when, in order to sustain his mother at her mother's grave, the Czar crossed and recrossed Russia from end to end, and that at a time when all Europe was ringing with the crime that cost the Empress of Austria her life. But, considering the conspicuous example of the opposite extreme in the case of the other young Kaiser, the Czar's tender affection for his mother, even if carried to excess, is at least a fault on virtue's side. He is singularly happy in his marriage, and the Emperor of Russia will never lack one of the most intelligent and loyal of counselors while his wife lives. As his parents before him set Europe an example of domestic unity and felicity, so Nicholas II. maintains the honorable and happy tradition. He is loyal in his friendships and slow to part with any of those who are in his own or were in his father's service. "Thy own friend and thy father's friend forsake not" is a maxim so much forgotten nowadays that it is difficult to complain even if in a few instances this tenacious loyalty to old servants is carried further than is altogether to be desired in the interests of the state.

All this, it may be said, may be true. Nicholas II. may be an ideal son, a perfect husband, a faithful friend; he may be fascinating and simple, and his mind may be as alert and sympathetic as you please; but these qualities might all exist in a man who might at the same time be a very poor ruler. That, of course, is quite true. But when we are discussing his qualifications as a ruler it is well to start on a solid foundation from his character as a man. Now let us turn to consider whether or not he has the qualities of a great czar.

What are these qualities? First of all, the quality needed to rule any body of men justly, whether they be one hundred and twenty or one hundred and twenty millions, is the possession of an eye to see the essential truth whether in men or things. To speak truly is important, but to see truly is indispensable. Has he insight to pierce to the soul of things? Will he take the trouble to learn the facts or can he be befooled and deceived by cunningly devised seemings and subterfuges? Secondly, after the capacity to see comes the courage to dare to do—a quality which depends partly on temperament, but still more, perhaps, upon the extent to which the man is dominated by the idea of duty. Thirdly, if he has the eye to see and the heart to dare, the next

question is whether he has the strength of resolution and tenacity of purpose to persist patiently, unwearied by delays, undaunted by difficulties, until, even if alone against the world, he carries out his purpose.

Tried by these three tests, I do not think Nicholas II. will be found wanting. He has inherited from his father the hatred for falsehood, and he has added thereto the industry of a singularly active mind almost painfully overwhelmed by the immensity of his responsibilities. No one, not even a newspaper editor, is omniscient; but no one, not even the most conscientious of able editors, could work harder in mastering his facts. He has, moreover, the divining faculty of intense sympathy—a gift which opens the way to the heart of many subjects at the door of which mere study would knock in vain. Whether he has the supreme gift of genius in the discerning of the essential truth of a situation we can only judge by what he has already done. So far his reign has been distinguished by three things. First, his frank recognition of the fact that until he found his feet and had acquired some experience in the business of governing it became him to serve his apprenticeship modestly and silently. He may have been helped to practice this com-



THE CZAR'S CHILDREN.

mendable self-suppression by the conspicuous absence of that virtue in another young man on a throne; but whatever helped or hindered, Nicholas II. set to work to learn his business and studied diligently at the feet of the ablest statesman Russia has produced of late years. Prince Lobanoff's Eastern policy was as detestable as Lord Beaconsfield's, but no one denied that he

was the supreme intellect in the Russian service. The Czar recognized his ability and profited by his teaching.

The second salient feature in his reign was marked by a significant blend of the two conflicting tendencies—the intuitive instinct which enabled him to divine the right thing to be done and the modest reluctance to impose his will upon the more experienced administrators who thwarted and crippled his policy. I refer to the generous initiative taken by the Czar in the direction of an amelioration of the harshness of the Polish *régime* as he inherited it from his father. In that he showed true insight and a keen sympathy with subjects who were suffering from undoubted grievances. But the forces of reaction and the jealousy of a dominant bureaucracy, aided perhaps by the somewhat unreasonable expectations of some of the Poles, checked the full realization of his designs. To some this may seem an admission that he was lacking in strength. It would be more just to recognize that he felt he was lacking in experience and authority. He was young to the responsibilities of government. It was better to bide his time. Safely and slowly—they stumble who run fast. To have begun his reign by a struggle which would have strained the strength of his father might have been magnificent, but it would not have been statesmanship. It is not till we come to the third act of his reign that we have the first distinct revelation of the kind of emperor with whom the world has now got to reckon.



THE CZARINA.

IV.—THE PEACE RESCRIPT.

There is one thing about the rescript which no one can deny. It was splendidly audacious as well as magnificently ambitious. Wise it may be or foolish, but mean, petty, or unworthy it was not. The response which it has elicited and will yet more elicit throughout the civilized world is sufficient to show with what master hand the young Czar had struck a note which vibrated in every heart. Here at last we have a monarch who has an eye to see the cancer which is eating into the heart of the modern state, and has the courage boldly to proclaim in the hearing of the world the inevitable consequences of allowing the deadly malady to run its course.

Will he have the nerve to stick to it? The resolution to put it through? The strength to over-

power the immense forces which will be banded together to defeat his generous and most sensible design? That is the *crux* of the whole question. I do not deny that probably the majority of bystanders openly proclaim their belief, perhaps their hope, that he may fail. But, for my part, I hope better things of the young man who inherits somewhat of the iron will as well as the name of his great-grandfather. It is, of course, impossible to predict with any certainty what any human being may do under a test so severe as that to which Nicholas II. is now being exposed. But in forming our estimate of the chances, let us look frankly at the position, against which it is easy to see the forces that are

arrayed. The immense strength of the most formidable vested interest entrenched in every country, the clotted mass of international jealousies and rival ambitions—in short, the devil and all his agents everywhere are in the field against him, most active perhaps where they are least visible, sapping and mining for his destruction behind the mask of fair-seeming professions of sympathetic support. But, on the other hand, there are no inconsiderable forces to be counted on. First and foremost there is the inherent force and strength which lies in the autocracy itself. The solemn vows of consecration at the coronation are no mere idle form to a mind as highly attuned in the sentiment of duty as that of the present Czar. Nothing but the continual goading of the duty which every czar owes to the unnumbered millions who look up to him as their terrestrial providence could sustain him in his daily task, and the same upward thrust will tend to stiffen his resolve and strengthen his will to put this thing through.

Secondly, let it never be forgotten that Nicholas was not only born in the purple, but that he has, as his sires and grandsires, as imperious a series of monarchs as ever swayed a scepter. Heredity counts for much, and it is not likely that the successor of Alexander I., who sacrificed his capital to deliver Europe from Napoleon; of Nicholas, who for the lifetime of a generation was practically the chief justice of the continent; of Alexander II., who emancipated the serfs and liberated Bulgaria; and of Alexander III., the peace-keeper of Europe, has got so little iron in his blood as to flinch, even though all men forsake him and flee. Having put his hand to the plow, he will drive his furrow straight. Nor will he look back, any more than did his grandfather in the heroic fight that he made and won for the liberation of the serfs.

Thirdly, those who know him best and have worked with him assure me that the impression—due to his modest self-suppression during the years of his novitiate—that he is not a man of strong character is an entire mistake. One of his ministers said to me: "It is true his body is small, but *er hat einen grossen Muth*." Whether we translate *Muth* as courage, resolution, will, or "go," it is not a phrase that would be applied to a weak sovereign. Another minister said he had seen him in very difficult circumstances put his foot down with such resolution and insist upon his will being done that he had some misgivings lest, when he found himself more familiar with affairs, Russia might find in him, as in the first Nicholas, rather too much will than too little. Lastly, an intimate personal friend who had known him before his accession remarked to me:

"People often say that his heart is stronger than his head and that his will is weakest of all. But I, who have seen him closely in many varied circumstances, assure you that of the three I have much more confidence in the strength of his will than either of his head or his heart."

I have dwelt at this length upon the personal equation because it is the most important of all the factors in this problem. I think I have said enough to justify my belief that Nicholas II. is no unworthy champion of that war against war his proclamation of which has brought such a flood of new life to the hopes of mankind. But there are two things to be taken into account—two things and one other—of which here I need not speak—to be taken into account in estimating the chances of success. One is that the Emperor is by no means without powerful lieutenants in his campaign of peace. A triumvirate of ministers—as remarkable a group of men as are to be found to-day in any European country—are heart and soul with the Czar. One is General Kuropatkin, that brilliant and successful soldier whose great ambition as minister of war is to render effective assistance to his sovereign in arresting the growth of armaments. The second is M. Witte, who has reformed the currency, rehabilitated the finances, and established so drastic a system of liquor legislation that practically all sale of drink to be consumed on the premises has been abolished throughout the most of the empire. The third, and perhaps the most important of the three, is Count Lamsdorff, the working head of the Foreign Office, of which Count Mouravieff is the genial and ornamental chief.

Count Lamsdorff, the pupil and successor of M. de Giers, is the living incarnation of all the archives and the traditions of the Foreign Office. The hard-working slave of the department which he directs, he is said neither to sleep nor to rest, but to toil night and day with inexhaustible energy at his desk until he has become a veritable monster of diplomatic lore, the past master in all that pertains to the action of Russia beyond her frontiers. None of these three statesmen are amateurs, visionaries, enthusiasts, or youngsters. They have all grown more or less gray in the practical and arduous task of administering the affairs of a great empire. With such counselors Nicholas II. need not be afraid to speak up to the enemies in the gates, and even to those foes which every man finds in his own household.

The second factor to be remembered is the immense power that may be called into being in support of the Czar's initiative if the masses of the continent, at present distrustful and apathetic,

should take heart from demonstrations of British and American enthusiasm and unite in demanding that something should be done. It is only occasionally that the democracy can act with effect, but this is one of those times. But what should be done should be done quickly.

V.—SOME MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

When I was in Rome it was my good fortune to meet one of the most remarkable Russian women of our time. Among many other things she told me, I was most impressed by the remark she made on the subject of the ideal married life of the late Emperor. She said: "I recently revisited Russia after an absence of several years. What struck me most was the wonderful change that had taken place in the tone of Russian society on the subject of marriage. I could not have believed that the effect even of so supreme an example of an ideal home could have been so great. I remember saying as I left Russia that great as was the service to humanity which was rendered by Alexander II. when he emancipated the serfs, it was no greater than that rendered to the moral evolution of Russia by the example of that stainless life. I felt the change everywhere. No husband and wife were ever more united in tenderest affection than the parents of the present Emperor, and I felt in every home the subtle influence of their example." To have been born in such a home was a far richer inheritance than the throne of an empire. Nicholas II. in this respect is the worthy son of a worthy sire. The reverence for womanhood, the profound respect and devotion for his mother which distinguish him, are by no means the smallest of the qualities which fit him for his exalted position.

Ten years ago, when I was at St. Petersburg, I had the privilege of seeing a good deal of Mr. Heath, the English tutor of the present Emperor. There was no man in Russia of whom Sir Robert Morier—no mean judge of character—had a higher opinion. He was an English gentleman in the best sense of the word, simple, unaffected, frank, straightforward, and manly. I remember his telling me an anecdote of his pupil which made a very pleasant impression on my mind at the time.

They were reading together "The Lady of the Lake," and when they came to that spirited stanza which describes the scene in Stirling, when the castle gates were open flung and King James rode down the steep descent, while the crowd rent the heavens with the cry, "Long live the commons' King, King James!" "The commons' king!" exclaimed the boy with sparkling eyes—"that is what I should like to be!"

"But every Russian czar is the commons'

king," exclaimed a patriotic Russian to whom I told the story. It may be so, no doubt, in theory, but a good deal depends upon the application. And Nicholas II. is penetrated through and through with the passionate spirit of sympathy with the poor which is so distinctive a note of our time. The thought of the miseries of the famine-stricken peasantry who in some one or other of the provinces of his vast dominions are always suffering is not one of the least of the burdens of his position. To appear to be so powerful and yet to feel at every turn so powerless to alleviate the wretchedness of this dim millions is one of the penalties of his position. M. Bloch, the Warsaw banker and economist, who has spent years in investigating the social condition of the Russian peasantry, told me that nothing could exceed the keen, sustained, sympathetic attention with which the Emperor listened to his lengthy exposition of the immensity of the work which needs to be done before the mass of his subjects could be brought up to the standard of the more prosperous peoples. In great governments there is not even one midwife to one hundred thousand of the population. Doctors are still scarcer. Schools are few and far between. The whole machinery of civilization has yet to be created for millions. The task of the social regeneration of the myriads who regard him as a terrestrial providence is so immense that nothing but a sustaining sense of duty could enable him to bear up even for a single day.

It says much for the czardom that after centuries of experience the simple faith of the peasant in the superhuman, almost divine, character of their rulers is still so strong. A poor woman who was badly crushed in the awful catastrophe that cast so terrible a gloom over the coronation lay in the hospital when the Emperor paid a visit to the ward. "Why were you in the crowd?" asked her attendant. "You did not go to get a cup?" alluding to the coronation cup that was distributed to all comers as a memento of the occasion. "Oh, no," she replied. "I went to see the Emperor." "Then why don't you look at him now?" they said. "He is here standing by your side." "Don't tell me lies," the poor creature replied angrily. "As if I did not know that emperors are not made like that!" Alas! emperors are but made of mortal clay, notwithstanding the supernal splendor with which they are vested in the eyes of their subjects, and heavy indeed is the burden of the oversight of one hundred and twenty millions of their fellow-men. Small marvel is it that the Emperor should feel, as he one day declared with solemn emphasis, that the burden was so heavy he would not care to inflict it even upon his worst enemy.

There is no doubt that it is this quick keen sense of sympathy with human suffering which helps to impel the Emperor to press so earnestly for the adoption of measures to stay the ruinous and ever-increasing drain of military and naval expenditure. He served as president of the commission appointed in the last years of his father's reign to fight the famine. Who can marvel that his heart constantly recoils from the necessity of having to expend millions and ever more millions in ironclads and munitions of war for the destruction of life when he knows all too well the squalid mass of human wretchedness which is lying at his door?

Strange though it may appear to those who have always been accustomed to regard Russia and the czardom as synonyms for brutal indifference to human suffering, the Russian people and the imperial family have ever been distinguished for the intensity with which they recoil from the spectacle of pain. The only efforts that have been made in this century to alleviate the torture of the battlefield were both due to the initiative of a Russian czar. It was the Emperor's grandfather who summoned the conference that established the Red Cross for the service of the wounded, and it was the same man whose initiative secured the interdict pronounced by international law in the use of explosive bullets in warfare. The present Emperor is of the same way of thinking, and nothing would please him better if, in addition to its other tasks, the forthcoming conference could still further limit the malevolent ingenuity of man in the act of human slaughter.

What English-speaking people do not at present realize is that the Slav races are far more brotherly than the Western nations. "Fraternity," said a Pole to me, "is the next great word which the human race has to realize. And although I dislike the Russians and detest the way in which they oppress my country, still I admit that after the Poles there is no race so brotherly as the Russians." I was reminded of this as I was driving down from Livadia with General Poushkin, the commander of the Russian Army of the South. A company of soldiers were drawn up outside the park gates, and in response to the general's greeting a long hearty response burst from a hundred lips. "Our discipline," said the general, "is by no means so severe, and the sense of brotherhood is much greater among all ranks than in other armies. For instance," he added, "you heard me greet my troops." It was the usual greeting, "Good-morning, brothers!" It is the absence of that homely heartiness that makes it so difficult for Germans and English to get on with Russian

workmen. British arrogance and aloofness seem to him something inhuman. "What is the chief cause why the English are so often unpopular?" I once asked a Russian friend. "I think," he said, "it is chiefly due to the feeling that you all seem to believe that God made Englishmen and left the making of all other men to some one else."

It was no doubt this Slavonic spirit of brotherhood that caused the Emperor to leave India with feelings of anything but admiration for our rule. The Indian empire of course he admired. But what jarred upon him most painfully was the abyss which yawned between the English in India and the millions whom they rule. It may seem strange to some, but it is perfectly true that the Russians in this respect are far more democratic than ourselves. That Anglo-Indians should habitually think and act as if they were not made of the same flesh and blood as the native races seems abhorrent to the Czar and to all his subjects. There is no such antagonism of race between the Russian and the Asiatics whom he rules. It may be because the Russian is more Asiatic than the Anglo-Saxon. But that is only another way of saying that in Asia he is a more brotherly man to the Asiatics than the Englishman.

For the native races the Czar has a deep personal feeling of sympathy which would enable him to be made an honorary member of the Aborigines Protection Society. He is under no illusions as to the seamy side of colonial expansion. To the natives it seems to him to bring opium, alcohol, foul diseases, and all manner of demoralization. Anything further removed from the mood of humanitarian imperialists of our day than the note of the Czar's mind it would be difficult to conceive. He is much more of the cast of mind of Mr. Morley than of that of Mr. Chamberlain on this subject. So far from contemplating with complacency the partition of China, he regards it with positive abhorrence. The occupation of Kiao-Chau by the Germans and what was universally believed in Russia to be our fixed design to seize Port Arthur led to the premature occupation of the ice-free port and its protecting fortress, but no mistake could be greater than to imagine that such a move was regarded by the Emperor as anything but a very regrettable necessity. Certainly if England were to adopt a policy of hands off for China, no one in all Europe would be more entirely in sympathy with such a policy than Nicholas II.

When the present Emperor was a young man on his travels he met Lord Roberts, who chaffingly asked him when the Russians were coming to take India. "Never," he replied energetically.

"I could not conceive a greater disaster for Russia than that we should ever make the attempt." "Oh, you don't expect me to believe that!" persisted Lord Roberts. "Some day we shall have to fight you here." "No," replied Nich-



THE CZAR, CZARINA, AND THEIR FIRST CHILD (IN 1896).

olas; "such a thing is altogether outside our ideas. It would be madness. Look at the immense distances, the enormous difficulties of transport, the loftiest mountains in the world to cross—it is impossible." "All the same," said Lord Roberts, "you will come some day. There is not a village in India where there is not to be heard the traditional prophecy that some day a white people from the north will conquer India." "Then why in the world," retorted the young man, "should you not claim that you are the

white people of the prophecy? You are white, you come from the north. Why should you do yourself the harm of always assuming that the prophecy is still unfulfilled and that it relates to us?" A very shrewd observation, which from so young a man was somewhat noteworthy.

The Emperor is by no means deficient in shrewdness. He was talking one day about the difficulty of avoiding friction between the interests, real or imaginary, of the Russians and the English. "If only," he exclaimed, "the English could realize how much of these dangers they bring upon themselves. They go everywhere and find out all manner of places which we Russians never heard of, where they imagine that if we were so minded we could do them an injury. Forthwith they publish in all their papers a cry of alarm that we are scheming to do them that injury, and they clamor that steps should at once be taken to forestall us by seizing it. They keep it up until their agitation attracts the attention of those in Russia who think that England is our enemy and that it is a patriotic duty to thwart her designs. They then get up an agitation in order to make us do what they would never have thought of doing if the English alarmists had not made them believe it would be a good thing to do if we were enemies." Clearly the restless spirit of preternatural suspicion sometimes begets its own Nemesis.

There is a vein of quiet humor about the Emperor—which is one of the best gifts the gods gave to men. When he was crowned he had not served long enough in the army to attain a higher rank than that of colonel. All his predecessors had always made themselves generals when they ascended the throne. Nicholas II., however, refused. He had only a right to a colonel's rank—a colonel he was and a colonel he would remain. The Grand Duke Vladimir protested against the decision with some vehemence, and was not a little nonplussed when the Emperor silenced him by remarking: "Believe me, dear uncle, I am quite capable of looking after my own promotion without your needing to take so much trouble about it." Such at least are some of the stories which are told about him in Russia—stories which, whether true or false, entirely harmonize with the estimate that those who know him have formed of his character.

To Prince Lobanoff he was deeply attached, and the sudden death of the Prince was a great blow to the young sovereign, who felt he had lost a minister, a mentor, and a friend. Prince Lobanoff was, however, never able to indoctrinate him with sentiments of hostility to England—a country for which he cherishes the kindest feelings of admiration and affection, dashed only

by a melancholy regret that his aspirations after closer and friendlier relations should be thwarted by the utterly inexplicable campaign of calumny and misrepresentation which is kept up by so many of our papers. There was no bitterness in any of his references to the Russophobic propaganda—only a somewhat pathetic regret that such things should be allowed to poison the relations of two nations whose duty and interest alike should make them friends.

Nicholas II. speaks English perfectly and keeps himself *au courant* with all that goes on here. I was repeatedly surprised at the minuteness and up-to-dateness of his information. When I mentioned Mr. Courtney's speech on the peace rescript, I found he had read it already, and once when I was telling him something I had said he interrupted me. "Oh, yes! I remember reading that in the *Review of Reviews*"—a periodical

which I was glad to hear from M. Pobedonostseff, himself a regular reader, was always to be found in the Emperor's study.

Of the peace rescript and of something of the vast possibilities that lie behind it I have spoken elsewhere. But it would be wrong to close this somewhat discursive and imperfect sketch of the Emperor without saying how earnestly, nay, how impatiently he longs to see the conference at work. I had ventured to say to him that even if nothing else came of it, we were all grateful to him for reinforcing the hope of a very weary world. "Hope—hope!" he exclaimed. "I am tired of hearing about hope. I want to see something practical done!"

And the vehemence of this little outburst will tend still further to reinforce the hope which his rescript has kindled in the heart of the human race.



SEBASTOPOL.

A GREAT AMERICAN SCULPTOR.

BY LAURA CARROLL DENNIS.

THE sensation of the Paris *Salon* of 1894 was the exhibit of a young American sculptor who was then pronounced by the most eminent French critics "a man of astonishing genius," "of superb power and original thought," "of talent robust and mature," and was hailed by many as the founder of a new school of sculpture.

This newly arisen star of the first magnitude



MR. BARNARD AT WORK ON "THE HEWER."

(From a photograph taken for the AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS.)

was George Grey Barnard, a young Westerner who had gone to Paris some eight years before, poor and unknown, to study art. He was born in Center County, Pa., but removed with his family, when still very young, to Muscatine, Iowa, where he lived for a number of years. There he developed a taste for natural history and became, untaught, an expert taxidermist. A bust of his little sister, modeled when he was a young lad, so interested his friends that it led to his apprenticeship to a local jeweler, from whom he learned lettering and engraving. A craving for the higher forms of art led him to Chicago at the age of sixteen. Having no money, he worked at his trade until he had saved one hundred dollars and then entered the Chicago Art Institute, having received from Leonard Volk, the veteran sculptor, to whom he had submitted two or three little clay figures, assurance that he might hope to become a sculptor. Mr. Volk warned him of struggles, privations, and discouragement, but these had no terrors for his indomitable spirit—cold and hunger being mere incidents in the life of genius.

A year or more after he entered the Art Institute Mr. Barnard was lucky enough to receive three hundred and fifty dollars for a portrait bust of a little girl. With this he at once set out for Paris. For three years he worked in the *Atelier Cavélier*, and then, having mastered the technique of his art and learned about all the schools could give him, he retired to a solitary studio, where he lived like a hermit and, apart from all extraneous influence, worked out for himself the problems of life and of art. Out of that period of darkness and struggle, born of the travail of the man's soul, came his great group, "I feel two natures struggling within me," a wonderful expression of the eternal contest between spirit and flesh. Art is to him the expression of life, and though he has long since found the light and stands on the mountain top, his heart throbs with the great heart of humanity, and the subjects which appeal to him are man's painful evolution, his struggles with the forces of nature, with sin and darkness—the tragedy of the ages repeating itself through all time.

THE FRUIT OF THE PARIS YEARS.

In these years he completed, among other fine works, a beautiful figure of a "Sleeping Boy,"



From a photo by Cox, New York—courtesy of Century Company.

"BROTHERLY LOVE."

(From a reproduction in marble of the monument in Norway.)

wonderful designs in *bas-relief* for a great Norwegian stove, the exquisite group known as "Brotherly Love," designed for a Norwegian tomb, and some busts and fragments. With six or seven of these he made his first appearance at the *Salon* in the Champs de Mars, and in a day was famous—the talk of all Paris.

Had Mr. Barnard remained in Europe he would unquestionably have taken his place within a short time in the front rank of his profession with a reputation established; but he is a stanch American, and he chose to return to his native land to identify himself with his own people and to aid in the upbuilding of American art. That only now, more than four years since he returned to make his home with us, he begins to receive the recognition due his remarkable gifts and achievements might seem to artistic Paris a thing incredible. But if we will but consider a few of the obstacles which have stood between Mr. Barnard and an American reputation, we shall find it after all not so very strange that even now George Barnard is known to the public at large chiefly by the fact that his great "Pan," a reclining figure over thirteen feet in length, was recently cast at the Henry-Bonnard foundry in one piece, being the largest bronze casting ever made in this country, if not in the world.

WHY MR. BARNARD IS NOT BETTER KNOWN.

In the first place, there is as yet a very small public in America to whom the highest in art appeals, and a very large fraction of this public is so wedded to the conventional or Greek ideal as to be at once and in advance antagonized by whatever is original and unconventional in conception or treatment. Furthermore, we must consider Mr. Barnard's aversion to "advertising" and the various forms of diplomacy and wire-pulling by which people contrive to "get on" in this sordid world; his steadfast and unswerving adherence to the course indicated by his deepest convictions and lighted by his highest inspiration; and then the seclusion in which he has lived and worked in that remote and beautiful quarter of Manhattan in which, upon returning from Europe with his lovely young wife, he made his home and built his studio.

There has been but one exhibition of Mr. Barnard's work in New York, and little of it has been seen elsewhere. In the autumn of 1896 several of his best works were on view for two or



MR. BARNARD'S HOUSE ON MANHATTAN ISLAND.

(Photographed for this magazine.)

three weeks at the Logerot Gardens in Eighteenth Street, but by the time busy New York had begun to wake up to the fact that something uncommon was to be seen there the exhibition had closed. Since then the "Two Natures" group, which was bought in Paris by the late Alfred Corning Clark and by him left to the Metropolitan Museum, has been stored in a room belong-

ing to the museum, awaiting the completion of the annex, which is to furnish a suitable home for this magnificent work. It seems likely that another year will elapse before it can be placed in position and given to the public.

A marble reduction of "Brotherly Love" which belongs to the Clark estate is also shut away from view, a cause for regret to every lover of the beautiful. A charmingly graceful figure, handled with great tenderness and of a more conventional type than is usual with Mr. Barnard, is known as "Maiden and Pedestal," and was completed last winter, but left the studio only to start on its journey westward to adorn an Iowa mausoleum. The "Pan," which was sketched in Paris, but executed in this country, the plaster cast forming part of the exhibit at the Logerot Gardens, was ordered by Mr. Clark for the court of the Dakota flats; but convinced that this superb work of art should belong to the public, he directed his heirs to present it to the city, on condition that it be placed in Central Park, the Clark estate paying all expenses of casting and erection. Though cordially approved by the old sculpture commission, a singular combination of ignorance, indifference, and red tape has for fully two years delayed the final acceptance and placing of this remarkable figure. There now seems, however, to be reason for hope that the new art and park commissions will act promptly, and that before summer Pan will be at home to visitors in the shady nook chosen for him by the sculptor.

THE NEWEST WORK—"THE HEWER."

The noble figure of "The Hearer," to which for a year past Mr. Barnard has given his best



"I FEEL TWO NATURES STRUGGLING WITHIN ME."
(By courtesy of the Century Company.)



"THE HEWER"—ANOTHER VIEW.

(From a photograph taken expressly for this magazine.)

powers, and which is thought to be in many respects his greatest work, is but recently completed in the clay, and until it is put into marble can be known only through the photographs which were taken expressly for this magazine before the figure was turned over to the molder.

It may be questioned, then, whether a thousand people in this country have seen Mr. Barnard's work in the original, and that in the face of all the difficulties herein recounted he begins to be recognized as the most striking figure in art that has yet appeared among us is a tribute to a genius too forceful and commanding to remain long in obscurity.

"The Hearer" belongs properly to a colossal group which the artist has projected and sketched in miniature. Surrounding the high prow of a curious vessel, representing the ship of life, are nineteen figures, each ten or eleven feet high, depicting the toils and struggles of early man as well as some of his joys, and typifying the whole life of humanity. Whether or not this great group will ever be completed is a question, as its execution would almost fill the life of a man, and many commissions are pressing for Mr. Barnard's attention. In any case, "The Hearer" is in itself complete and a noble work of art.

GENERAL CALIXTO GARCIA.

BY GEORGE RENO.

AFTER thirty years of heroic struggle against Spanish rule—or misrule—in Cuba, Gen. Calixto Garcia y Iniguez was called from the scene of action in this world to that “bourne from which no traveler returns.” But not until he had seen his life-long foes driven from the



GENERAL GARCIA AT THE TIME OF THE TEN YEARS' WAR.

land he had fought so hard to free; not until he had heard reiterated by the President of the United States the promise that Cuba should be free and independent. With the echo of those words, to him the sweetest on earth, still ringing in his ears he passed away in Washington on Sunday, December 11, 1898. The survivor of three wars, of many wounds, of prisons, privations, and dangers innumerable, the brave old commander of the Cuban forces of the province of Santiago and Camaguey succumbed to the raw winds of our Northern winter and died of pneumonia at the age of sixty-two.

General Garcia was born on October 14, 1836, in Holguin, province of Santiago, although his family were originally from Jiguani, where he owned large estates and where he married Señora Velez, his wife. To them were born six children: Leonora, now the wife of Dr. Whitmarsh, of Paris; Calixto, Carlos, Justo, Mario, and Mercedes. All but the second are now living.

Love of liberty was inherent in Garcia's nature. With Carlos Manuel Cespedes and Marmol he planned the revolution of 1868, known as the ten years' war, which had its inception at Yara on October 10, 1868. The success of the first few months was phenomenal. Town after town fell into the hands of the Cubans. For his courage and ability displayed in the field, and particularly at the capture of Jiguani, Garcia was made a brigadier. Soon after this he laid siege to and captured the city of Holguin, and at the retirement of Gen. Maximo Gomez was made commander-in-chief of the forces of Cuba.

Jiguani, which had been retaken by the Spaniards, was again captured by the forces of Garcia a few months after. In the battle of Santa Maria in 1869, with a force less than a third of that of the Spanish, he surrounded General Vinales and after a battle which lasted eleven hours compelled them to surrender. With varying fortunes, but unceasing vigor, he continued the struggle until on September 3, 1873, he, with only twenty men, surprised and surrounded by a force of four hundred Spaniards, in order to prevent capture inflicted the terrible wound from which he so miraculously recovered after being carried into Manzanillo supposed to be dead. As soon as he could be removed he was placed on board the *San Francisco de Borja* and conveyed a prisoner to Spain, where he was confined in the dungeons of Valencia and Santoña until liberated at the suggestion of Martinez Campos after the treaty of Zanjón in 1878, which terminated the ten years' war.

But Garcia knew that Spain never intended to keep the promises of reform made by Campos, that the struggle would have to be maintained by force of arms or the island abandoned to oppression worse than that of old. So he lost no time in making his way to America, whence with a few followers he returned to Cuba in August, 1879, and started what was known as “the little war.” With him were Generals Rabi, Moncado, and José Maceo (Antonio Maceo having gone to Jamaica). But the movement was ill-timed and unfortunate. At the battle of Bayamo the Cuban forces were greatly outnumbered. Medina, Rosado, and Johnson, an American, were killed, Garcia capitulated and was for the second time carried to Spain.

A certain admiration for the general's indomit-

able energy and courage induced the Spaniards to treat him far more leniently than most prisoners of war, especially as his health and strength seemed to be broken down. For a time he was given a position in a bank in Madrid, after which he supported his family by teaching French and English, but he was always kept under strict police surveillance. This, however, was gradually relaxed, as his health was apparently failing rapidly. One night in September, 1895, with his son Carlos he slipped across the frontier to France and soon after reached New York. The revolution of 1895 had broken out in Cuba and the old warrior was anxious to join it.

After several attempts, which were frustrated by this Government, he finally sailed on the *Bermuda* and landed with a large expedition near Baracoa. The provisional government immediately placed him in command of the forces of Camaguey and the Oriente, and with an army of about fifteen thousand men he held almost complete possession of the interior of these provinces until the landing of the American forces at Siboney in June, 1898, when he rendered most valuable and efficient aid in the capture of Santiago.

Previous to this he had captured and held the cities of Guaymaro, Cascorro, Victoria de las Tunas, Jiguani, and Bayamo. After the resignation of the provisional government the Assembly which met at Santa Cruz del Sur elected him



GEN. CALIXTO GARCIA.

(From a photograph taken in 1895. The most recent portrait of General Garcia, taken one week before his death, forms the frontispiece to this magazine.)

chief of the commission which called on President McKinley to discuss the future of Cuba. It was while serving in this capacity that he was taken away.

For those who lived in the social atmosphere which surrounded Garcia, who felt the force of those strong magnetic waves which seemed to emanate from his will, who dwelt within hearing of his clear, resonant voice, who daily listened to the sound logic and advanced views upon all subjects, political or economical, which came so fearlessly from his lips, it is hard to realize that he is no more. Calixto Garcia has gone from us, but the influence of his masterful mind, the effect of his advanced and progressive stand upon all matters where the welfare of Cuba was concerned will be felt for many years to come.

Garcia's was a strong mind, but not a stubborn one. He was willing to compromise upon every question but one of principle. The latter was to him a thing sacred. "A policy may be with benefit changed," he once said to me, "but a principle should be inviolate. We have no right to tamper with justice." He was a proud man, perhaps a supersensitive one, an ambitious man, but ambitious only for his country's sake. That he was extremely popular was a natural tribute to his courage and his genius; popular not only with the masses, but with the discriminating few as well, because they saw in him an ambition that was laudable, a power that was not



MRS. CALIXTO GARCIA.
(The general's wife.)

to be purchased, and a sense of justice which was open to argument and conviction. He was the military idol of the people of the Oriente. While operating in the neighborhood of Holguin hundreds of women would steal out from the suburbs, half hidden in the gray mists of the early dawn, to catch a glimpse of the Cuban general. Less than half a mile from Velasco I saw some fifty of them crowding around his horse, all eager to embrace, to kiss his hand or the cuff of his coat. With tears in their eyes they hailed him as "the savior of the Oriente," "the hope of Cuba." He was not without enemies. Great men seldom are, but he was never one to bear malice or long resentment. When rupture was imminent and undesirable his favorite remark was: "Well, let us drop the subject and go fight the Spaniards."



MARIO GARCIA.

(The general's youngest son.)

For some weeks after the capture of Guaymaro ammunition, particularly for the twelve-pounders, was rather scarce. During this temporary cessation of active hostilities which followed a fifteen-day furlough was granted many of those officers whose families lived in the neighboring country, so that they might not only recuperate their strength, but replenish as far as possible their scanty wardrobes. Among those who sought and obtained leave of absence was Joseph Chapleau, who left Boston and joined the Cuban forces in the fall of 1895, being placed soon after in command of the artillery with the rank of colonel. Garcia was very fond of Chapleau, but found him difficult to manage, because Garcia would resort to nothing but argument or moral suasion to control Americans who volunteered their services to the cause of Cuban independence.

When the two weeks expired Chapleau failed to return to his command, nor did he appear until he had been twice sent for, and then he quietly informed the general that as there was no im-

mediate fighting on hand he proposed to continue his vacation until he got tired of it. Garcia promptly informed Chapleau that he might continue his social career indefinitely, and Chapleau took him at his word. Some months later Chapleau unexpectedly met General Garcia at the head of his column, and pausing in the road saluted him.

"Where are you bound, Joe?" inquired the general.

"Oh, over toward Jiguani to a little dance."

"Well, you'd better stop your fooling now and fall into line," said the general persuasively.

"What for?" queried Chapleau doubtfully.

"To fight Spaniards," said Garcia. "I am on my way to attack Victoria de las Tunas, and while we may differ upon matters of discipline we can always shake hands over a smoking gun. You are a brave fellow and I want you with me when the city falls. What do you say?"

The reply came quickly, "I'm yours to command, general," and without another word he dropped into his accustomed place in the general's escort and fought with him until the fatal bullet ended his life.

Courage in any cause, even a bad one, always commanded Garcia's respect. At the fall of Victoria de las Tunas forty-five Spanish guerrillas who had fired on a flag of truce, men who in that neighborhood had committed every crime of which only those brutes in human form are capable, were *mucheted*, or put to the sword. Hearing of their fate, the son of the Spanish

commander of the garrison, a boy of fifteen, began to cry, whereupon his father reprimanded him sharply in Garcia's hearing. "Stop," commanded his father. "I am ashamed of you. You wanted the privilege of fighting the *insurrectos*; you have had it. Your rifle has poured lead into their ranks for two days; now it is your



COL. CARLOS GARCIA.

(An officer on his father's staff.)

turn. Show yourself a man, a soldier of Spain."

General Garcia listened with admiration for the spirit displayed by the father and sympathy for the fears of the boy. "Tell your son not to

worry," he said. "Not a hair of his head shall be harmed. Both of my boys fought by my side during the battle just finished. Your boy has simply fulfilled his duty to you and to his country. You have my respect and shall have my protection until you can join your friends in Holguin



MERCEDES GARCIA.

(General Garcia's younger daughter, now in this country.)

or elsewhere." They, with fifteen hundred other prisoners, were given escort to the Spanish lines and there liberated.

The story of General Garcia's attempt at suicide to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy, as frequently told in the newspapers, used to annoy him. "Can't correspondents see," he would say, "that what they describe me as doing is physically impossible? No man can place the muzzle of a revolver in his mouth and fire it so that the ball will make its exit from the center of the forehead, as did mine, unless he has first inserted a steel plate back of his palate to deflect the ball. This, it is needless to say, I did not attempt. Besides, even to defeat the purpose of the Spaniards to effect my capture alive, I would

object to the idea of discharging a forty-four-caliber revolver in my mouth. When on that Monday morning of September 3, 1873, I found my little reconnoitering party of twenty suddenly cut off and surrounded by four hundred Spanish guerrillas, I felt that my time had come, as there could be no quarter between us, and we determined to sell our lives as dearly as possible. They gradually closed in. My men fell rapidly under the murderous close-range fire, but it soon became apparent that they intended to take me alive. This meant torture and disgrace unthinkable, and to defeat their purpose and end it all I placed my heavy revolver beneath my chin and fired the last shot upward. Evidently the barrel of the revolver was too close to my breast, or the ball would have killed me instantly, as was intended. I knew nothing more until many hours after, when voices as from another world seemed to be talking upon surgery, antiseptics, and vitality. Two young Spanish surgeons from Madrid, owing to the peculiarity of the wound, had taken a professional interest in the case before them, and were discussing with each other the chances of my living or dying. Cuba needed me, and I lived to fight for her again. That is all."

The general's family relations were ideal. His little daughter Mercedes was his patron saint. It is not an exaggeration to say that she not only deserved, but received, the worship of all who came near her. To know her was to love her. An unfortunate fall shortly after she followed her father from Madrid to this country has confined her to bed much of the time during the past three years.

The love between father and daughter was exquisitely tender. When about to return to Cuba after a short vacation in the United States Mercedes would say to me almost daily: "Now, you will not start, as you did before, without letting us know, because I write a little to papa every day and I want you to take it all with you when you go." The contents of that rather formidable packet when completed was to the general far more precious than were any state documents which I ever carried to him. The question of the recognition or non-recognition of belligerency had to wait while he read Mercedes' letter.

Garcia's home was his heaven, free Cuba was his creed, and independence the altar upon which he sacrificed his life.



THE RED CROSS IN THE SPANISH WAR.

BY MARGHERITA ARLINA HAMM.

ALTHOUGH the Red Cross movement became a legal fact in 1864, it did not develop into an American institution until July, 1882. Its introduction and growth in the New World were due chiefly to its famous founder, Miss Clara Barton. As early as the 60s she dedicated her life to the movement, and now for more than thirty years she has been its most commanding figure. From the time that the parent society was organized in Washington by Miss Barton the organization has kept itself before the public gaze by numerous works of beneficence and practical charity. It has raised large sums of money for sufferers from famine, flood, earthquake, fever, and tidal waves. In this manner it won the sympathy of all kind-hearted citizens and became identified with the best tendencies of the commonwealth and the century.

Its growth was a steady spreading from city to city and from State to State. On January 1, 1898, it had branches, auxiliaries, or affiliates in nearly every State and Territory. It was federated in approved modern fashion, and was so constituted that when the need came a single touch upon the electric button would be answered by a large army of active and charitable men and women.

Lest there be any confusion as to names, it may be well to give a brief statement as to the organization. The original society had as its governing body a committee known as the International Committee of the Red Cross. Beneath this in each country was a society known as the National Society of the Red Cross. Before the American branch was formed members of the Red Cross in the United States were members of the international society or Association of the Red Cross. Miss Barton was designated as the American representative. When the national branch was incorporated in July, 1891, it was called the American Association of the Red Cross. The society was reincorporated in April, 1893, and then assumed the name of the American National Red Cross. Since that time its members in affiliation with other bodies have formed related or coöperative societies under various titles, such as Red Cross Relief Committee, Red Cross Auxiliary, and Red Cross Society, so that the effect upon the reader is at times confusing. Legally the Red Cross means the

great national organization of which Miss Barton is the president.

On January 1, 1898, while the insurrection was raging in Cuba and the American public was beginning to manifest deep emotion in regard to the condition of affairs in that island, the Red Cross began to take action looking toward the relief of the people of the Pearl of the Antilles. At the time the chief officer was Miss Barton, the vice-president George Kennan, the counsel David Louis Cobb, the executive committeeman Stephen E. Barton, the executive surgeon Dr. A. Monae Lesser, and the sister-in-chief of the hospital work Sister Bettina Hofker Lesser. There is no doubt that Miss Barton foresaw the war with Spain. When the last insurrection in Cuba started she and her colleagues began the agitation which resulted in the establishment of the Red Cross hospital at 233 West One Hundredth Street, New York City, the following year. This action met with some little opposition from near-sighted thinkers at the time, but it has been more than justified by subsequent events.

In preparing skillful nurses and familiarizing members of the societies with ambulance and hospital work and in teaching first aid to the injured, this little institution proved itself of inestimable value. Now that the war is over we can look back and admire and praise the Red Cross Executive Committee for its remarkable foresight.

The resolution to aid the Cubans was no more than taken when it was immediately put into execution. It is true that during 1897 the society had done considerable to alleviate the sufferings of the people in Cuba, but the work was individual rather than collective. What Miss Barton and her comrades did was done as simple citizens and not as officials of a great body corporate. With the new year another era presented itself.

On January 2 Miss Barton sent out a message through the press which was read by probably one-third of the population of the United States. It was in gist a call for money and provisions for the *pacíficos* and *reconcentrados*, and an announcement that Gen. Fitzhugh Lee would oversee the distribution of supplies. The notice met with an immediate response. Every Red Cross follower began to raise money for other necessary supplies. The correspondence of the Red Cross jumped up

100 per cent. in twenty-four hours and 1,000 per cent. before the week was out. It was indeed the touching of a button and the starting of the wheels of a great factory. In the next week arrangements were made for opening a headquarters in New York. Beneath this, however, was the much more arduous labor of arranging the corporate mechanism that was to conduct the work involved in the providing the necessities of life to 500,000 people fifteen hundred miles away. Of this work the public knows little or nothing, but the thoroughness with which it was accomplished was demonstrated after the war broke out.

At the same time the Red Cross leaders consulted with the President and several members of the Cabinet, with the view of obtaining advice in regard to the best way of performing their work. The consequence of the consultation was a letter from Second Assistant Secretary of State Alvery Adee to President Orr, of the New York Chamber of Commerce, respecting the formation of a central committee which would cooperate with the Red Cross in their philanthropic campaign. The Chamber of Commerce acted with its characteristic promptitude, and before a fortnight had elapsed a committee of prominent citizens was engaged in carrying out the designs which had been submitted to the President. Of that committee Mr. Stephen Barton was chairman, ex-Mayor Charles A. Schieren, of Brooklyn, was treasurer, and Mr. Louis Klopsch, of the *Christian Herald*, which raised \$75,000 for the fund, was a leading member. A strong canvassing committee was appointed, which visited the various trades and industries of the city to raise money and supplies.

Other bodies followed the example of the New York committees in various parts of the country. The Joint Traffic Association agreed to carry all supplies free of charge, and a steady stream of provisions began to pour into New York. The steamer *Orizaba* was chartered and loaded with a cargo which contained 400,000 pounds of provisions and 200,000 grains of quinine. So widespread was the enthusiasm that it was difficult to keep an exact account at the time of the many donors and their gifts. Many consignments went astray, others were detained and were received at a later period, but making all allowances it is certain that more than 30,000 people contributed in response to the call and that the total amount of the money and the cash value of the gifts was nearly \$200,000. It will not surprise the reader of to-day as it did in January, 1898, to learn that the Spanish politicians objected strongly to these generous actions and called them political tricks and selfish revolutionary devices.

On January 13 a second appeal was sent out and was read in nearly every church of the land. This increased the enthusiasm and stimulated the generous impulses of the public. A few days afterward Miss Barton and her staff, including Dr. and Mrs. Lesser, Sisters Blanche McCorriston, Anne McCue M. Ruyatt, and Isabelle O'Connor, Drs. C. H. Cotrell, J. B. Hubbell, and C. McDowell, made a trip to Cuba to obtain more definite knowledge of the prevailing conditions as well as to distribute such supplies as had gone on or went with them on their trip. Their visit was eventful. They saw and realized for the first time the full horror of the situation. Everywhere they found disease, pauperism, starvation, and death. The reports which they afterward made were almost ghastly in their plain statement of fact. They did what they could, establishing bureaus of supplies, hospitals, and asylums and appointing distributors, physicians, and other agents.

On February 15 occurred that infamous catastrophe, the blowing up of the battleship *Maine*. This was the last straw that broke the camel's back, although without any other circumstance it would have undoubtedly precipitated a war between the United States and Spain. The Spanish officials and politicians either foresaw the coming of the war or else endeavored to obtain some personal benefit from the generosity of the American people. They put obstacles in the way of the distribution of supplies, and in several instances closed entire districts against Red Cross agents. Many Spanish malefactors obtained relief, with the approbation or connivance, it is said, of the officials. So well was this done that when the war broke out there were large quantities of Red Cross supplies lying at various points in Havana and other places which were promptly confiscated by the Spanish officers. Popular feeling in Havana was directed by the politicians against Americans, and mob action became so threatening that it was finally deemed expedient for Miss Barton and her colleagues to return to their own country. This they did on the steamer *Olivette* on April 9.

In the meantime preparations for war went on in both America and Spain. Our own people were wild to avenge the *Maine* and the Spanish leaders appeared equally desirous of crushing those whom they styled "Yankee hogs."

The work of the Red Cross increased, being now incited by patriotism as well as by the love of humanity. On April 16 Sister-in-chief Bettina Hofker Lesser began examining applicants for classes in the Red Cross hospital for military nurses. It was a novel and even original experiment, and met with quick response from

the women of New York and other parts of the country. So many were the applicants that nearly all of the hospital doctors were called in to act as instructors. To prevent enthusiastic but ill-informed young women from rushing into a calling which demands considerable skill and knowledge, a series of qualifications was adopted in regard to all would be nurses. These shut out hundreds of women, but so numerous were the volunteers that in spite of the qualifications those who were able to matriculate numbered hundreds. This experience served to show the educational progress made by women in the past thirty-five years. During the Civil War skillful military nurses were exceedingly rare; nine-tenths of those who labored in the hospitals came without any experience or special skill. In the war with Spain there were hundreds who, when they applied, had an excellent knowledge of physiology and medicine, and many possessed a fair medical education. Equally notable was the long list of women physicians who volunteered their services. If to those who sent in their names to the Red Cross be added others who applied to the Government, national or State, or to commanding officers, the total is nearly 250.

War now became inevitable, and the Red Cross leaders perceived and realized the immense field of work that was to open to them. They began a series of negotiations looking toward the extension of their organization and service. It would take an entire volume to tell this chapter of the history of the work. The chief feature was the formation of the American National Red Cross Relief Committee, whose purpose was to provide the Red Cross proper with supplies of every sort and also to organize the people of the country into clubs, leagues, and auxiliaries with more or less specific aims. In this category were ice-plant auxiliaries, ambulance-equipment associations, medical-supply societies, reading-matter auxiliaries, distilling-apparatus unions, nursing clubs, transportation associations, Bible-reading circles, temperance advocates, veterans' circles, and patriotic leagues. The records show that as many as 70 auxiliaries were formed in a single day. Many local societies were too busy to affiliate themselves with the central organization, and frequently did harm by interfering with the regular order of business. Before the war closed there were more than 2,000 of these societies with a membership of over 100,000.

The declaration of war on April 25 served to increase this extraordinary activity. The accommodations of the Red Cross in New York City proved insufficient, and ere long they accepted quarters in a large building on Broadway which was presented to them by John Jacob

Astor and made it their supply depot. They also established branches in the leading camps in the Southern States and sub-agencies at every point where they could be of use to the soldiers, sailors, or even to the poor Cubans. Enormous quantities of supplies were gathered and transmitted from all parts of the country to the various distributing points. Of these New York was the first and largest and others were Boston, Philadelphia, Chickamauga, Fernandina, Jacksonville, Tampa, Key West, San Francisco, Miami, Mobile, and New Orleans.

The railroad service proving inefficient, the Red Cross went into the steamship business upon a large scale. Their first craft was the *State of Texas*, which left New York on April 23 for Key West. The next steamer was the hospital ship *Solace*, which was fitted for service on May 8. On June 12 a commission was issued for the steam launch *Moynier*. The steam yacht *Red Cross* and steamer *City of San Antonio* were added to the fleet about June 20. To the Red Cross movement rather than the Red Cross Society can be credited the hospital ship *Bay State*. From time to time other steamers were employed for transporting nurses and supplies, notably the *Lampasas*, the *Missouri*, and several yachts and launches. The agents and volunteers of the society followed the army as closely as they were permitted by the authorities. They followed Sampson to eastern Cuba and landed at Guantanamo shortly after its conquest by the marines. Thereafter they made their way to Siboney, to San Juan, and to Santiago. After the capture of the last city came the invasion of Porto Rico under General Miles, and immediately following the capture of Ponce the Red Cross nurses under Miss Margaret Chanler opened a hospital there.

Although there was but little fighting during the Porto Rican campaign, nevertheless the society was prepared for a long list of sick and wounded and had ready nurses, medicine, dietary articles, and other medical supplies.

In the far West there was similar activity. The Red Cross societies of the Pacific States alone raised over \$100,000, and other sister States contributed as much in proportion. Supplies of all sorts were shipped from San Francisco, and in several instances were purchased in Hong Kong and thence forwarded to Manila. Several nurses and Red Cross agents were sent out to the scene of Dewey's immortal victory and are there at the present time.

Of the nurses who attended the sick and wounded some were hired and received a salary. A second class received no salary, but had their expenses paid. A third class paid their own expenses and traveled great distances in going

from their homes to the camps in the South or in the West Indies. A fourth class consisted of members of local branches residing in the neighborhood of the hospitals, who volunteered their services for a day, week, or month and who did not wait for any special order from the central authority. Besides nurses there were distributors, inspectors, physicians, clerks, guards, bookkeepers, and others. Altogether over 1,000 volunteers served their country in the peaceful ranks of the Red Cross army.

Of the amount of money raised and expended by the Red Cross it is very difficult to get anything like accurate figures. A few contributors and auxiliaries published the value of the supplies they forwarded either to the supply depots or the camps, but at least three-fourths kept undivulged the value of their donations.

Mr. Richard J. Hinton, who gave this division much study, found that the amount of money received at the New York office between June 15 and August 26 aggregated over \$235,000, an average of \$3,400 per day. The supplies received during the same period came to about \$250,000, or \$3,500 per day.

The treasurer of the division of the Red Cross movement known as the American Red Cross National Relief Committee made the following report December 9 of its expenditures from May 9 to December 1 :

Total receipts.....	\$305,229.66
Office supplies.....	\$5,117.89
Food supplies, groceries, etc.....	46,067.95
Milk, etc., cots and equipments....	24,946.09
Medical supplies, wines, etc.....	11,357.83
Clothing and dry goods.....	1,418.61
Miscellaneous supplies.....	16,051.14
Account of nurses.....	17,718.24
Ambulances and mules.....	7,782.56
Ice.....	27,666.14
Yacht <i>Red Cross</i> and maintenance	54,057.16
Cash to General Committee.....	56,913.03
Laundry plant.....	1,230.10
Freight, etc.....	4,293.05
	<hr/> 277,604.28
Balance on hand.....	\$27,625.38

The grand total of gifts from all parts of the world, including supplies and transportation, was not less than \$3,000,000 and probably not more than \$4,000,000, although the agents in different States say it is very difficult to value the supplies.

No such munificence was ever known before in the history of the world. Though the war is practically over, the Red Cross keeps up its good work and will, as far as it can, bend its energies to ameliorating the condition of the Cubans. In Porto Rico little or nothing remains to be done, and in the Philippines there will be no great need of charitable action; but in the luckless island

of Cuba a very large body of people will require assistance for two or three years before they become prosperous and self-supporting. Not alone are the fields ruined, but the homes, factories, machinery, and live-stock have been destroyed.

Many of the nurses, doctors, and agents who served during the war underwent great privation and suffered severely from hunger, thirst, fever, and malarial diseases. Two of the women nurses died and several have returned with their constitutions impaired, if not ruined, by the deadly climate and the vile surroundings of the Cuban cities. The heroic Red Cross army has a long roster, and it seems invidious to single out a few of the workers. Miss Barton proved herself an indefatigable executive and Dr. Lesser and Sister Bettina were skillful and faithful medical directors. Mrs. John Addison Porter, wife of the secretary of President McKinley, Miss Adele Gardiner, a New York belle, Miss Annie Wheeler, Miss Margaret Chanler, and Miss Isabelle K. Rutty, an English college woman, made noble records for themselves which will never be forgotten by this generation.

President A. E. Orr, at the one hundred and thirtieth banquet of the New York Chamber of Commerce on November 16, paid the following tribute to the Red Cross: "To the American Red Cross Association and its honored president, Miss Clara Barton, a nation's thanks are due and should be promptly and publicly paid, and to the women of the auxiliary societies who upheld her hands and rendered possible all her admirable work—prominent among whom are Mrs. Winthrop Cowdin, Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, Miss Helen Gould, Mrs. Seth Low, Mrs. James Speyer, Mrs. Douglas Robinson, Miss Louise Pierpont Morgan, Mrs. W. S. Cowles, Mrs. Henry Marquand, Miss Leverich, Mrs. Paul Dana, Mrs. Metcalf Bliss, Miss Wheeler, Miss Margaret S. Hall, Mrs. Adelaide Wallerstein, Miss A. C. Maxwell, Miss Helen Hoffman, and hundreds upon hundreds of others too numerous to mention here—the soldiers of our armies owe a debt of gratitude they can never repay."

An interesting feature of the war was the sympathetic action of the Red Cross Society of other countries. Those of England, France, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, Germany, Italy, and Mexico sent messages to the American organization and supplied volunteers and money. The Red Cross Society of Spain made a nominal appearance, but it seemed to be undermined by the same indifference, apathy, or dry rot as the government to which it owes allegiance. Yet the little which it did is evidence that much more could be done were existing conditions changed for the better in Spain.

OUR DIPLOMACY IN THE SPANISH WAR.

BY HENRY MACFARLAND.

THE achievements of diplomacy, in the nature of the case, can never be generally appreciated or even recognized in comparison with the achievements of arms. In some instances the achievements themselves, and in almost every case the methods by which they were gained, must be concealed, and the results only appear in ways which divert the popular mind from the real processes and the men who made them possible. And even when the full course of a diplomatic achievement is revealed as fully as such a thing ever can be revealed, it lacks that kind of dramatic interest which appeals to the average mind in stories of military operations of a like importance. The victories of diplomacy are won behind closed doors in quiet offices around small tables in conversation, or in correspondence between a few men dressed in ordinary clothes, and there is very little in them to appeal to the imagination, except for unusually intelligent and educated men and women outside the small profession of diplomats the world over who follow in a general way what is being done by one another everywhere.

The United States has often astonished the diplomats of Europe by the frankness of its disclosures in the annual volume on "Foreign Relations" in which the State Department makes public selections from its correspondence during the preceding year, yet, compared with the other departments of our Government, the State Department is as secretive as any of the foreign offices of the great powers, and in its ordinary relations with the daily press is quite as discreet and reticent. Necessity has made custom out of this, and while at times the State Department, more than ordinarily moved by a desire to get the advantages of publicity, breaks through the custom more or less directly, as a rule it keeps its proceedings secret as long as possible and its results until they can no longer be concealed, and many of its secrets are never told.

The full story of President McKinley's diplomacy, carried on by his *alter ego*, William R. Day, first as Assistant Secretary and then as Secretary of State, in preparation for the war with Spain, during its progress, and in the conclusion of peace, will never be published, though liberal extracts from the official correspondence may appear in the next volume of "Foreign Relations." Even if all the official correspondence should be published the facts would not all be

disclosed, for some of the most important processes were carried on in conversations that were never formally committed to paper. The results of the diplomatic work of the administration in its dealings with Spain and the other countries related more or less directly to the war with Spain are sufficiently known to the comparatively small class of persons, either here or abroad, who have followed them closely and intelligently to justify them in believing that it was quite as important as the military work which the commander-in-chief accomplished through the army and navy in the actual conflict with the Spanish forces. But it was all done with personal modesty as well as with official reticence, so that the average intelligent American probably does not appreciate its relative value and would hesitate to admit that it was as great as that done by the admirals and the generals with all the pomp and circumstance of glorious war.

SECRETARY DAY'S SERVICES.

Secretary Day, the most modest of public men, did his work without any of that self-advertising which some of his predecessors have thought legitimate, if not laudable, so that it was not until he resigned to go to Paris to complete the work of peace-making which he had begun in Washington that his own country gave him that general recognition which his diplomatic achievements had won for him among the diplomats of the world. And even then the great majority of his intelligent fellow-citizens could not have given definite reasons for their approval of his course, because they only knew vaguely and in part what he had done to deserve their praise. It was known in a general way that, as President McKinley said, Secretary Day had made absolutely no mistakes in performing successive tasks of unusual importance and difficulty and delicacy in dealings involving the whole civilized world during a year of international excitement and three or four months of actual warfare, and that the result of it all was to postpone the war as long as possible to secure the United States the largest possible amount of international advantage at its beginning and during its progress and to bring it to an end at the earliest possible moment. But the marches, sieges, and battles of diplomacy by which Secretary Day won his victories were practically unknown. They must in great part remain unknown, not because, as in

the case of similar achievements of European diplomats, we have any reason to be ashamed of the means or the methods employed, but because the interests of other countries are to be safeguarded by secrecy. It can be truthfully said of Secretary Day that he "never can be put to blush whatever record leaps to light," and that in all his contests with the veterans of European diplomacy he mastered them by simple truth and cogent argument, never stooping to use the disgraceful weapons of which they have sometimes boasted. But the customary contemporaneous reticence of diplomacy must be observed in this case for the sake of other nations as to many things some of which will never become public, while others must wait for future publications of official reports and private letters and journals.

It is possible, however, to give an outline of the course of Secretary Day's diplomacy and to indicate how, after doing all that could be done to prevent and defer the war with Spain, it secured the neutrality of all other countries and the moral support of some of them, notably Great Britain, which was drawn closer to the United States than ever before since the Revolution, and finally, after rendering important service to the military departments, it achieved its greatest success in bringing the war to an unexpectedly early close and at the same time harvesting larger fruits than had been generally anticipated.

HOW THE NEUTRALITY OF EUROPEAN POWERS WAS MADE SURE.

Our war diplomacy began long before there was any serious expectation of war, in the instructions given to the ambassadors and ministers appointed by President McKinley at the opening of his administration to impress upon the governments to which they were accredited at every possible opportunity the real purpose and desire of the United States respecting Cuba. These instructions were so well carried out that by the time General Woodford presented to the Spanish Government in October, 1897, the new tender of the good offices of the United States to restore peace and prosperity to Cuba, the influence of every important government of the world was being used to induce Spain to accept and to labor to end the cruelty and distress and confusion of barbarous warfare in the wretched island. It was largely because of this that the new Spanish administration headed by Señor Sagasta practically accepted our friendly intervention in a friendly spirit and took important steps in the direction pointed out by the United States and the other civilized nations. Cuba was apparently recognized by all the great powers as being so

obviously within our "sphere of influence" as to justify us in entering the theater of European interests to persuade European government to do what seemed to be its duty.

When, after the *Maine* disaster occurred, it began to seem possible and even probable that the United States, with the added motive of vengeance, would change its peaceful intervention into armed intervention which might end in the loss of Cuba and possibly Porto Rico by Spain, Secretary Day, through our ambassadors and ministers and quite as much by his own statements in conversation to the members of the diplomatic corps at Washington, endeavored to set clearly before the foreign governments the fact that while a new motive had been added to stimulate our desire, the purpose of the United States Government with respect to Cuba was essentially unchanged and could justly be described as humanitarian and disinterested, its object being the welfare of the Cubans and not the acquisition of Cuba. Without admitting for a moment that any European nation would have a right to interfere with our proceedings in regard to Cuba, our Government showed a decent respect for the good opinion of Europe and a desire to conciliate it, to the extent, at least, of securing the neutrality of Europe in case war should occur.

GREAT BRITAIN OUR ONLY REAL FRIEND.

The Spanish diplomats were already busy misrepresenting our intentions and plans respecting Cuba and stirring up the holders of Spanish bonds, especially in France and Germany, as well as other interests and influences friendly to Spain, and notably the Pope of Rome and the Emperor of Austria-Hungary, in the attempt to get sympathy and support. This produced a division between the great powers, which became sharper as the prospect increased that the future disposition of the Philippines would be determined by the impending war. Europe became very distinctly divided into two hostile camps, and by the time the war became imminent Great Britain was the only great power which sympathized with the United States, even Russia and France, our traditional friends, siding more or less openly with Spain, together with Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, each from mixed and different motives. The fears of the Spanish bondholders, racial and religious prejudices, jealousy and resentment at the growing power and pretensions of the United States, were mingled with dread and hatred of the moral alliance between the United States and Great Britain—Great Britain so recently in "splendid isolation" and without a real friend among the envious nations of the continent.

But Great Britain's friendship, even though it may have been largely due to enlightened self-interest, and although it undoubtedly hurt our cause in Russia, France, and Germany, was invaluable to us in many ways, and the good understanding brought about between the two governments by Secretary Day and Ambassador Hay was a most important achievement. There was no suggestion of a formal alliance with or without a treaty, for that was at once unnecessary and undesirable in the circumstances, and the benevolent neutrality of Great Britain was much more useful. But the informal and unwritten understanding between the two governments, based on a temporary coincidence of interests and backed by popular good will, was recognized by the other great powers as of the first importance, and at once prevented them from combining to support Spain, secured their coöperation in trying to make Spain yield, and compelled them to maintain neutrality in more or less good faith. No formal attempt was ever made to combine Europe in alliance against the United States, for the simple reason that it was well known that Great Britain would not join in such a movement, but, on the contrary, would take her stand beside the United States against any European combination.

The other European powers showed plainly that they wanted to curb the actions of the United States, at least to the extent of requiring the United States to confine her military operations against Spain entirely to the West Indies, abandoning all designs against the Philippines and plans for attacking Spain in her home waters; but recognizing the fact that Great Britain and the United States together would prove invincible, they never got beyond the point of talking of their desires in the foreign offices. It is not too much to say that if Great Britain had been unfriendly or even indifferent to the United States, the great powers would have interfered formally or informally to prevent or to hinder the operations of the United States against Spain at the beginning of the war in a way that would have been seriously embarrassing to the United States, and would have rendered its task far longer and much more difficult, if indeed its purpose had not been entirely defeated.

THE FIRST DIPLOMATIC VICTORY.

In securing, therefore, the opportune friendliness of Great Britain, the diplomacy of the administration achieved its first great victory in dealing with the war, giving free scope to our military operations, making Admiral Dewey's acquisition of the Philippines possible, and leaving

in the hands of the United States Government the power to attack Spain at home, which so suddenly brought Spain to terms in the end. Incidentally the enforcement of her neutrality by Great Britain was throughout the war period of constant advantage to the United States in minor matters, but Great Britain's great service was in holding the rest of Europe back from interfering with the United States. This does not seem so important, perhaps, now that the war is over and our successes have conquered all Europe, so that all the great powers are moved to show at least professions of friendship to the new "world power" with the Philippines at its disposal. But at the outbreak of the war, and before Admiral Dewey's victory of May 1 at Manila had made a change in the attitude of Europe, the hopes of the United States for a speedy and successful termination of the conflict were literally founded on the unwritten alliance with Great Britain.

THE APPEAL OF THE POWERS TO M'KINLEY.

A striking illustration of the value of that understanding was given in the critical fortnight between the day the President submitted to Congress the report of the *Maine* board of inquiry and the day when he sent in his message practically asking for authority to make armed intervention in Cuba. All the diplomatic influences on the Spanish side had culminated in an attempt to have the great powers united in a protest to be presented by their ambassadors in Washington to the President personally against taking hostile measures toward Spain, with intimations that united Europe would not permit military operations against Spain to extend beyond the West Indies. The attempt was not made formally, and as soon as the first suggestions of it reached the British Government it received its *quiescent*. But to satisfy Spain, or rather to aid in impressing her with the true state of the case and to reinforce the pressure then being applied to her by most of the great powers to induce her to yield without entering upon a costly conflict of arms, Great Britain consented to unite in a respectful appeal to President McKinley, after Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British ambassador, who was daily exchanging information and suggestions with our State Department officials, had ascertained that this would be not only agreeable, but welcome, to President McKinley as affording him an opportunity to make a last appeal to Spain for the concessions which would help him to avert war. The other powers agreed to take part in this demonstration for similar reasons to those which actuated Great Britain, and so for the first and last time the united voice of Europe was heard at the White House in regard to this mat-

ter. It is interesting and important to recall just what was said, April 7, 1898, on this occasion, unique in our history. Sir Julian Pauncefote, as spokesman for the ambassadors, read to the President, after he had formally received them, the following address, which had been approved by the President in advance :

The undersigned representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia, duly authorized in that behalf, address in the name of their respective governments a pressing appeal to the feelings of humanity and moderation of the President and of the American people in their existing difference with Spain. They earnestly hope that further negotiations will lead to an agreement which, while securing the maintenance of peace, will afford all necessary guarantees for the reestablishment of order in Cuba. The powers do not doubt that the humanitarian and purely disinterested character of this representation will be fully recognized and appreciated by the American nation.

To this President McKinley replied :

The Government of the United States recognizes the good-will which has prompted the friendly communication of the representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia as set forth in the address of your excellencies, and shares the hope therein expressed that the outcome of the situation in Cuba may be the maintenance of peace between the United States and Spain, by affording the necessary guarantees for the reestablishment of order in the island, so terminating the chronic state of disturbance there, which so deeply injures the interests and menaces the tranquillity of the American nation by the character and consequences of the struggle thus kept up at our doors, besides shocking its sentiment of humanity. The Government of the United States appreciates the humanitarian and disinterested character of the communication now made on behalf of the powers named, and for its part is confident that equal appreciation will be shown for its own earnest and unselfish endeavors to fulfill a duty to humanity by ending a situation the indefinite prolongation of which has become insufferable.

PRECEDENT FOR THE PRESIDENT'S ACTION.

President McKinley consented to make this apparent break in the tradition of our Government against receiving representations from any combination of European states, only because he felt that it would promote his efforts to utilize the pressure of the powers upon Spain to induce her to yield before Congress could act. Afterward he was criticised by Senators, in debate, for not refusing to listen to the ambassadors and for not telling them that to do so would be "a violation of the traditions and doctrines of this country." But neither these Senators nor newspapers which echoed their words appreciated that President McKinley was doing in another way what President Grant had done during the former Cuban insurrection, when in 1875 he actually

sought officially through our diplomatic representatives in Europe united action by the powers in support of his desire to end the trouble with Cuba. Secretary Fish's instructions to our representatives at the courts of the great powers on that occasion formed an ample precedent if one was needed for President McKinley's action in similar but more desperate circumstances.

At that time Great Britain, under the direction of Disraeli, who was prime minister, was unwilling to support the United States in an attempt to settle the Cuban question once for all, and the refusal of Lord Derby, who was at the head of the Foreign Office, to approve the proposed movement prevented the United States from succeeding in the attempt to enlist the aid of the powers. Minister Schenck, under the instructions of Secretary Fish, submitted to Lord Derby confidentially a copy of the instructions which were to be presented by Caleb Cushing, then our minister at Madrid, for presentation to the Spanish Government after they had received the approval of Great Britain and the other powers, in which the announcement was made that the time had come for intervention to end the condition of affairs in Cuba. If Great Britain's interest had been in the line of our interest then, the effort to unite the powers in support of American intervention might have succeeded, and the Cuban problem might have been solved without a war, and at least twenty-three years before the United States, with the moral support of Great Britain, did intervene.

President McKinley was careful, however, to adhere to the spirit of the State Department tradition, even to the extent of refusing, after the war broke out, to recognize both the ambassador of France and the ambassador of Austria-Hungary as in charge of the Spanish legation, which had been confided to them jointly by the Spanish Government, and Spain had to elect to be represented in Washington, in the limited way possible during war, by the French ambassador alone.

FRIENDLY RELATIONS CULTIVATED—UNDER DIFFICULTIES.

Yet in all his dealings with the great powers, singly, the President was careful at all times to cultivate the most friendly relations possible, and this explains some things which Secretary Day did and for which he was criticised because the necessity for utilizing every opportunity of this sort was not generally appreciated. It was, for example, by concluding the reciprocity treaty which France so much desired and by encouraging American participation in the Paris Exposition, and even by permitting the French steamer *Lafayette* to pass the blockade into Havana har-

bor and land passengers who were suspected of being French gunners and engineers, that right in the midst of the war our Government strengthened its hold on the French Government. When it was necessary our Government showed firmness, and even sternness, as in all the skillful diplomacy with which Admiral Dewey managed the foreign representatives in and around Manila from the time he destroyed Admiral Montojo's fleet until, with General Merritt, he took possession of the city.

Germany, while protesting through our ambassador at Berlin and her own ambassador at Washington her intention to remain strictly neutral, although in accordance, it was stated, with her custom she issued no proclamation of neutrality, went further than any of the other great powers toward breaking her neutral obligations and interfering with the United States. She kept more warships at Manila than any other European power, and Admiral von Diedrichs, who commanded them, and Prince Henry, the brother of the German Emperor, who accompanied him, seemed to be under secret instructions to annoy and affront Admiral Dewey almost to the point of actual hostilities while watching for an opportunity to land German forces on the pretext that the American commander was not able to protect the lives and property of Germans in Manila. Admiral Dewey is entitled to share the credit for the diplomatic victories of the war, for even his military achievements were not greater than his success in handling the delicate and difficult problem forced upon him by the Germans, in contradiction of their official professions and declarations.

FORBEARANCE TOWARD SPAIN.

Secretary Day's diplomacy in dealing with Spain has been sneered at by professional diplomats and others as "amateurish" and of the rude and rough "shirt-sleeves" variety. All this criticism is either ignorant or envious and in either case unwarrantable. Success in diplomacy, as in all statecraft, is generally held by diplomats to justify the method employed, and this ought to debar all professional criticism in the present case, for never was diplomacy more completely successful and at the same time more honorable or more courteous. Secretary Day scrupulously observed all the forms and the etiquette of diplomatic intercourse, and was, moreover, absolutely honest and straightforward in all that he did. The only real objection that Spain could raise against his methods was that he was "given to using ultimatums" and, generally, to summary action. But in the circumstances this was not only justifiable, but inevitable. Secretary Day delayed and al-

most prevented the war by his urgency in the attempt to make Spain grant concessions which would have averted war, and then, after the brief campaign had demonstrated the helplessness of Spain, by his urgency he ended the war, which might otherwise have dragged on for many months, to the detriment of both the United States and Spain. What may have seemed cruel to Spain in his proceedings was really kind and in Spain's best interest. Neither President McKinley nor Secretary Day cherished any animosity against Spain or felt at any time anything but compassion for her, whatever they may have thought about some of her generals and statesmen, and from the beginning of the administration to the end of the war Spain received full justice and even mercy at their hands.

SAGASTA'S MISTAKES.

Señor Sagasta, instead of blundering into his foolish treatment of the *Maine* disaster, might have coöperated with President McKinley to eliminate it from the consideration of the general Cuban question by accepting the report of our Sampson board of inquiry and offering suitable reparation, instead of setting up a contradictory report against it and demanding arbitration. And even after this blunder he might have averted war if, within the fortnight that the President gained for his final attempt to maintain peace after he had submitted the *Maine* report to Congress, he had made arrangements for the settlement of the Cuban question as President McKinley suggested. If he had closed with the offer which the Cuban representatives practically made, that they would buy Cuban independence by paying or assuming a large part or the whole of the Cuban debt, or if he had arranged an armistice with the Cubans and made sincere efforts to immediately begin to grant all that they could reasonably ask in the way of self-government and a complete amelioration of their condition, he might have lost Cuba, but he would have saved the Philippines and Porto Rico and the lives and the ships that he lost in war, to say nothing of the money expended. But although he constantly assured our Government that he wanted peace on any honorable terms, he did not, and perhaps could not, adopt any of the plans suggested to him for the purpose. Even the meager concessions which he did make came too late in every instance, under that procrastination which is so conspicuous in all that Spain has done in modern times.

THE WAR'S QUICK ENDING.

The crowning victory of our diplomacy in the war was the success of President McKinley and

Secretary Day in bringing the war so quickly and unexpectedly to an end. Predictions had been made by prominent men in this country and abroad that the war would last at least a year, and perhaps much longer, even after it had been shown at Manila and Santiago that Spain's military power was even weaker than had been supposed by American experts. The desperation of Spain would of itself, it was said, induce her to prolong the war, from which she could suffer little more and which would be increasingly expensive and annoying to the United States. It was supposed, even by those who looked for an early termination of the war, that Spain would not yield until the threatened attack of the eastern squadron had been made upon her coast and the islands of her home waters. Our forces were then engaged in taking Porto Rico, and the eastern squadron was to wait until that had been accomplished. Suddenly, as the direct result of the pressure which our diplomacy had induced the great powers, and particularly France, in the interest of her Spanish bondholders and her Paris Exposition, to apply to Spain, to the surprise even of the administration Spain made an application for terms of peace on July 26 through the French ambassador at Washington, M. Cambon.

Having brought Spain to this point, the McKinley administration managed so well that on August 12, little more than a fortnight later, the French ambassador signed on behalf of Spain, by her authority, the protocol which bound the two countries to an immediate cessation of hostilities and to the conclusion of a treaty of peace on the terms it named. While there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of Spain's move for peace, there is every reason to believe that the Spanish Government had no idea of signing a peace protocol in such a short time, but, on the contrary, proposed to prolong the preliminary negotiations indefinitely, and afterward to spend a still longer period in the final negotiation of a treaty of peace. At that time our military forces occupied the eastern part of Santiago province in Cuba and the greater portion of Porto Rico, with the harbor of Manila and the town of Cavite, and our flag had been raised over the island of Guam in the Ladrones. There was, apparently, opportunity for much discussion over the status of the United States in regard to these islands, and perhaps the Spanish Government believed that it was still possible to save the Philippines by clever diplomacy; especially as it was known at Madrid that President McKinley personally was not anxious to have the United States retain the Philippines, and that he and his advisers had not determined what should be done about them. But by earnestly pressing the advantage which

the Spanish Government had given it, our Government not only brought the Spanish Government to sign a protocol embodying the terms of peace in a surprisingly short time, but it made the terms of peace so comprehensive as to secure the surrender of the Philippines, as well as all the other Spanish territory we had touched. President McKinley and Secretary Day did this clever work. They were fortunate in having M. Cambon, the French ambassador, and his government as the intermediary, for the ambassador, under his instructions and with personal goodwill, cooperated with them zealously to bring about a prompt agreement upon the terms of peace, and his acceptance of their successive propositions gave them the quasi-indorsement of France, in such a way as to make it almost impossible for Spain to reject them when he transmitted them through the French Foreign Office to Madrid.

The administration, unprepared for the success of its own efforts to bring Spain to sue for peace, took from Tuesday afternoon until Saturday morning to formulate the terms of peace, which were then handed to Ambassador Cambon in the afternoon, who cabled them to Paris, whence they were telegraphed to Madrid Sunday afternoon. The terms were those afterward embodied in the protocol, and even though they must have been expected by the Spanish Government, they were undoubtedly hard to accept. Yet Spain had been informed through the French ambassador that a speedy decision was awaited, and that she must accept or reject them, since no modifications would be considered; and if not quickly accepted it was known that the war would be pressed more vigorously, and the eastern squadron would be hastened to make its demonstration in Spanish waters. Spain took just a week to consider her answer, which was signed on the following Sunday. The French ambassador on Wednesday had secured from the President and Secretary Day some explanations, but no modifications, of the demand of the United States, and an additional expression of the necessity for prompt acceptance, which he undoubtedly conveyed through his government to the Spanish Government. Señor Sagasta, realizing that the terms must be accepted, spent most of the week in bringing the leaders of the various Spanish factions to agree that it should be done. But he did not, apparently, realize that it would have to be done immediately, and he framed his answer in an argumentative way and in ambiguous terms, although it was heralded from Madrid as an acceptance of our proposition, and was therefore approved by the European press, under the inspiration of the governmental,

financial, and religious influences which were working upon Spain to restore peace.

It was Tuesday afternoon, August 9, when Ambassador Cambon presented to President McKinley and Secretary Day the Spanish reply, after his secretaries had translated the French cablegram into which the Spanish version had been converted upon its arrival by telegraph in Paris. It was apparent to the President and Secretary Day as soon as the Spanish reply was read, as it had been to Ambassador Cambon, that the Spanish intention was to prolong the negotiations, especially by raising an important question as to the paragraph in the terms respecting the Philippines. The Spanish Government yielded with reasonable frankness and clearness the sovereignty of Cuba and promised to cede Porto Rico, the other Spanish West Indies, and one of the Ladrões to the United States, and to immediately evacuate the West Indies, suspending hostilities at once, and to negotiate the treaty of peace at Paris through commissioners to meet not later than October 1, although there were indications of a desire for further argument on the Cuban question. But as to the requirement that the "control, disposition, and government of the Philippines" should be determined in the treaty of peace, there was a decided demur, even though, at Ambassador Cambon's suggestion before sending the demand, Secretary Day had substituted the word "disposition" for the word "possession" he had at first used in this paragraph, which began with the provision that the United States should occupy the city, bay, and harbor of Manila pending the conclusion of the treaty of peace.

In the Spanish reply Señor Sagasta said :

The terms relating to the Philippines seem to our understanding quite indefinite. On the one hand, the ground on which the United States believes itself entitled to occupy the bay, harbor, and city of Manila pending the conclusion of the treaty of peace cannot be that of conquest, since, in spite of the blockade maintained on the sea by the American fleet, and in spite of the siege established on land by a native supported and provided for by the American admiral, Manila still holds its own and the Spanish standard still waves over the city. On the other hand, the whole archipelago of the Philippines is in the power and under the sovereignty of Spain. Therefore the government of Spain thinks that the temporary occupation of Manila should constitute a guarantee. It is asserted that the treaty of peace shall determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines, but as the intentions of the federal Government by regression remain veiled, the Spanish Government must therefore declare that while accepting the third condition they do not *a priori* renounce the sovereignty of Spain over the archipelago, leaving it to the negotiators to agree as to such reforms as the condition of these possessions and the level of the

culture of the natives may render desirable. The government of her majesty accepts the third condition with the above-mentioned declarations.

THE PEACE PROTOCOL A FINALITY.

It was evident at once to the representatives of our Government that if they replied to this note it might prolong the correspondence indefinitely, and if they left it unchallenged it would embarrass the final negotiations at Paris. They therefore said at once to the French ambassador that they would construe the Spanish reply as an acceptance of the terms which had been offered, and would prevent future misunderstandings by embodying the terms in a protocol which Spain would be asked to authorize him to sign immediately. Ambassador Cambon agreed that the Spanish reply was an acceptance, and that it was perfectly proper to clinch the matter in the way suggested. President McKinley and Secretary Day lost no time, but the next morning sent to the French ambassador the protocol containing the terms of peace as they had been submitted to Spain, together with a formal note containing what they had said to him orally when he presented the Spanish reply respecting its acceptance.

The French ambassador telegraphed the protocol that afternoon to his government for transmission to the Spanish Government, and the Spanish Government realized that it was committed by the action of the French Government to immediately authorize the French ambassador to sign it under the ultimatum of our Government that it must be accepted or rejected at once and that the end of the correspondence had come. On the following day, August 11, the Spanish Government formally determined to authorize Ambassador Cambon to affix his signature on behalf of Spain to the protocol, and the next afternoon, Friday, August 12, a little before half-past 4 o'clock, Ambassador Cambon, having received the official authority to do so, signed with Secretary Day the two official copies of the protocol in French and English.

This practically ended the diplomacy of the war, for in the final negotiations at Paris Judge Day and the other American commissioners simply held the Spanish commissioners to the terms of the protocol, interpreted—as to the Philippines—into a purpose by the United States to retain the entire archipelago as the only practicable course in the circumstances; the sovereignty of Spain having been broken and Manila, the capital, having been actually occupied by Admiral Dewey and General Merritt on Saturday, August 13, before the news of the signing of the protocol could reach them.

OUR FEDERAL CONSTITUTION AND THE GOVERNMENT OF TROPICAL TERRITORIES.

BY PROF. HARRY PRATT JUDSON.

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IN our international relations and policy we are to-day confronted with new conditions. In order to judge of the way in which we should cope with these without shock to our constitutional system, it is well that we should reexamine the fundamental powers and limitations of the federal Government. To this end we must remember that the Constitution itself is the only source of correct knowledge. It is not impossible that we may have occasion to reconsider some interpretations of the organic law which have been easily made under the circumstances which have hitherto surrounded us, but which after all depended rather on those circumstances than on the necessary meaning of the Constitution. Such reconsideration has been practiced before this, and not merely by the political branch of the Government. The Supreme Court itself has more than once shown its willingness to take into account the development of the republic in order to give a fair and broad interpretation to the mandates of the Constitution. The legal-tender cases and the income-tax decisions are familiar instances in point. The Constitution stands; but its interpretation is progressive and flexible.

THE POWER TO ACQUIRE TERRITORY.

The constitutional power of the Government of the United States to acquire territory is too well settled by precedents for serious dispute. In the case of the American Insurance Company vs. Canter (1 Peters, 511), in 1828, Chief Justice Marshall, for the Supreme Court, laid down the law as follows: "The Constitution confers absolutely on the Government of the Union the powers of making war and of making treaties; consequently that Government possesses the power of acquiring territory, either by conquest or by treaty." Chief Justice Taney, in his opinion in the case of Scott vs. Sandford (19 Howard, 447), took another view. He held that "the power to expand the territory of the United States by the admission of new States is plainly given; and in the construction of this power by all the departments of the Government it has been held to authorize the acquisition of terri-

tory, not fit for admission at the time, but to be admitted as soon as its population and situation would entitle it to admission." Thus the power to acquire territory is implied in the power to admit States to the Union.

Judge Taney may be quite correct in inferring the power to add territory from the power to admit States. But it by no means follows that the power to expand may not also be implied from the power to make treaties and from the war power, as held by Judge Marshall. In fact, it is difficult to see how it is not an implication in any of these three powers.

Judge Taney prefaces his dictum as to the source of the power to acquire territory as follows: "There is certainly no power given by the Constitution to the federal Government to establish or maintain colonies bordering on the United States or at a distance, to be ruled and governed at its own pleasure; nor to enlarge its territorial limits in any way, except by the admission of new States."

Had the chief justice said that the Constitution gives no *express* power to acquire territory he would have been correct. But it is not easy to see why the implication is not as clear from the treaty and war powers, just as held by Judge Marshall. That being the case, Judge Taney's inference as to the sole purpose for which territory may be acquired at once falls to the ground. If territory can be constitutionally acquired only to form States, of course any other disposition of such territory would be unconstitutional. But if territory can also be acquired in the exercise of the power to make treaties or of the power to make war, it is plain that on such acquisitions there is no limitation of use. It follows, then, that in the exercise of these powers the federal Government can acquire territory for any purpose which may seem desirable. Bermuda may be purchased from Great Britain to form into a State or with the distinct purpose of retaining it permanently as federal territory for a fortress and naval station—or for that matter, for the purpose of blowing it up with dynamite and obliterating it from the face of the ocean. If Judge Marshall's reasoning is correct, land may

be acquired with the express intention of keeping it as a colony or with the intention of making it over ultimately to its inhabitants in full sovereignty. With either of these purposes or with any other purpose the acquisition of the Philippines by treaty with Spain is entirely constitutional.

It is true that heretofore our policy with reference to our Territories has uniformly been to develop them into States. But this has been policy, not constitutional necessity. A change of policy in this regard may or may not be wise. It surely is not a violation of the Constitution.

THE POWER TO GOVERN TERRITORY.

The full power to govern territory acquired by the United States and not admitted to the Union as a State or States is vested in the federal legislature of the republic. Pending such legislative action the President, as chief executive, both civil and military, governs with plenary power, saving only such limitations as may constitutionally lie against the exercise of any of his powers. Indeed, until Congress has acted annexed territory is not a part of the United States so far as our laws are concerned (Fleming vs. Page, 9 Howard, 615).

The decision of the Supreme Court in the case last cited is very significant. It must imply the plenary power of the Government of the United States over its Territories, that these Territories occupy a legal position radically different from that of the States, and that it is quite at the discretion of Congress whether it will or will not put all the subject territory of the United States on the same basis. The President, in the exercise of the power above noted, has governed the Territory of Orleans and the territory acquired from Spain, from Mexico, and from Russia. A strict constructionist Democrat (Jefferson), one of his closest political adherents (Monroe), a Whig (Taylor), and Republicans (Grant and his successors) have all alike ruled annexed territory without specific legislation. There can be no reasonable doubt of the constitutionality of power thus supported by the decision of the Supreme Court and by a long line of precedents representing every school of political thought.

The plenary power of Congress to govern the Territories has been traced to different sources in the Constitution. Chief Justice Taney (Scott vs. Sandford, 19 Howard, 393) inferred it from the power to admit States. In the exercise of this express power, he said, it may be necessary to acquire territory which is not yet fitted to become a State, but which meanwhile must be governed. Congress only, therefore, can control

such territory while it is in a condition of transition.

Chief Justice Marshall, on the other hand, inferred the power to govern either from the power to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States (Art. IV., Sec. 3, ¶ 2) or from the power to acquire territory "Whichever may be the source whence the power is derived," he says, "the possession of it is unquestioned" (American Insurance Company vs. Canter, 1 Peters, 511).

The power to govern annexed territory, however, whether in the hands of the President or of the Congress, is subject to such constitutional limitations as apply to the exercise of any powers by those branches of the federal Government. Are these limitations of such a nature as to cause serious embarrassment in the case of annexed territories over seas, and especially in the case of such territories as contain an alien population?

The limitations from which difficulties are particularly apprehended relate to such matters as citizenship and suffrage, personal rights, taxation, and commerce. Let us consider these. But first let us see what the Constitution means when it speaks of the "United States."

"THE UNITED STATES" IN THE CONSTITUTION.

"The United States of America," "The United States," are terms which, geographically, may be considered to have two quite distinct applications.

In one application they may include all land within the national boundaries—all land over which the jurisdiction of the republic extends. This is the international sense. It is in this sense that the territory of the United States appears on a map. Other nations have no concern with the differences of jurisdiction resulting from our local law. All that concerns them is to know the boundaries within which the authority of the republic is exclusive of any other jurisdiction. We may call this the larger sense of the term "United States."

There may be, however, a more restricted sense, which depends not upon the extent of jurisdiction irrespective of legal diversities, but upon the fundamental sovereignties which compose the republic. In this sense "The United States" means merely the *States* which are *united*. The geographical extent of the term is limited by the several State boundaries, and does not include any of that land belonging to the Union which we commonly call "the Territories." It is within this narrow area and by the people who inhabit it that the fundamental law of the republic

lic is made and is modified. It is within this area and by the people who inhabit it that the officers of the federal Government are chosen. The Congress which makes laws, the President and Senate who make treaties, the judiciary which interprets the Constitution, laws, and treaties, derive their authority wholly from the will of the people within the narrower area. In all these things the people who reside within the national limits, but outside this narrower area, have no voice whatever. In the narrower sense, then, by the "United States" we may mean the "Union"—the (at present) forty-five States whose union forms our federal republic.

CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL'S OPINION.

In which of these two possible senses of the term the Constitution itself speaks of the "United States" we shall consider later. In the first place, however, it may be as well to give attention to a judicial construction of the question by the Supreme Court of the United States, the opinion being given by the illustrious Chief Justice John Marshall. The case was that of *Loughborough vs. Blake*, decided in 1820. The chief justice was trying to prove that the power of Congress to lay direct taxes in proportion to population applied to the Territories no less than to the States, and was not limited to the special purposes of those Territories, but might be employed for any general purpose as well. A part of his reasoning is as follows: "The eighth section of the first article gives to Congress the 'power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises' for the purposes thereafter mentioned. This grant is general, without limitation as to place. It consequently extends to all places over which the Government extends. If this could be doubted, the doubt would be removed by the subsequent words which modify the grant. These words are, 'but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.' It will not be contended that the modification of the power extends to places to which the power does not extend. The power, then, to lay and collect duties, imposts, and excises may be exercised and must be exercised throughout the United States. Does this term designate the whole or any particular portion of the American empire? Certainly this question can admit of but one answer. It is the name given to one great republic which is composed of States and Territories. The District of Columbia, with the territory west of the Mississippi, is not less within the United States than Maryland or Pennsylvania; and it is not less necessary, on the principles of our Constitution, that uniformity in the imposition of imposts, duties, and excises should

be observed in the one than in the other. Since, then, the power to lay and collect taxes, which includes direct taxes, is obviously coextensive with the power to lay and collect duties, imposts, and excises, and since the latter extends throughout the United States, it follows that the power to impose direct taxes also extends throughout the United States" (*Loughborough vs. Blake*, 5 Wheaton, 317).

Now, it would not seem difficult to show that this whole argument is fatally defective. The conclusion reached, that Congress has the power to impose direct taxes on the Territories in proportion to population for the general purposes of the federal Treasury, is undoubtedly correct. But if it could be deduced only from Judge Marshall's reasoning in this case it would certainly disappear.

"It will not be contended," says the chief justice, "that the modification of the power extends to places to which the power itself does not extend." Quite true; but it may easily be that the modification may have less extent than the power. The power to lay taxes, in other words, may cover "the whole American empire," and its modification—the uniformity of duties, imposts, and excises—may cover only a particular portion of that empire—viz., the States.

But the judge asks the question: "Does this term" (the United States) "designate the whole or any particular portion of the American empire?" And at once he responds to the query: "Certainly this question can admit of but one answer. It is the name given to our great republic, which is composed of States and Territories." It will be seen that this answer is a mere assertion—a bald assumption—unsupported by a particle of evidence or even by any attempt at proof. It doubtless seemed to him self-evident. But yet there as certainly are two possible meanings of the term the "United States"—the more obvious meaning, which would confine it to the States, and the larger international meaning, which would include the territories as well.

It apparently occurred to the judge later that perhaps he ought to prove his assumption that the modification of uniformity applied to "the whole American empire." He does it by urging that "it is not less necessary, on the principles of our Constitution, that uniformity in the imposition of imposts, duties, and excises should be observed in the one than in the other"—i.e., that the uniformity should be observed in the territories as well as in the States. Of course the truth of that proposition depends altogether on the relative conditions of territories and States. In the Territories which Marshall knew

it might well be that uniformity in the imposition of imposts would be equitable—it might well be that so far as taxes were concerned those Territories should be placed on the same footing as the States. However, it by no means follows that similar conditions will be true of all territories which the republic may acquire. On the contrary, it may easily be the case that uniformity of imposts as between territories over seas on the one hand and the States on the other would be very undesirable. If, then, we are to infer that the constitutional uniformity of imposts is to be construed as covering “the whole American empire” merely because it is desirable that there be such uniformity between territories and States, and if it appears that in fact such desirability in given cases does not exist, the whole contention is overthrown.

In short, if the uniformity in question has the larger comprehension it must be from some other reason than Chief Justice Marshall’s unsupported assertion or his assumption of its inherent and universal desirability.

FIRST USE OF THE TERM.

Does the required uniformity in the imposition of duties, imposts, and excises in fact relate to “the whole American empire” or merely to the States? To determine this, let us examine the Constitution itself and note in what sense the term “United States” is employed.

The essential part of the preamble, the enacting clause, reads: “We, the people of the United States . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.”

The Constitution, proposed by the federal convention of 1787, was enacted into law by the act of the States. Article VII. provided that “the ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.” In fact, eleven States had ratified when the new Government under the Constitution went into operation. Thirteen States were expected to join in the federal pact, and in the end they did, North Carolina and Rhode Island giving their adhesion during Washington’s first term as President. “We, the people of the United States,” then, could mean nothing but the people of the thirteen States, acting severally in their State conventions. The few scattering people in the Western territory which had recently been vested in the Union, and whose government had just been organized, had no part whatever in the adoption of the organic law.

Further, in each of the fifteen cases in which the Constitution has been amended, such amendment has become law by the action of three-fourths of

the States acting severally through their Legislatures (Art. V.). In no one of these cases have the people outside of the limits of the States had any voice. Hence the area within which resided the sovereign power which could enact the Constitution must be coterminous with that of “We, the people of the United States,” who enacted it. The “United States” of the opening words of the preamble must have meant, geographically, merely the thirteen areas within which resided the enacting people, and therefore must have excluded the federal territory outside of those areas. Moreover, it is “We, the people of the United States” who amend the Constitution, and the people who amend are confined to the State areas—the Territories are excluded.

Here, then, seems to be the first official and legal use of the term “United States” in the Constitution, and it appears to be confined to the States and in no sense to comprehend “the whole American empire.”

The closing words of the preamble declare that the Constitution is established “for the United States of America.” Is there any good reason to suppose that the obvious meaning of the term “United States” at the beginning of the sentence is any different at the end of the sentence? Even, however, if it should be conceded that the expression “the United States of America” means “the whole American empire,” it must be noticed that it can only mean that the Constitution was adopted *for the benefit* of that empire, but by no means *by* it. The Territories do indeed receive great benefits from the Government of the United States under the Constitution. It by no means follows, however, that these Territories are a *part* of the sovereignty whose organic law is the Constitution.

CONGRESS AND THE TERRITORIES.

The first section of Article I. vests all the legislative power “herein granted” in a “Congress of the United States,” specifying that it shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives. It is then distinctly specified that all the Senators and Representatives shall be elected within the States and by the States. In choosing Senators the people of the several States act through their Legislatures; in choosing Representatives the people of each State act directly at the polls. Both Senators and Representatives must, when elected, be inhabitants of the States in which and for which they are chosen. Each State has two Senators. Representatives are apportioned “among the several States which may be included within this Union” according to population. Can anything be more obvious? “The several States which may be

included within this Union" send their Senators and Representatives to a "Congress of the United States." Is this Congress "of the United States" anything else than a Congress "of the several States which compose this Union"? Here again the term "United States" seems to denote an area coterminous with that of the States and of the States only. The federal legislature may exert authority over the Territories, it may be a Congress *for* the Territories, it may allow delegates from the Territories a voice in Congressional deliberations, but in its origin and in the source of its power it is plainly a Congress of the States. The Territories are subject to Congressional authority, made so by the provision of Art. IV., Sec. 3, ¶ 2, which gives Congress the power to "make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory . . . of the United States," or the Congressional authority may come by inference from other powers. But even Congress cannot give a vote to territorial delegates. The Territories are no part of these United States which form the basis of the federal Government.

EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIAL AUTHORITY.

The second article of the Constitution vests the federal executive power in a President of "the United States of America." The President is elected by the States, through electors designated for that purpose in such manner as the State Legislatures may direct. In this election, as in that of the Congress, the Territories have no part. The sovereignty whose executive power the President administers consists of the States—is coterminous with those States. Of course he exercises authority wherever the Union has jurisdiction, but that is because he is the President of the Union—of the United States. What reason is there to suppose that "the United States of America," which elect the President and whose President he is, extend further than the United States which elect Senators and Representatives to Congress—than the United States which ordained and established the Constitution?

The third article of the Constitution vests "the judicial power of the United States" in certain courts and defines the jurisdiction of these courts. There are courts in the Territories, created by act of Congress. But the territorial courts are not courts of the United States as defined in the Constitution. Chief Justice Marshall said in 1828 (*American Insurance Company vs. Canter*, 1 Peters, 511), speaking of territorial courts: "These courts, then, are not constitutional courts, in which the judicial power conferred by the Constitution on the general Government can be deposited. They

are incapable of receiving it. They are legislative courts, created in virtue of the general right of sovereignty which exists with the Government, or in virtue of that clause which enables Congress to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory belonging to the United States. The jurisdiction with which they are invested is not a part of that judicial power which is defined in the third article of the Constitution, but is conferred by Congress in the execution of those general powers which that body possesses over the Territories of the United States." In 1871 Chief Justice Chase, in his opinion in the case of *Clinton vs. Engelbracht* (13 Wallace, 447), said: "There is no Supreme Court of the United States, nor is there any District Court of the United States in the sense of the Constitution, in the territory of Michigan. The judges are not appointed for the same terms, nor is the jurisdiction which they exercise part of the judicial power conferred by the Constitution on the general Government. The courts are the legislative courts of the territory created in virtue of the clause which authorizes Congress to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the Territories belonging to the United States." In legislation with reference to the judicial article, Congress has enacted that "the United States shall be divided into judicial districts"—meaning by the United States the *States* merely. Provision is made for territorial courts in separate statutes. The judicial article, then, seems to mean by the "United States" the States only, and not "the whole American empire."

"THE UNITED STATES" AS A SOVEREIGNTY.

In short, the whole frame of government provided by the Constitution implies a "United States" which consists of States and nothing else as the source of authority. The United States as a sovereignty—as a source of supreme law—consists of the States only. And thus the term "United States" is used in the Constitution incessantly in the limited sense. It would seem, then, that if that term is used therein in any other sense it would be so plainly indicated that no misconception would be possible.

Is it used anywhere in the Constitution in the larger sense? There is nothing to show that any variation in the meaning is intended. Why should there be? The framers were engaged in constructing a plan of government for a federal union of thirteen States. The States united were to form the "United States." The Congress, the executive, the judiciary, were to be the Government of the Union composed of the thirteen States thus united for common purposes. So far

as government and law were concerned—and it was government and law with which they were dealing—the whole Union was comprised in the thirteen States for which they were providing. The federal territory beyond the Alleghanies was, so far as these primary purposes were concerned, non-existent. That territory might have been transferred to England or Spain—it might have vanished from the face of the earth—and the thirteen United States would have remained just as they were. The federal Union would have been unimpaired. But suppose that territory to have remained and the thirteen States to have dropped into the Atlantic: where then would have been “the United States of America” for which the Constitution was to have been ordained?

Of course it is not implied that the Constitution is silent as to the federal territory. Art. IV., Sec. 3, ¶ 2 specifically gives to the Congress the power to “make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory . . . belonging to the United States.” Notice—*belonging to the United States*, not a *part of the United States*. Is not the term “United States” here plainly used in the narrower sense, limiting it to the political sovereignty to which the territory belonged, but of which, in that sense, it was by no means a part?

It does not seem, indeed, that the larger meaning of the term “the United States”—the meaning which makes it include States and Territories—was in the minds of the framers of the Constitution at all. That meaning has been the result of a later growth. For lack of a distinct territorial name, corresponding to “France” or “Germany,” the official name of the federal republic of States has come to be applied geographically to all the land within the national boundaries. This is quite natural and proper. But it is just as well not to forget that there is a double use of the name, and that the Constitution seems to use it consistently only in the narrower sense.

UNIFORMITY IN LEVYING INDIRECT TAXES.

In fact, is there any real reason to suppose that any other than the limited meaning was intended in the constitutional limitation on the power of Congress to lay imposts—“but all duties, imposts, and excises must be uniform throughout the United States”?

The only reason Chief Justice Marshall tries to give is that “it is no less necessary in the principles of our Constitution that uniformity in the imposition of imposts, duties, and excises should be observed in the one than in the other”—i.e., in the Territories no less than in the

States. But this is not a constitutional reason. It is merely a reason in expediency, formulated on such experience of Territories as there had been up to that time. Now we are confronted with the possibility of owning territories with respect to which the necessity in question may be exactly the reverse of true. If, then, the fact of such necessity is the sole reason for applying the rule of uniformity to the Territories in common with the States, and if that necessity disappears as to any particular territories, at once the reason for such construction of the Constitution disappears also. Then the limitation reverts to its natural meaning when taken in connection with the rest of the Constitution—duties, imposts, and excises must be uniform throughout the *States* which form the Union. If that is the case, it is discretionary with Congress as to how far that uniformity shall be applied to territories. Congress may apply the uniformity to some territories and not to others—to Arizona and Oklahoma and not to the Philippines.

Indeed, the reasons for requiring uniformity among the States are many and obvious. It was the States which confederated, but with many misgivings and jealousies. The taxing power was given to the federal Government with great reluctance. There was a sincere dread that States, especially small ones, might be oppressed by the new agency. Unless the taxing power should be so limited as to insure equality of burden, it might easily be that some States should be discriminated for and others against. In reading the debates in the convention it is this feature which appears everywhere. Hence when it was moved by Pinckney that duties should be “uniform and equal throughout the United States” (Madison’s “Journal of the Federal Convention,” Aug. 25) there was practically no opposition, and later the clause as it now stands was adopted unanimously. But it was uniformity among States which was apparently in mind.

PROHIBITION ON EXPORT DUTIES.

Another limitation on the federal taxing power is that relating to export duties: “No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State” (Art. I., Sec. 9, ¶ 5). It will be noticed that this is not an *unqualified* limitation on the power of Congress. It is not a prohibition to lay duties *on exports*, but on articles exported *from any State*. Does this prohibition apply to duties laid on articles exported from a *territory*?

It would seem that the inhibition could not be so applied. A “State” in the sense of the Constitution is a member of the Union—one of the political units which shares in powers distributed

under our dual system of government. A territory is not a member of the Union and has none of the constitutional political rights which belong to the States. A territory is not a State.

However, the Supreme Court has held that under some circumstances and for some purpose a territory may be considered to be to all intents a State. In construing a treaty with France, for instance, under which certain privileges were given to French subjects within the States, it was ruled that the same privileges were due in the Territories (*Geofrey vs. Riggs*, 133 U. S., 258). But treaties are to be construed liberally and according to their probable intent, so that this construction can hardly have much weight. (See also *Talbot vs. Silver Bow Company*, 139 U. S., 438.)

These cases can have no bearing on the question before us. The decisions of the court are clear, positive, and frequent, to the purport that by a State the Constitution means always and only a member of the Union. In *Hepburn vs. Ellzey* (2 Cranch, 445) Chief Justice Marshall for the court admitted that some writers on jurisprudence used the term "State" as applied to any organized political society, whether sovereign or not. But he held that this could not be the sense of the Constitution—that within the meaning of the Constitution the District of Columbia was not a State. Subsequently (*New Orleans vs. Winter*, 1 Wheaton, 91) the court applied this doctrine still further, declaring that no territory is a State in the sense of the Constitution. What a treaty with France may mean is one thing; what the Constitution of the United States means is quite different. A territory is not a State; then there is no prohibition on laying a tax on articles exported from a territory.

DIRECT TAXES.

It has already been held that Congress can lay a direct tax on a territory. The limitation on this form of the taxing power of Congress is *unqualified*: "No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken" (Art. I., Sec. 9, ¶ 4). The limitation does not relate to any particular place or circumstances, but restricts the power whenever exerted at all. Hence if a direct tax is imposed on a territory it must be in proportion to population (*Loughborough vs. Blake*, 5 Wheaton, 317). The power itself, so far as its application to a territory is concerned, may easily be inferred from the general power of Congress to govern territories.

CITIZENSHIP BY ANNEXATION?

Do the inhabitants of ceded territory become citizens of the United States? So far as international law is concerned, the inhabitants of ceded territory transfer their allegiance. They become subject to the sovereignty of the new nation. Citizenship, with the rights and privileges which may be implied in it, is a matter of municipal law only, with which international law has no concern. Therefore the question resolves itself at once into an inquiry as to the application of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

Evidently a treaty of cession may stipulate that the inhabitants of ceded territory may, in whole or in part, become citizens of the United States, either immediately or under certain contingencies. The treaty of 1803 with France, by which Louisiana was acquired, had the following provision: "Article III. The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the meantime they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess." The treaty of 1819 with Spain for the cession of Florida had a provision (Art. VI.) in almost the same words as the above, as did the treaty of 1848 with Mexico involving the cession of California and New Mexico (Art. IX.).

By this it is clear that in none of these cases was the United States bound to regard the inhabitants of the ceded territory as citizens of the United States prior to the admission of the new land into the Union.

Further, it is obvious that in neither case could the term "inhabitants" have been so construed as to include wild Indians, or negroes, or any other persons who, under the laws of the United States, were incapable of becoming citizens.

The treaty with Russia in 1867 for the acquisition of Alaska was somewhat different. It provided for the immediate admission of such inhabitants, excepting uncivilized native tribes, "to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States." The right of citizenship herein guaranteed is evidently a treaty right—legal, because treaties are a part of the supreme law of the land.

The treaty-making power, then, may specify what inhabitants of the ceded territory may become citizens of the United States and under what conditions.

Does the fourteenth amendment to the Con-

stitution go further than this and at once, as soon as ceded territory becomes a part of the territory of the United States, by its own force make all the inhabitants citizens?

The definition of citizenship is as follows: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the States wherein they reside" (Amendment XIV., Sec. 1).

The inhabitants of ceded territory transfer their allegiance. They are not necessarily thereby "naturalized" in the sense of acquiring citizenship. That would be a matter within the competence of Congress to decide, so far as the treaty with Spain has not covered the ground.

Further, it seems plain that uncivilized natives under tribal relations would occupy the same status precisely as our own Indians or the "uncivilized tribes" of Alaska. They would be "domestic dependent nations," as Marshall called them (*Cherokee Nation vs. Georgia*, 5 Peters, 1). They are, in fact, "Indians"—and the fourteenth amendment does not make citizens of Indians (Report of Senate Committee on Judiciary, Dec. 14, 1870).

Again, transfer of allegiance in the absence of specific treaty stipulations could not be construed as naturalization of such persons as those to whom the laws of the United States deny naturalization. The existing law (Forty-seventh Cong., First Session, Ch. 126, Sec. 9) forbids the admission of Chinese to citizenship. Repeated judicial decisions have interpreted the naturalization act which applies only to "white persons and persons of African descent" (U. S. Revised Statutes, Sec. 2169). Thus naturalization has been denied to a native of Japan (*in re Saito*, 62 Fed. Rep., 126), to a native of Burmah (*in re Po*, 28 N. Y. S., 383), and to a native Hawaiian (*in re Kanaka Nian*, 21 Pac., 993).

It would seem to follow that it is entirely within the scope of the treaty-making power and the legislative power to prescribe what inhabitants of annexed territory shall become citizens by virtue of allegiance.

CITIZENSHIP BY BIRTH.

But after annexation is effected will persons born in the annexed territory become citizens under the fourteenth amendment? It has already been decided by the Supreme Court in the case of a person born in the United States of Chinese parentage, whose father is not a citizen, but is domiciled in California, that such person, being subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, is a citizen (*United States vs. Wong Kim Ark*, 169 U. S., 649). It will be noticed

that the person concerned in this case was born in California, a State of the Union.

In considering whether the principle of this case is to be applied to territory of the United States not included within States, the court must take into account the fact that the geographic application of the term "United States" relates to two distinct areas—"the whole American empire," on the one hand, and the States, excluding federal territory, on the other; that the latter is the sense plainly required in the original Constitution in many places and not necessarily debarred in others; that thus there must be some specific reason for holding that the "United States" of the fourteenth amendment is a different sort of thing from the "United States" of the preamble. Or if the court holds that the two senses of the term are indifferent and that it may apply either, surely discretion may be used in the selection of that sense which on the whole best accords with the present interests of the republic. Besides, in the last supposition the decision of the political branch of the Government would seem to be binding on the court.

It therefore is by no means a settled thing that persons born in annexed territory are by mere force of the fourteenth amendment citizens of the United States. On the other hand, a reasonable interpretation would limit the constitutional requirement to the States, leaving citizenship within territories to legislative discretion.

SUFFRAGE.

The question of suffrage, under the limitations of the fifteenth amendment, is not a source of difficulty. The provision is: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Assuming citizenship of the civilized inhabitants of annexed territory, it by no means follows that Congress is bound to extend to them at once universal suffrage or, indeed, any suffrage at all. The first territorial government of the Territory of Orleans (the settled part of the Louisiana Purchase, in which was the city of New Orleans) included a governor, judges, and a legislative council, all appointed by the President of the United States. Suffrage restricted by an educational or property qualification does not come under the inhibition of the amendment. These possibilities afford ample room for a frame of government suitable to such territories as the Philippines.

INTERSTATE NAVIGATION.

The navigation laws of the United States may easily be adapted to the conditions of annexed

territory over sea. Art. I., Sec. 9, ¶ 6 is this: "No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another." This is a limitation on the commerce power of Congress (Art. I., Sec. 8, ¶ 3). But it will be seen that it is not an *unqualified* limitation—it relates merely to *State* equality and *interstate* commerce. As annexed territory is not necessarily a State, the limitation cannot apply to such territory as remains subject to the control of Congress. It is quite at the discretion of that body whether uniformity of commerce regulations shall be applied to territories on the same basis as to the States.

PERSONAL RIGHTS.

There remain the limitations on the power of the federal Government in the interest of personal rights—the so-called federal bill of rights, found mainly in the first eight amendments and in the thirteenth and fourteenth. These are unqualified limitations and undoubtedly apply wherever the jurisdiction of the United States extends, both in States and in territories. But what are these rights? Personal freedom, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right of assembly and petition, trial by jury—are these of necessity a danger to the administration of colonies? Perhaps a drum-head court-martial might be a more speedy means of dealing with uncivilized people than would a jury trial. After all, however, a jury is merely a means of inferring facts from evidence, and it is not of the essence of the system that jurymen should themselves be uncivilized. The federal bill of rights is no bar to suitable government of tropical territories.

SUMMARY.

In brief, then, these seem to be the essential facts so far as the constitutional implications of a colonial policy are concerned. The power to acquire territory is no longer seriously questioned. The purposes of annexation are not limited by the Constitution, but are at the discretion of the political branch of the Government. It is not necessary, therefore, that annexed territory should be destined for statehood. It may be held permanently as a colony, for purposes of national defense or from economic considerations. It may be held in trust for the inhabitants, with the expectation of ultimately turning it over to them should they so desire and should they prove themselves capable of orderly government. Meanwhile the government of such territory is subject to the control of Congress.

The inhabitants of annexed territory do not by virtue of annexation necessarily all become citizens of the United States—it is not beyond question that any of them do so become. The fourteenth amendment is not of necessity so to be construed as to make birth in annexed territory result in American citizenship. The fourteenth amendment relates to the "United States." That is a term which has two meanings: in the larger sense it includes all that is within the national boundaries—"the whole American empire," as Chief Justice Marshall calls it; in the more restricted sense it includes only the States, but excludes all federal territory. It is in the second—the restricted—sense that the term is used in the Constitution as denoting the sovereign power whose governmental agencies are therein provided—a sovereign power in which the territories have no share: "We, the people of the United States . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution." It is by no means proved that the term occurs anywhere in the Constitution in any other sense. Territories are not "States" within the meaning of the Constitution, and the "United States" in its restricted governmental sense is merely the "States" federally united. From these considerations it follows that some constitutional inconveniences apprehended from annexation of lands over sea and inhabited by inferior races are not likely to occur. Congress may lay a direct tax on such territories, subject only to the constitutional limitation of proportion to population.

The limitation of uniformity placed by the Constitution on the power to lay indirect taxes is confined to "the United States," which may well mean the *States*. Thus there would be no such limitation so far as territories are concerned, and hence Congress would be quite free to maintain therein such system of duties and excises as circumstances may warrant, irrespective of the policy controlling the "States." The navigation laws are constitutionally limited also with reference only to the "States." Thus Congress may, if it seems expedient so to do, establish the "open door" in over-sea territories without let or hindrance from the Constitution. Such personal rights as the Constitution guarantees within the whole jurisdiction of the national Government—both in States and in territories—are on the whole such as would not materially impede adequate control of federal territory, and at the same time such as we would wish to extend to all people under the American flag.

The acquisition of tropical territories may or may not be in accordance with sound policy. The control of such territories presents few serious constitutional difficulties.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

MR. WILSON AND CAPTAIN MAHAN ON THE WAR.

AMONG the articles on war subjects in the January *Harper's* there is a *résumé* of the naval lessons of the war by Mr. W. H. Wilson, the English author of "Ironclads in Action." Mr. Wilson has not much of an opinion of the Spaniard as a sea-fighter. Speaking as an Englishman he says:

"In all our past wars the Americans are the people who have most seriously challenged our claim to be lords of the sea. Paul Jones, Hull, and Decatur are the names to us of men who were the equals of our great sea-captains. The Spaniards, on the other hand, since the days of Drake and Hawkins, have been the enemies we have feared least.

SPAIN NEVER A FORMIDABLE SEA POWER.

"Rodney, in the war of American independence, defeated them with scarcely an effort, and time after time British frigates captured Spanish frigates with absurdly small loss to our crews. It is curious to note that in his 'Life of Rodney' Mr. Hannay, one of our most distinguished naval historians, speaks of 'the extraordinary fatuity which has distinguished the modern Spanish admiral and general.' 'Extraordinary fatuity' is the one phrase for Spain's course of action in the present war. 'A war with Spain,' says Brenton, 'was always popular with our sailors, who despised her for her want of skill.' In our fight for life of 1796-1808, the battle of St. Vincent serves to illustrate once more the hopeless feebleness of the Spanish navy. Nelson and our great captains looked upon 'the dons' with undisguised contempt. 'A Spanish ship chased is a Spanish ship taken' was a saying of those days, which seems still to hold true when the chaser is manned by Anglo-Saxons. Of all things, national character changes most slowly, and what Spaniards were in the last century they still remain, while the introduction of steam and machinery into naval war has yet further handicapped them. They lack mechanical aptitude as a race, and have, to judge by the records of the present war, failed to make the best use of the admirable weapons with which English and Italian designers have supplied them. Bad as they were in handling sailing ships—when it would take them twenty-four hours to form line of battle, a maneuver which British seamen executed in as many minutes—they are yet worse in hus-

banding the frail structures of steel and the complicated engines and machinery which make up the modern ship of war."

In such low estimation does Mr. Wilson hold the Spanish character in the matter of naval warfare that he ventures the opinion that the Americans would have probably thrashed the Spaniards even if the ships had been reversed; that is, if Schley's and Sampson's men had been on the *Colon*, *Oquendo*, etc., and the Spaniards had manned the *Oregon*, the *Iowa*, and the rest of the American fleet. Even if the victory would not have come to the Americans under these circumstances, he is confident that they would have inflicted awful damage on their opponents.

SANTIAGO MORE WONDERFUL THAN MANILA.

Mr. Wilson differs somewhat from the majority of critics of the two great sea-fights of the war in considering the victory of the Santiago fleet as greatly more extraordinary than Admiral Dewey's victory in Manila harbor. Without a word of disparagement of Dewey's victory, he gives it as his opinion that it was mere madness for Montojo to fight; that he should have landed his men and guns and have destroyed his vessels on the appearance of Dewey. Mr. Wilson tabulates the Spanish and American strength before Santiago and does not at all consider the odds hopelessly against the former.

The battle of Manila Mr. Wilson simply considers an added illustration of the hopelessness of old ships against modern cruisers, and finds little to be learned besides. Of the specific lessons of the war he emphasizes the necessity, too, of coaling bases and of the advantage of fighting near one's own home. He thinks little of monitors, and is surprised that the United States has ordered more of this class of vessels. He finds in the bombardment of Santiago a fresh proof that ships and forts will never contend on equal terms. "Shots which strike the earth and throw up mountains of dust are practically wasted. The vulnerable target in the fort is thus little larger than the muzzles of the guns mounted. The ship, on the other hand, is vulnerable almost anywhere, and can be put out of action by a single lucky hit on the water-line where this is not protected with thick armor."

THE TORPEDO BOAT.

Several writers seem to consider that the late war showed the torpedo boat to be of little

account, but Mr. Wilson thinks the war has made no contribution to our knowledge on this subject. He says: "The French advocates of the small craft have never suggested that two or three isolated boats could attack a squadron of battleships in broad daylight with the faintest hope of success. They have always pictured swarms of boats falling upon isolated ships by night, and they have urged that during daylight no torpedo-boat attack should be made until the battleship's auxiliary battery has been put out of action. The rush of the *Furor* and *Pluton* at Santiago was as useless as would be a charge executed by a troop of cavalry upon a regiment of perfectly intact infantry and a couple of batteries of artillery. The two destroyers were really thrown away."

QUICK-FIRING SMALL-BORE GUNS.

In the matter of gun calibers Mr. Wilson notes the failure of the big guns to make any considerable proportion of hits at Santiago. He says the British navy calculates an average of one hit in four shots with its thirteen-and-a-half-inch guns. With apparently equal gunnery talent the Americans shot some sixty or eighty heavy shells at Santiago, with but two solitary hits, which seems to show that with these heavy guns there is a very great difference between target practice and action. The Santiago battle does seem to have confirmed the experience of the Yalu that quick-firing artillery of moderate caliber is in every way the most effective, and there is a general movement in European navies toward small bores and quicker firing. In the German navy battleships are being built armed with only quick-firers.

Captain Mahan Explains the Distribution of Our Fleets.

As one would expect, Captain Mahan's article in *McClure's* on the sea-fight and its lesson of the late war are more concerned with the strategic movements of the Spanish and American fleets. Captain Mahan discusses the preparedness of the two countries for war and the naval philosophy which governed the movements of the American fleet very exhaustively and technically. The disposition of our own fleet he explains as worthless, and it is interesting to have their authoritative declaration of the motives which governed our naval board of strategy:

"The monitors were all sent to Key West, where they would be at hand to act against Havana; the narrowness of the field in which that city, Key West, and Mantanzas are comprised making their slowness less of a drawback, while the moderate weather which might be expected

to prevail would permit their shooting to be less inaccurate. The station of the flying squadron in Hampton Roads, though not so central as New York relatively to the more important commercial interests, upon which, if upon any, the Spanish attack might fall, was more central as regards the whole coast; and, above all, was nearer than New York to Havana and to Porto Rico. The time element also entered the calculations in another way, for a fleet of heavy ships is more certainly able to put to sea at a moment's notice, in all conditions of tide and weather, from the Chesapeake than from New York Bay. In short, the position chosen may be taken to indicate that, in the opinion of the Navy Department and its advisers, Cervera was not likely to attempt a dash at an Atlantic port, and that it was more important to be able to reach the West Indies speedily than to protect New York or Boston: a conclusion which the writer entirely shared.

INADEQUATE COAST DEFENSE.

"The country, however, should not fail to note that the division of the armored fleet into two sections, nearly a thousand miles apart, though probably the best that could be done under all the circumstances of the moment, was contrary to sound practice; and that the conditions which made it necessary should not have existed. Thus deficient coast protection reacts unfavorably upon the war fleet, which in all its movements should be free from any responsibility for the mere safety of the ports it quits. Under such conditions as then obtained, it might have been possible for Spain to force our entire battle fleet from its offensive undertaking against Cuba and to relegate it to mere coast defense. Had Cervera's squadron, instead of being dispatched alone to the Antilles, been recalled to Spain, as it should have been, and there reinforced by the two armored ships which afterward went to Suez with Camara, the approach of this compact body would have compelled our fleet to concentrate; for each of our divisions of three ships—prior to the arrival of the *Oregon*—would have been too weak to hazard an engagement with the enemy's six.

"When thus concentrated, where should it be placed? Off Havana or at Hampton Roads? It could not be at both. The answer undoubtedly should be 'Off Havana;' for there it would be guarding the most important part of the enemy's coast, blocking the access to it of the Spanish fleet, and at the same time covering Key West, our naval base of operations. But if the condition of our coast defenses at all corresponded to the tremors of our seaport citizens, the Government manifestly would be unable to hold the fleet thus at the front. Had it, on the contrary, been impossible

for an enemy's fleet to approach nearer than three miles to our seacoast, without great and evident danger of having ships damaged which could not be replaced and of wasting ammunition at ranges too long even for bombardments, the Spanish battle fleet would have kept away, and would have pursued its proper object of supporting their campaign in Cuba by driving off our fleet—if it could. It is true that no amount of fortification will secure the coasting trade beyond easy gun-shot of the works; but as the enemy's battle fleet could not have devoted itself for long to molesting the coasters—because our fleet would thereby be drawn to the spot—that duty must have devolved upon vessels of another class, against which we also would have provided, and did provide, by the squadron of cruisers under Commodore Howell. In short, proper coast defense, the true and necessary complement of an efficient navy, releases the latter for its proper work—offensive, upon the open seas or off the enemy's shores."

THE AMERICAN VOLUNTEER.

IN the *United Service Magazine* for December Capt. Charles Sidney Clark writes on "The Volunteer in War." His article is addressed to British readers, and its chief purpose is disclosed in the opening paragraph:

"The Hispano-American War might well have excited the interest of many Britons, if for no other reason than that in it were tested in battle and campaign volunteers of English, Scotch, and Irish descent—volunteers not differing greatly in any respect from their cousins in the volunteer service across the Atlantic. If, as a great naval expert is reported to have said, the naval combats between the American navy and that of Spain were a dress rehearsal of a naval war between England and another power, may we not say that in the American volunteer of 1898 we have seen the British volunteer as he will be in a future war? Clothes do not make the man, but blood and training, manners and customs; and given two volunteers of the same blood and training, the volunteer in helmet and red coat will make the same showing in war as the man in campaign hat and coat of the bonnie blue."

In short, Captain Clark aims to show, from a study of the American volunteer in action, what may be expected of the British volunteer when the time comes for him to fight—as many think, in the near future.

THE VOLUNTEER'S CHARACTERISTICS.

In another paragraph Captain Clark sums up the distinctive qualities of our volunteer soldier as he saw them:

"In disposition he is silent, grim, and patient. He marches silently and swiftly with few jests and no songs, and dies, the correspondents tell us, in 'silent heaps without a sound.' The look of 'men with empires in their brains' is in his face, as it was in the faces of his fathers of whom Lowell sang; and we are told that in Porto Rico and the Philippines both natives and Spaniards seemed to have a cold chill run up and down their spines when American advance guards fixed upon them that look. He is resourceful, ingenious, and inventive; can do anything, from repairing locomotive engines, as he did in Cuba, and building telephone lines, as he did in Porto Rico, to the smallest mechanical jobs and most intricate bookkeeping. He has all the American independence, and does not wait for orders until he takes root, but takes the initiative and fights or marches on his own hook if he loses his officers or is separated from his company. The men who reached the top of San Juan Hill at the end of the famous charge were found to be, in one company, from five or six regiments. Losing their own commands, they had stepped into the ranks of the strange company and had gone on as if nothing had happened, and with the same *esprit de corps* as if with their own chums and 'bunkies.'"

Captain Clark classifies the defects of the volunteers as follows:

"1. Physical shortcomings of trained and 'hardened' men of the original National Guard.

"2. Inability of recruits, up to the physical standard, to understand the necessity of the enforcement of sanitary rules.

"3. Inability of all classes to eat or thrive upon army rations, and consequent tendency to indiscretion in eating and drinking outside the lines.

"4. Unsuitability of National Guard weapons and equipment."

Captain Clark attributes the high death-rate among the troops to the policy of rejecting disciplined men from the National Guard and filling the ranks with boy recruits who had never been at the State camps and had not learned how to take care of themselves. He thinks it was a mistake to reject trained Guardsmen who fell slightly below the army standard, as they would have made better soldiers than the raw recruits who were taken in their places, although, of course, men below the standard should never have been admitted to the Guard in the first place.

In the volunteers as a class Captain Clark found these merits:

"1. Ability to take the initiative.

"2. Unexpected and gratifying efficiency of officers.

- "3. Coolness and courage under fire.
- "4. Self-reliance and adaptability."

LESSONS OF THE WAR.

Captain Clark says in conclusion :

"Here, then, is a fact for military nations to ponder—that the volunteer in America is as good a fighter as the regular. The military strength of the country must, then, be measured not by the size of its army, but by its capacity to produce volunteers and maintain them. And since the State adjutant-generals report a total of 10, - 149,598 capable of volunteer service, and war expenses of \$510,000,000 have been more than met by a small tax cheerfully paid, it may be concluded the military resources of the United States are great.

"To summarize, what has been learned regarding the American volunteer and what we may conclude may possibly be learned regarding his British cousin in the future is—

"1. Only men up to the army standard physically should be permitted to enlist in the volunteers, in order that only trained and 'hardened' men may be used in war, and the necessity of recruiting at the last moment may be avoided.

"2. As a natural sequence, that captains and commissioned officers should be deprived of the incentive to enlist men not up to the standard by the abolition of *per capita* allowances, and the substitution of fixed allowances, not dependent on strength of company or regiment and sufficient to pay expenses without contribution by the men.

"3. That special rations, of better quality than those furnished regulars, and special light equipment, must be provided to volunteers in active service.

"4. That volunteer officers are generally efficient and volunteer enlisted men are as brave and reliable as the average 'Tommy.'"

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE'S WORK.

THE hospital experiences of Red Cross nurses in our late war more than once suggested the untiring devotion and invaluable services of Florence Nightingale and her corps of helpers in the Crimean War. In the December number of *Cornhill* the Rev. W. H. Fitchett interrupts his thrilling series of papers describing "Fights for the Flag" to tell the story of the remarkable work undertaken and accomplished under the personal direction of this "angel of the hospitals," as she was called.

Mr. Fitchett's account of conditions in the British hospitals at the front in the Crimea reminds us of things that we would like to forget in our own very recent history :

"What a passion of mingled wrath and pity was kindled in Great Britain when the story was known of the brave men dying untended in the hospitals at Scutari or Kululi, or perishing of cold and hunger in the trenches about Sebastopol, can be easily imagined. There were over 13,000 sick in the hospitals. The death-rate at Scutari was 42 per cent.; in the Kululi Hospital it rose to 52 per cent. Four patients out of every five who underwent amputation died of hospital gangrene. The doctors showed all the devotion the world has learned to expect from them when face to face with human suffering, but they were few in number, were denied the common appliances of the sick-room, and were bound as with iron fetters by a brainless routine. Pen pictures of scenes in the British hospitals might be selected from Russell's letters to the *Times*, which for their graphic horror are almost without parallel in literature. They picture scenes which recall the circles of Dante's *Inferno*. Medicines and medical appliances lay wasted on the beach at Varna or forgotten in the holds of vessels in Balaklava harbor, while wounded British soldiers in the great hospital of Scutari were perishing with wounds undressed and amid filth which would have disgraced a tribe of savages.

"ORGANIZED PITY."

"A wave of amazed pity, flavored with generous wrath, swept over Great Britain when all this was realized. Money was poured into the Patriotic Fund till it rose to more than £1,000, - 000. Medical stores were sent out by the ton. The medical staff was multiplied till there was one doctor for every ninety-five soldiers in the entire British force. The trouble, however, had never arisen from a deficiency of supplies, but only from a bankruptcy of brains and method in their use. The army was being strangled by a system which was omnipotent for mischief, but well-nigh helpless for any useful service. But the sufferings of the British sick and the insupportable hell into which the British hospitals had sunk thrilled the hearts of all women in the three kingdoms with a half-fierce pity, and to Mr. Sidney Herbert belongs the distinction of turning the fine element of that pity into a useful force, which wrought in a few brief months one of the most beneficent miracles recorded in the history of army nursing. He saw that what the hospitals needed was woman's quick wit, swift pity, and faculty of patient service. Offers to go out and nurse the dying British soldiers were poured in upon the War Office from tender-hearted women of every rank of life.

"Pity, however, had to be organized and

wisely led, and Sidney Herbert turned to Florence Nightingale, asking her if she would go to the East, carrying the resources of Great Britain in the palm of her woman's hand, and organize a nursing service in the great hospital at Scutari. A letter from Florence Nightingale offering her services crossed Mr. Herbert's letter asking if she would give them."

A PIONEER OF THE RED CROSS.

Florence Nightingale took her name from the city of Florence, where she was born, the daughter of a wealthy English household. She was a woman of fine intellect, clear judgment, and, as her Crimean record proved, of heroic spirit and indomitable will. Dean Stanley has called her "a woman of commanding genius." Before the Crimean War broke out she had spent ten years studying nursing as a fine art and had organized a home for sick governesses in London. Then came the opportunity of her life in the call to the East.

"On October 21, 1854, she sailed with a band of 38 nurses—of whom 10 were Roman Catholic Sisters of Mercy and 14 members of an Anglican sisterhood—for Scutari. 'I am naturally a very shy person,' she says: certainly she had a keen horror of parade, and she started with her gallant band without public notice or farewell. At Boulogne, however, it became known that this company of ladies, with their uniform dark dress, were nurses on their way to the Crimea, and the white-capped fisherwomen of the place thronged round them and carried their luggage to the railroad station, scornfully refusing to let a man so much as touch an article! The band of heroines reached Scutari on November 5, the very day of Inkerman. The great barrack hospital there was a huge quadrangle, a quarter of a mile on each face; its corridors, rising story above story, had a linear extent of four miles. The hospital when the nurses landed held 2,300 patients; no less than two miles, that is, of sick-beds—beds foul with every kind of vileness. The mattresses were strewn two deep in the corridors; the wards were rank with fever and cholera and the odor of undressed wounds. And to this great army of the sick and the dying the wounded from Inkerman in a few hours were added, bringing the number up to 5,000. Into what Russell calls 'the hell' of this great temple of pain and foulness moved the slight and delicate form of this English lady, with her band of nurses.

A MIGHTY TRANSFORMATION.

"Instantly a new intelligence, instinct with pity, aflame with energy, fertile with womanly invention, swept through the hospital. Clumsy

male devices were dismissed, almost with a gesture, into space. Dirt became a crime, fresh air and clean linen, sweet food and soft hands a piety. A great kitchen was organized which provided well-cooked food for 1,000 men. Washing was a lost art in the hospital; but this band of women created, as with a breath, a great laundry, and a strange cleanliness crept along the walls and beds of the hospital. In their warfare with disease and pain these women showed a resolution as high as the men of their race showed against the gray-coated battalions of Inkerman or in the frozen trenches before Sebastopol. Muddle-headed male routine was swept ruthlessly aside. If the commissariat failed to supply requisites, Florence Nightingale, who had great funds at her disposal, instantly provided them herself, and the heavy-footed officials found the swift feet of these women outrunning them in every path of help and pity. Only one flash of anger is reported to have broken the serene calm which served as a mask for the steel-like and resolute will of Florence Nightingale. Some stores had arrived from England; sick men were languishing for them. But routine required that they should be 'inspected' by a board before being issued, and the board, moving with heavy-footed slowness, had not completed its work when night fell. The stores were, therefore, with official phlegm, locked up, and their use denied to the sick. Between the needs of hundreds of sick men, that is, and the comforts they required was the locked door, the symbol of red tape. Florence Nightingale called a couple of orderlies, walked to the door, and quietly ordered them to burst it open and the stores to be distributed!"

"It was, perhaps, in the operating-room that Florence Nightingale showed in its highest form the mastery she obtained over the spirits of her soldier patients. This fragile English lady was known to toil for twenty hours continuously amid her band of nurses and her miles of patients."

"The miracle wrought by this band of nurses—this entrance of woman into the hell of British hospitals in the East—is capable of being expressed in cold statistics. They found the death-rate in the great hospital at Scutari 42 per cent.; they brought it down to 2 per cent!"

"The Geneva Convention was held within ten years of Florence Nightingale's labors in the East, and now its red cross, gleaming on every modern battlefield since, is, in a sense, Florence Nightingale's monument. She still lives, a white-haired invalid, well-nigh eighty years old, and when her gentle life ends one of the noblest careers lived by a woman in modern history will come to a close."

DR. HALE ON THE CZAR'S MESSAGE.

DR. EDWARD EVERETT HALE takes in the January *New England Magazine* a very different view of the Czar's peace manifesto from that taken by Kipling in his warning poem, "The Truce of the Bear." Dr. Hale takes the message of Nicholas in good faith and with rejoicing, and traces its continuity from the peace dreams of Antonines and Henry IV. He hopes that in a quarter of a century there will be a permanent tribunal of the united kingdoms, empires, and republics of the world, and which shall do for all Christendom what our Supreme Court or something of what our Supreme Court does for the United States. In a quarter of a century this may come about. "Let us hope," Dr. Hale says, "in less time."

HOW THE PEACE TRIBUNAL MAY COME.

"As to detail, it is probable that two or three of the powers will first agree on such a tribunal. That tribunal will exist. Its decisions shall be so calm and clear that the powers which have created it will be willing to submit more and more cases for its inquiry and solution. Then some fourth power will propose to join this league, and a fifth and a sixth, till the great powers and the smaller powers are at one—not in government, not in religion, not in taking the same view of education, of health, or even of personal duty, but in the determination that questions of controversy shall be left to one tribunal to decide them, according to the principles, not hard to find, of international law."

THE CZAR'S MAGNIFICENT MANIFESTO.

"And now we come to a Christmas time which marks the conclusion of a year in which this policy of a central board of jurisprudence has received magnificent accessions. The Emperor Nicholas of Russia has distinguished himself, among all the sovereigns of our time, among all sovereigns since Henry IV., by pledging himself to the great design. Read his magnificent manifesto. It should be printed in the calendars of the new-born year. It should be pasted as a broadside on the walls of temples and courts and arsenals. The words of it should be remembered by all children in the schools as they remember the words of the Declaration of Independence. Here is a monument which may be made to mark the beginning of the world's course on its new career."

"This conference of the nations would be, by the help of God, a happy presage of the century which is about to open. It will bring together in one focus the efforts of all the states which are

sincerely seeking to make the great conception of universal peace triumph over the elements of trouble and discord. At the same time, it would cement an agreement of the principles of equity and right on which are to be built the security of states and the welfare of the peoples. It cements such an agreement in a corporate consecration."

THIS TRIBUNAL WILL EXIST.

"One is sorry to see and to hear captious criticism on the Czar's proposal. All the same, in the face of captious criticism the great powers will have to assent to the proposal. This conference must be held. Let us hope that it will lead to some partial disarmament. But whether it do or not, that is of the less importance. Our prayer is for peace on earth; our policy and plan, therefore, must be for the physical establishment of the tribunal whose dignity and wisdom, whose honor and loyalty to truth shall make it possible to decide upon questions without reference to the accidents of war."

"Whatever the conference may do about present armaments, it can certainly determine on a tribunal whose dignity and prestige and power shall make such armaments unnecessary. Given that provision, given such a solution of angry discussion, and we shall not need to count armies by millions of muskets, or to be doubling the size of fleets, or to be inventing new engines of destruction. Armies will fade away. They will be needed at first as precaution, as men kept candles in the house after gas was invented, as they keep the gas-pipes while they are still afraid of the electric current. But the precautions will grow less and less, fewer and fewer."

"The new tribunal will exist. One or two statesmen from America, men of the first dignity in the republic, with such honors conferred upon them as shall give them distinction among all other servants of the state—these will meet one or two men from England, crowned with honors such as England knows how to give, and one or two, perhaps, from France. They will add to themselves, as what the old courts called 'assessors,' two of the leading lights of international law from Switzerland, from Italy, from Belgium, or where you please, so only they be men whose character and learning and honor are known of all men. And this tribunal will exist."

Dr. Hale looks forward to such an arbitral body which will have the duty of finding out the truth in all such matters on which depends a controversy between two great powers. It may be a great question of political boundaries, or it may be "that pathetic question whether the woman of 1950 shall wear a sealskin jacket or no."

THE WORLD TOO SMALL TO FIGHT.

"The truth is that commerce and invention and discovery have made the world so small that the old rivalries are impossible. The frivolous and fussy diplomacy of the treaty of Westphalia, of the congresses of German states, of the ambassadors and foreign ministers of to-day, is even absurd in the presence of the habits of modern commerce. The world which is used to seeing American flour or iron or fleets laden with people sent hither and thither by messages which will go half round the globe in half an hour ridicules the slow processes of ancient diplomacy. It was thus that when the mercantile world heard that the diplomats were proposing to make war between England and America over the Venezuela question, which had been dragging along for two or three centuries, the world of modern life roused up and opened its mouth and said, 'There shall be no fighting.' The world of diplomacy heard and obeyed.

"The young Emperor of Russia has made himself the spokesman of the modern world. 'The principles of equity and right shall be consecrated.' The world wanted to have this said; and now it has been said by one having authority. The six great powers will join with him in such consecration. The lesser powers have more at stake than the six great powers. The strong and the weak shall unite in the great procession of triumph by which the gates of peace are to be closed forever. And the youngest of emperors shall teach them. 'Out of the mouth of czars Thou hast perfected praise.'"

UNCLE SAM'S COLONIAL BUSINESS.

IT is a bold proposal which Mr. W. L. Clowes advances in his *Fortnightly* article on "American Expansion and the Inheritance of the Race." He points out that the American people have, for the first time, "set up in business as a colonial power." No doubt, he says, Americans are as capable of managing this business as any others, except that their institutions do not fit them for their new career. The Constitution does not provide for such emergencies as the reconstruction period after the Civil War or for colonial government; and similar results to those which distracted the South may appear in the new colonies "if America rushes unequipped as she is to the experiment of government without full representation." How America succeeds in her new venture is a matter of grave importance to the whole English-speaking world, and not least to Great Britain.

"Great Britain, therefore, has every motive

for wishing America well in the venture upon which she is about to embark; and, on the ground both of natural affection and of racial policy, the former ought to render every help in her power, if it can be rendered in a manner acceptable to America."

THE UNITED STATES WITHOUT A COLONIAL SERVICE.

Mr. Clowes leads up to his main point by saying:

"America's present difficulty is that she is without experience in the work which she is on the point of undertaking; that she has no corps of administrators who have any familiarity with the task of applying such systems of government as are applied in our crown colonies and in India; and that her institutions do not at present favor the growth of such a corps. She has, in short, no such thing as a colonial service. She has the men; but they are still, so far as colonial administration is concerned, raw *personnel*; and unless she trains them and fashions her scheme upon good and tried models, she will be apt, for many years at least, to make a terrible mess of her venture in spite of her benevolent intentions."

WHAT FRIENDLY FIRMS WOULD DO.

Suppose it were a case of friendly business houses, instead of nations, in which the American house had begun for the first time, say, to grow tea at Darjeeling, where the British firm had long been an adept.

"The American house would be put in the way of benefiting by all the experience of the British planters. In the established British plantations we should presently find young Americans learning the secrets of the business, and in the new American plantations we should see Englishmen temporarily doing duty as managers and heads of departments until such time as the young Americans were in a position to relieve them."

WHY NOT EXCHANGE CIVIL SERVANTS?

Why not, asks Mr. Clowes, arrange the matter between the nations in the same way?

"It appears to me, then, that at this juncture Great Britain could render no greater service to the United States and to the common race than by letting it be understood, firstly, that she would feel greatly complimented if the United States would allow thirty or forty young Americans of good education and character to enter the British colonial service for a stipulated period; and, secondly, that she would be glad to place at the disposal of the President of the United States, for a similar period, an equal or

less number of tried British colonial administrators of various ranks to assist American governors in the organization and management of the new possessions. The Americans would, for the time, become civil servants of Great Britain; the Britons would, for the time, become civil servants of the United States; but there would be no transfer of allegiance, and save as concerned their paymasters and the authority under which they were temporarily serving, the Americans would be little different, as regards status, from the young engineering students who from time to time have been sent to Glasgow and other British engineering centers to study their profession, under the supervision of the United States naval *attaché* in London. But the initiative should come from us. We should invite the Americans into our service, and merely let it be known that if the loan of a few of our men of experience would be useful it might be instantly had. America is too proud to say the first word. Nor, if she wants any help that we can give her, ought we to wait for a request."

WASHINGTON AND LONDON HAVE AT STAKE WHAT?

Such an arrangement would correspond to the new inspiration of race which transcends while it includes national patriotism, even as the latter goes beyond without displacing home and self. Mr. Clowes concludes:

"To-morrow, if only London and Washington will it, a law for the whole earth may be proclaimed in English, and no one will dare to gainsay it. To-day, however, as a necessary condition, London and Washington must not only be loyal friends and comrades, but also not hesitate to use for the common ends the best methods and the best men that either can provide. For when the United States determined to be something more than a continental American power, she put at stake not merely the inheritance of Washington and Lincoln, but the inheritance of men like Hawkins, Raleigh, and Penn as well."

Commenting on Mr. Clowes' assumption that the United States made a failure of reconstruction in the South after the Civil War, the *New York Sun* asks: "Can he find in history an example where problems so tremendous as those imposed on the American people by the Civil War were solved so successfully within a period so short? Undoubtedly there were scandals and shortcomings—they were inevitable—but looking back over the whole course of the generation since 1865, where can he find a parallel to its achievements in dealing with the novel, complicated, and perplexing affairs of this country?"

ANNEXATION AND UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

IN the *Forum* for December Prof. J. B. McMaster makes reply to those critics of a national annexation policy who find it difficult to harmonize the acquisition of new territory, inhabited largely by semi-civilized races, with the principle of universal suffrage.

Professor McMaster reviews the gradual development of the suffrage in the States and its restriction in the Territories. He shows that it has never been "universal," having in some cases been based on property qualifications and always on practical expediency rather than theories of abstract justice. From his study of the debates in Congress on the acquisition and government of new territory he concludes that foreign soil acquired by Congress is the property of and not part of the United States; "that the Territories formed from it are without, and not under, the Constitution; and that in providing them with governments Congress is at liberty to establish just such kind as it pleases, with little or no regard for the principles of self-government; that in the past it has set up whatever sort was, in its opinion, best suited to meet the needs of the people, never stopping to ask how far the government so created derived its just powers from the consent of the governed; and that it is under no obligation to grant even a restricted suffrage to the inhabitants of any new soil we may acquire, unless they are fit to use it properly. Congress is, indeed, morally bound to give the very best government that circumstances will permit; but it is also morally bound not to be carried away by theories of human rights which even the States themselves ignore. We have no such thing as unrestricted universal suffrage.

SUFFRAGE BASED ON EXPEDIENCY.

"In the States east of the Mississippi no woman may cast a ballot for a governor, for a Congressman, or for Presidential electors. Yet in each one of them are numbers of women who own property and pay taxes amounting sometimes to thousands of dollars a year. What government derives its just powers from their consent? Are they not taxed without representation? Do they not obey laws in the making of which they have no voice? All this is utterly inconsistent with the broad doctrines on which our republican form of government is founded. The truth is, the suffrage never has been and is not to-day regulated on any other principle than expediency. Nor is this to be regretted. No government is worth a rush unless it is practical; and to be practical it must not be in advance of the intelligence and capacity for self-government pos-

nessed by the people for whose welfare it has been created. This has been the characteristic of every government yet set up in State or Territory, and is greatly to our credit; and this is the course we must pursue in the treatment of any people, whatever their stage of civilization, who may come to us with new acquisitions of territory."

PRESIDENT JORDAN ON "IMPERIAL DEMOCRACY."

IN the current number of the *New World* President David Starr Jordan, of the Leland Stanford Junior University, vigorously upholds the cause of anti-imperialism in an article entitled "Imperial Democracy." Apparently overlooking the progress of two generations of New England men in Hawaii, Dr. Jordan declares that free institutions can never exist in the tropics, since free men cannot live in those regions.

"The territorial expansion now contemplated would not extend our institutions, because the proposed colonies are incapable of civilized self-government. It would not extend our nation, because these regions are already full of alien races and are not habitable by Anglo-Saxon people. The strength of Anglo-Saxon civilization lies in the mental and physical activity of men and in the growth of the home. Where activity is fatal to life, the Anglo-Saxon decays, mentally, morally, physically. The home cannot endure in the climate of the tropics. Mr. Ingersoll once said that if a colony of New England preachers and Yankee schoolma'ams were established in the West Indies, the third generation would be seen riding bareback on Sunday to the cock-fights. Civilization is, as it were, suffocated in the tropics. It lives, as Benjamin Kidd suggests, as though under deficiency of oxygen. The only American who can live in the tropics without demoralization is the one who has duties at home and will never go there.

"The advances of civilization are wholly repugnant to the children of the tropics. To live without care, reckless and dirty, to have no duties and to be in no hurry, with the lottery, cock-fight, and games of chance for excitement, is more to them than rapid transit, telegraphic communication, literature, art, education, and all the joys of Saxon civilization. The Latin republics fail for reasons inherent in the nature of the people. There is little civic coherence among them; feelings are mistaken for realities, words for deeds, and boasting for accomplishment. Hence great words, lofty sentiments, fuss and feathers generally take the place of action."

CAN WE GOVERN SUBJECT RACES?

IN Dr. Jordan's view the retention of dependent colonies by the United States is out of the question.

"It is the axiom of democracy that 'government must derive its just powers from the consent of the governed.' No such consent justifies slavery; hence our Union could not endure half slave, half free.' No such consent justifies our hold on Alaska, Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico, the Ladrões, or the Philippines. The people do not want us, our ways, our business, or our government. Only as we displace them or amuse them with cheap shows do we gain their consent. These are slave nations, and their inhabitants cannot be units in government. In our hands, as Judge Morrow has ably pointed out, they will have no voice in their own affairs, but must be subject to the sovereign will of Congress alone. This implies taxation without representation, a matter of which something was said in Boston one hundred and thirty years ago. Our Constitution knows no such thing as permanently dependent colonies, else the acquisition of such would have been formally forbidden.

"To be subject to the will of Congress, as the history of Alaska has clearly shown, is to be subject to vacillation, corruption, tyranny, parsimony, and neglect. The greatest scandals England has known have come from her neglected colonies. It is not that Americans or Englishmen are incompetent to handle any class of problems. It is because the public weary of them; colonial affairs are trivial, paltry, and exasperating. When a colony ceases to be a new toy it falls into neglect. The record of American occupation of our one colony of Alaska is the same in kind (climate and blood excepted) with that of Spanish rule in Cuba or the Ladrões. We are blind to this because we do not care. Alaska is none of our business; we have no money invested in it. In a few years Alaska will have no resources left; then we may throw it away as we would throw a sucked orange. The American-Spanish idea of a colony is a place to be exploited, to make its captors rich by its resources and its trade. We have cured Spain of that idea by taking all her colonies away. But we have not attained to the idea that we must spend our money on our colonies, enriching them with enterprise and law."

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE PHILIPPINES?

To the "imperialist" argument that moral obligations require our retention of the Philippines Dr. Jordan replies:

"So far as the Philippines are concerned, the only righteous thing to do would be to recognize

the independence of the Philippines under American protection, and to lend them our army and navy and our wisest counselors, our Dewey and our Merritt, not our politicians, but our jurists, our teachers, with foresters, electricians, manufacturers, mining experts, and experts in the various industries. Then, after they have had a fair chance and shown that they cannot care for themselves, we should turn them over quietly to the paternalism of peace-loving Holland or peace-compelling Great Britain. We should not get our money back, but we should save our honor. The only sensible thing to do would be to pull out some dark night and escape from the great prolem of the Orient as suddenly and as dramatically as we got into it."

THE OPEN DOOR TO CHINA.

THE Rev. Gilbert Reid, an American clergyman interested in foreign missions, who has been himself in China, puts the question in the *National Review*, "Shall the Open Door be Closed?" He enters a strong protest against the policy of partition or "spheres of influence" as opposed to the policy of the open door. He quotes the Marquis Tseng to the effect that the ignorant masses persecuted missionaries and converts because they regarded them as advance agents of one great foreign power bent on seizing the whole empire.

"If now European powers deliberately decide to treat China as they have dealt with Africa, by establishing spheres of influence, by asserting a protectorate, or meddling in any other way with her right and possessions, the character of Christian nations for honor and truthfulness will be lowered not only in the eyes of the so-called heathen, but in the mutual estimation of the very men who have played the high-handed game of colossal spoliation. The principles of international law and comity as taught by British diplomats, the principles of honesty as taught by British merchants, and the principles of love, self-sacrifice, and peace as taught by British missionaries, will all be nullified by British participation in a scheme for destroying the autonomy of the Chinese Government."

CLOSED DOORS HAVE BEEN OPENED.

Mr. Reid points out that the ports which Russia has leased were not open to Great Britain before, and Kiao-Chau, which was formerly closed to the British, is now opened to them by the Germans:

"The open door has not been closed, but closed doors have been opened, either for exclusive, free, or open entrance. Russia may

appear to be exclusive; let Great Britain be open. By friendly negotiation both may agree to maintain the open door over the whole of China. The United States will help the mother country in an open-door policy, but not in a policy of spheres of influence, whence the United States commercially as well as politically will be kindly invited to stay out. . . .

"The Chinese are now ready to adopt our methods and even to listen to the claims of a new religion, but they are quick to feel the insult when the end of their empire is threatened by foreign aggression. The people, and also the rulers in China, may be persuaded to accept the policy of an open door, but no decent Chinaman wishes foreign spheres of influence. It may even be said that they would be more quick to adopt the open door if they could be convinced there would ensue no spheres of influence."

ENGLAND IN EGYPT.

THERE are three papers in the *Nineteenth Century* dealing with "the future of Egypt." Mr. Edward Dicey writes on "Our Hampered Trusteeship." Personally he is in favor of an immediate declaration of a protectorate, and is not afraid of the dangers it might involve of Ottoman or continental interference or the deadly enmity of France. But Lord Cromer's opposition and Lord Salisbury's public disavowal of a protectorate satisfy the writer for the present. Meantime he demands the reality, if not the name:

"It is only reasonable that so long as our trusteeship has to endure we should demand the powers necessary to the due execution of our trust. These powers may be described briefly as a suspension of the capitulations; the effacement for the time being of the various international institutions appointed to secure the enforcement of the law of liquidation, institutions for which there is no further necessity while Egypt remains a solvent and orderly country administered under the direct control of England; and the right to conduct all negotiations between Egypt and foreign powers by our representatives at Cairo. In other words, we require exactly what France demanded and obtained after her occupation of Tunis. If this demand were made promptly and decisively there would be no reasonable prospect of any serious opposition."

BEWARE OF ENTANGLING AGREEMENTS WITH FRANCE.

Mr. Henry Birchenough heads his contribution "The Niger and the Nile: A Warning." He enters an emphatic protest against the suggestion

of granting France any lease on tributaries of the Nile or a private outlet on the Nile. The precedent of the thirty years' agreement on the Niger is not, in the writer's judgment, a favorable one. The French shore in Newfoundland is cited as a warning. The fewer entanglements with France the better, is his argument, in view of the habitual attitude of the French toward England. At the same time he readily admits that the colonial expansion of France "does her infinite honor." But his claim is for "clear, well-defined frontiers and no *enclaves*."

AS IN TUNIS, SO IN EGYPT.

Dr. John Macdonell, master of the Supreme Court, writing on "Egypt and Tunis: A Study in International Law," expresses a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction with England's present anomalous and undefined position in Egypt. He says:

"Our position in England, that of a protectorate without its consequences—a make-believe provisional occupation—is juridically unintelligible. . . . Legal forms refuse to lend themselves to our present contradictory contentions. As described in official documents, our position is little short of a monstrosity in international law. It is scarcely too much to say that in every controversy coming before an impartial tribunal, guided by legal principles, we must be worsted so long as we pretend to be in Egypt only for a season."

His advice is to follow the French precedent:

"Let diplomacy recognize the facts of the situation, avowing that we remain in Egypt because our rule is good for that country . . . in other words, put forward a title similar to that of the French to Tunis, and international law will confirm our position in Egypt as it confirms their position in Tunis."

THE CURRENCY OF INDIA.

IN the *National Review* for December Lord Northbrook advocates the adoption of the gold standard for India. He stoutly declares his belief that the closing of the mints has not seriously injured any interests in India outside the money market. "There is no foundation for the allegation that taxation has been increased by closing the mints to silver." The writer will not allow that a gold standard would be unpopular in India. Gold coins are of old date in that country. They were issued by the Pathan kings and by the moguls. Under the East India Company gold coins were legal tender until 1835, when silver was made the sole standard. In the

later 50s a gold currency would have become general but for government preventing it. In 1866 a commission was appointed, which reported that "the demand for gold currency is unanimous throughout the country."

Against Sir Robert Giffen, Lord Northbrook does not believe the cost of establishing a gold currency would be enormous; nor does he anticipate any flow of gold from India in consequence. He urges that the sovereign be made legal tender in India, and that the rate of one sovereign to fifteen rupees—or the sixteenpence rate of exchange—should be fixed. It would not be necessary, he thinks, to obtain the gold to any extent from outside India. "There are large accumulations of gold in India which were estimated by the late Mr. Clarmont Daniella . . . at three hundred million pounds. Gold to the value of about three millions sterling is annually produced in India." The expected surplus shows the financial position of India to be strong; only at such a time should the gold standard be introduced. Lord Northbrook concludes by hoping that the whole weight of the imperial government will support the Indian Government, and that some reasonable financial support may be given to India from the imperial credit.

THE KAISER'S DESIGNS ON ENGLAND.

THE *Contemporary Review* for December closes with an anonymous article on the Kaiser of Germany as "the arch-enemy of England." The one aim of Wilhelm II. is, according to the unknown writer, "to make Germany the leading commercial and colonial state of the world." But in the realization of his designs England stands in the way. "Germany can only become the leading commercial and colonial power by her downfall. The consummation of that catastrophe becomes, therefore, the first and the essential condition for the success of the Emperor's policy."

THE KAISER'S PLOT.

The writer thus unveils the deadly plot:

"The plan of the German Emperor is the revival of the continental alliance against England in a far more insidious and perilous form than was conceived by Napoleon. He has not merely written '*Carthago delenda est*,' but he has drawn up a plan or project for combined naval action between Germany, Russia, and France. It is probable that the French Government is not aware of the origin or the object of the scheme, but the recent proposed augmentation of the French fleet is in accordance with the suggestions

of the Russian authorities, who have the right under the military convention that served for some years in the place of a formal treaty alliance to make such representations for the common benefit of the dual allies. The German naval bill, the feverish activity (not realized in England) of the Russian dock yards in the Baltic and Black seas, and the multiplying of those dock yards, are the factors in the calculation deliberately and carefully made by Emperor William as to how the scepter of the seas is to be wrested from Great Britain. The accuracy of the calculation is not to be disputed on paper. The British fleet is not now equal to the combined fleets of the three powers. They are between them building twice as many ships as are being constructed in our dock yards, and in another four years it is assumed at Berlin that Britain will be in a state of 'manifest inferiority' on her own element to this new triple alliance. The danger is of the gravest character and it is not remote."

HIS FIRST SUCCESS.

The Kaiser does not, in the opinion of the writer, wish to destroy or invade England. He wishes to coerce her by the display of superior naval power, as Japan was coerced after Shimodaseki, and then to recolor the map of the world as he pleases. The plan has already succeeded in the far East. "England gave way as completely last winter as Japan did in 1895." In three years' time the naval power of Russia, Germany, and France will be better able to exert this pressure. The writer boldly declares:

"He went to Kiao-Chau to oblige Russia and to discomfit England. But that is not all. The Russian ruler holds his personal promise to withdraw from Kiao-Chau when Russia is ready to take it over."

A NEW FACTOR—PROVIDENCE AS MARPLOT.

Happily for England, however, "a new and unexpected factor has been introduced into the problem by the easily gained naval triumph of America, the sudden manifestation of an imperial spirit in the United States, and the unexpected assertion of American pretensions in the far East. In the twinkling of an eye almost this vital change has occurred in the international situation, and it is a change as beneficial to British interests as it is disturbing to the calculations of their opponents. It would be disturbing even if it were unaccompanied by the remarkable gravitation of England and America toward each other, and the unmistakable evidence afforded that the Anglo-Saxon races have grasped the fact

of the solidarity of their interests throughout the world. It is the answer Providence has furnished to the Emperor's plan of the continental alliance."

THE KAISER VERSUS UNCLE SAM.

The Kaiser, we are told, is impatient and has a holy horror of republics. He is likely to do something impetuous and then "find he has no choice between submitting to a rebuff in the Philippines and a war with America."

"At this moment the question turns on whether the German Emperor can induce Russia and France to join him in a demonstration of superior naval force to that possessed by the United States, both in the Pacific and the Atlantic; and the answer to that question largely depends on whether he and the Emperor of Russia between them can exercise sufficient personal pressure in England to induce our government, in return for some empty concessions in Africa, some easily broken promises in China, to hold its hand, to hesitate for the necessary moment, while they enforce their will on the United States. This is the peril to the creation of a real Anglo-Saxon alliance, and it is one that is close at hand."

THE CRISIS IN THE LIFE OF ANGLO-SAXONDOM.

The writer fears lest the British Government may not be alive to the immense issues involved. He says:

"When the time for decision and for action arrives—whether the crisis comes as a collision off the Philippines or as a naval demonstration on the part of the three powers, dragging Italy and Austria in their train—there will be no room for delay or indecision. The psychological moment in the life of the Anglo-Saxon races will pass with the flash of a never-recurring instant of time, and England may not be ready to meet it. She will not be ready if the wiles of the German Emperor are of any avail. . . . The menace of a continental alliance to deter England, as a European power, from taking the decisive step beyond the seas which would, in the end, make her independent of Europe, has only to be faced in order to prove a *brutum fulmen* or damp squib. But will it so be faced?"

"One reason for doubting our firmness and resolution is that the British Government is blind to the growing belief on the continent in the solidarity of continental interests as against Anglo-Saxon. Only those who live abroad in the center of diplomatic and official influences can realize how strong a hold this opinion has gained on the minds of foreign statesmen."

A WARNING.

The article concludes with this veiled reference to the attitude of Queen Victoria :

"The sincere desire for peace, the anxiety to let a long reign close without the sound of the cannon, has already enfeebled the arm of England and given her adversaries advantages that they never should have possessed. The same motives may again produce the same results, but a cleavage between England and America at the very moment when a solid union was on the point of being cemented would be too heavy a price to pay even for the personal gratification of one who is entitled to and who has received great consideration. The present international complications cannot well pass off without England having to make a momentous decision, and she will possibly have to take it in face of the threat of war. But sooner or later it will have to be taken, under the existing or some different set of circumstances. If she is unequal to the ordeal, a momentary but inglorious peace will have been obtained ; but when the whole secret history of the causes of our weak and vacillating policy in recent years is revealed, the British monarchy itself will be doomed."

WHY HENRY TRADUCED DREYFUS.

THE relentless F. C. Conybeare returns to the charge with "A New Development in the Dreyfus Case" in the December *National Review*. "Treason in the French War Office" is the heading of his paper. Its aim is to offer some explanation of Colonel Henry's persistent endeavor to fasten the guilt on Dreyfus and to exculpate Esterhazy. Why did Henry heap crime on crime to convict Dreyfus or keep him convicted ? An adequate motive is not to be found in his alleged anti-Semitic passion, or devotion to the honor of the army, or anxiety for the peace of mind of his chiefs.

"What, then, could have been Henry's motive ? It has been suggested in the Paris press that he had really been for years past an accomplice in the treason of Esterhazy, and was all the while giving him out of the War Office secret military documents to be sold to Colonel von Schwarzkoppen. This is an hypothesis which merits examination."

Esterhazy and Henry were friends—"old comrades." When Picquart finds proofs of Esterhazy, not Dreyfus, being the guilty man, Henry defends Esterhazy—"the paid spy of the Germans, the would-be Uhlan, whose dream is Paris stormed and sacked amid flames by a hundred thousand drunken Prussian soldiers."

Why did Henry fail to recognize Esterhazy's handwriting in the *bordereau* ? Why did he forge and lie to shield Esterhazy ? The truth, the writer says, is this : "Henry was supplying Esterhazy with documents from the War Office itself before 1894." The *bordereau* was brought in that year. Henry would have destroyed it, but dared not, because he knew there was an independent record of it.

DREYFUS A "LIGHTNING CONDUCTOR."

"Everything, therefore, points to the conclusion that the *bordereau* remained in the War Office in spite of Henry and not by his goodwill. Finding in September, 1894, that he could not destroy a document compromising so deeply the agent through whom he was selling secrets to Schwarzkoppen, he used the unpopular Jew, Dreyfus, as a lightning conductor and drew off the suspicion on to him. Nothing else explains his fiendish anxiety in 1894 to secure Dreyfus' condemnation."

The writer then refers to the note from Schwarzkoppen which Picquart unearthed and proceeds :

"Esterhazy, we perceive, had offered himself as a spy to Schwarzkoppen. But the latter hesitated to accept his services. He must, anyhow, have evidence of his being an officer. Even if he is, a regimental officer is not much use as a spy. It is only staff officers who can supply really big secrets. Now we know that Schwarzkoppen did eventually accept Esterhazy's services, that he remunerated them with sums enormous for an ordinary spy, that when he left Paris he had such ample knowledge of French secrets that he declared that he would not say 'thank you' to the French authorities even if they turned him loose in their military bureaus armed with keys to all their safes. To have furnished him so amply, Esterhazy must have had an accomplice or accomplices inside the War Office ; and it was because he could show not only his officer's brevet, but proofs of his intimacy with Henry, that Schwarzkoppen eventually, after so much hesitation, adopted him.

"This account is the more probable because, according to a statement published in the *Intransigeant* of December 5, 1897, Esterhazy himself took a leading share in the discovery of Dreyfus' treason. Rochefort must have learned this from Esterhazy himself or from some of the War Office gang. The Marquis de Morès shares with Esterhazy, it is true, in the opinion of this gang, the glory of having denounced Dreyfus, but the two men were intimate friends. It looks as if, at Henry's suggestion, Esterhazy in October, 1894, had set on Morès to denounce Dreyfus."

DR. LYMAN ABBOTT ON THE INDIAN PROBLEM.

IN the *North American Review* for December the Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott writes with his accustomed clearness and breadth of view on the subject of our national dealings with the Indian race.

Dr. Abbott finds the root of the whole "problem" in the reservation system. To reform our Indian administration the essential thing to do is to abolish that system. This involves placing the Indian on an equality of privilege and opportunity with the Caucasian and the negro. "Cease to treat the Indian as a red man," says Dr. Abbott, "and treat him as a man. Treat him as we have treated the Poles, Hungarians, Italians, Scandinavians. Many of them are no better able to take care of themselves than the Indians; but we have thrown on them the responsibility of their own custody, and they have learned to live by living. Treat them as we have treated the negro. As a race the African is less competent than the Indian; but we do not shut the negroes up in reservations and put them in charge of politically appointed parents called agents. The lazy grow hungry; the criminal are punished; the industrious get on. And though sporadic cases of injustice are frequent and often tragic, they are the gradually disappearing relics of a slavery that is past, and the negro is finding his place in American life gradually, both as a race and as an individual. The reform necessary in the administration of Indian affairs is: Let the Indian administer his own affairs and take his chances. The future relations of the Indians with the Government should be precisely the same as the relations of any other individual, the readers of this article or the writer of it, for example. This should be the objective point, and the sooner we can get there the better. But this will bring hardship and even injustice on some individuals! Doubtless. The world has not yet found any way in which all hardship and all injustice to individuals can be avoided. Turn the Indian loose on the continent and the race will disappear! Certainly. The sooner the better.

"There is no more reason why we should endeavor to preserve intact the Indian race than the Hungarians, Poles, or Italians. Americans all, from ocean to ocean, should be the aim of all American statesmanship. Let us understand once for all that an inferior race must either adapt and conform itself to the higher civilization, wherever the two come in conflict, or else die. This is the law of God, from which there is no appeal. Let Christian philanthropy do all it can to help the Indian to conform to American civilization; but let not sentimentalism fondly imagine that it can save any race or any community from this inexorable law."

SUGGESTED REFORMS.

This general and radical reform involves certain specific cures, which Dr. Abbott outlines thus:

"1. The Indian Bureau ought to be taken at once and forever out of politics. The Government should find the man most expert in dealing with the Indians—he may be the present Commissioner of Indian Affairs—and instruct him to bring the Indian Bureau to a close at the earliest possible moment. Once appointed to office for that purpose, he should stay there till the work is completed. I believe that in one respect an army officer would be the best fitted for such a post, because he would be eager to bring the work to a close, while the civilian would see a hundred reasons why it should be continued from year to year. His subordinates should be Indian experts, and removed only for cause, never for political reasons.

"2. There are, it is said, ten or a dozen reservations in which the land has already been allotted in severalty and the reservations broken up. The agents in such cases should be dismissed. If the Indian still needs a guardian, if there is danger that his land will be taxed away from him or that he will be induced to sell it for a song, the courts, not the executive, should be his guardian. Guardianship is a function the courts are accustomed to exercise. It ought not to be difficult to frame a law such that an Indian could always appeal to a federal judge to have his tax appraisal revised, and always be required to submit to a federal judge any proposed sale of real estate.

"3. The Indian and every Indian should be amenable to the law and entitled to its protection. I believe that, despite occasional injustice from local prejudice, it would be quite safe to leave their interests to be protected by the courts of any State or Territory in which they live; for I believe that the American people, and certainly the American judiciary, can be trusted. The policy of distrust has intensified the local prejudice against the Indian. But it would be easy, if it be necessary, to provide that any Indian might sue in a United States court, or if sued or prosecuted might transfer the suit to a United States court. I assume there is no constitutional provision against such a law.

BREAK UP THE RESERVATION SYSTEM.

"4. All reservations in which the land is capable of allotment in severalty should be allotted as rapidly as the work of surveying and making out the warrants can be carried on. The unallotted land should be sold and the proceeds held by the United States in trust for the In-

dians. How to be expended is a difficult question. Not in food and clothing, which only pauperize. The first lesson to be taught the Indian is, if he will not work, neither shall he eat. Perhaps in agricultural implements; perhaps in schools; perhaps in public improvements; perhaps in all three. When the land is of a kind that cannot be allotted in severalty, as in the case of extended grazing lands, for example, it would seem as though a skillful lawyer should be able to devise some way in which the tribe could be incorporated and the land given to the corporation in fee simple; in which case the shares of stock possibly for a time should be inalienable, except by approval of the court; or possibly the property might even be administered for a time by a receiver appointed by and answerable to the court.

"5. Every Indian should be at once free to come and go as he pleases, subject as every other man is to the law of the locality and the processes of the courts where he is, and under their protection. The Indian with his blanket should have the privilege of traveling where he will, as much as the Italian with her shawl.

"6. Finally, as fast and as far as the tribal organization is dissolved and the reservation is broken up, the Indian should have a ballot, on the same terms as other citizens; not so much because his vote will add to the aggregate wisdom of the community as because the ballot is the American's protection from injustice.

"The reform is very simple, if it is very radical. It is: Apply to the solution of the Indian problem the American method; treat the Indian as other men are treated; set him free from his trammels; cease to coddle him; in a word, in lieu of paternal protection, which does not protect, and free rations, which keep him in beggary, give him justice and liberty and let him take care of himself."

A FRENCH ESTIMATE OF AMERICAN CATHOLICISM.

M. BRUNETIÈRE'S article on "Catholicism in the United States" in the November *Revue des Deux Mondes*, already widely commented on in the daily press, does not readily lend itself to condensation. Covering forty-two pages of the *Revue*, it also covers the historical ground of its subject in a characteristically thorough and concise manner which, if it leaves nothing essential to be added, offers an almost equal resistance to the process of really adequate selection. It has salient points, of course, and of these some have been chosen for comment by a uniform impulse, whether for censure or approval.

What lends its subject special pertinence in France and Italy—and doubtless one should include Germany—is the heated discussion that has been going on abroad during the year or more which has elapsed since the publication of the French translation of Father Elliott's "Life of Father Hecker," the founder of the Paulists. Here in America, where Christian democracy runs in the blood, this book has needed no defenders; but it is still the subject of bitter attack in Europe by a section of the Catholic body which is opposed to the Leonine policy of cordial acceptance of the providential indications of the time.

Speaking of the phenomenal growth of Catholicism in the United States within the space of a century and a quarter, M. Brunetière asks:

"Has liberty alone accomplished all this, as is claimed by some? But liberty, though the condition of all things, is neither the active agent nor the reason of anything; the cause must be looked for deeper down. If there are special and local causes, causes truly 'American' of this prodigious development, there are others more general and which possibly pertain to the very essence of Catholicism. Writing sixty years ago, Tocqueville remarked that the men of his day were naturally little inclined to believe, but as soon as they had any religion whatever they likewise discovered in themselves a secret instinct which pushed them unaware toward Catholicism. And he went on to say that should the Church finally succeed in escaping the political hatreds it had engendered, he had little doubt that the spirit of the age, then apparently unfavorable, would become friendly to it, and that Catholicism would suddenly make great conquests. And this," proceeds M. Brunetière, "is what is visible in America in this century in the United States, and this is what I wish to show." Nearly half of his article is given to this demonstration, not confined to facts and figures, though bristling with them, but including brief sketches of the matter and manner of American apologetics.

THE CHURCH QUESTION.

"If we are not Christians we can take on that subject any side we choose! But since we are Christians—and we are so from the moment that we are Episcopalians or Baptists, Methodists or Presbyterians—we need a rule to guide us; and as this rule can be such only on condition of existing apart from us, of being exterior, anterior, and superior to us; and as experience proves that it is not always clear; and as we are immersed in our occupations, which are to labor with our hands, to be merchants or bankers, doctors or lawyers, how requisite to us are men

whose only occupation is the study of this rule. And finally, since this study may lead even these to different conclusions, how necessary to us a voice which shall recall to unity their divisions, divergences, and contradictions. Thus reasoned American Catholics, in a manner which, for my part, it would puzzle me to find other than excellent. And yet, from this very argument, their adversaries instantly derived a new method of attack." To this attack, aimed at the alleged want of patriotism involved in the reference to an external rule—to Rome, in fact—M. Brunetière opposes the acts and decrees of the Baltimore councils and the pastoral letters of the American bishops and the manifest patriotism displayed by Catholics in every emergency.

THE CONDITION OF CATHOLICS AN OBSTACLE.

Turning to another point he says :

"There is, finally, another obstacle to the propagation of Catholicism in the United States which has been pointed out to me several times, but which I hardly dare to mention, as I am not in a position to gauge its force or even to verify its existence. Is it really true—can it be possible that in this great democracy the humble origin and actual condition of the majority of Catholics have cast an unfavorable light upon the doctrines they profess? So it was thought among ourselves in the latter years of the eighteenth century; our philosophers thought they 'cleansed' themselves by ceasing to be Christians; and what repelled or displeased our aristocrats in Catholicism was that it was the religion of the common people. 'For the last hundred years,' wrote Voltaire, 'only the rabble have embraced it,' and nothing seemed more odious to the men of the *Encyclopædia* than to be obliged to think 'like their tailor or their washerwoman.' We do not find it easy to believe that Americans share this manner of considering and feeling. There would be in it somewhat not merely too aristocratic, but, to speak plainly, too inhuman. Whatever inequality there may be—and ought to be—between men, since we are all equal in presence of suffering and death, we ought also to be so in presence of religion. But if there must be two sorts of cult—one for 'the common people' and the other for 'the multi-millionaires'—far from this distinction being injurious to the progress of Catholicism in the future, it will on the contrary be its pledge and guaranty. Certain denominations may be denominations of aristocrats. Catholicism is to-day more than ever the communion of the humble. As long as it continues so the hearts of the crowd will go out to it. They love the striking contrasts between its solemn pomps and the popular character

of its teachings. And that is why, if there really are haughty sects which have no room in their churches for the poor and disinherited of the earth, we pray God that they may not hide the fact, but rather glory in it! In our increasingly democratic society nothing will better serve the interests of Catholicism. *In hoc signo vincet*—it will conquer by this sign; and if the progress of democracy is nowhere more rapid than in America, that is precisely why Catholicism can nowhere entertain higher expectations."

RATIONALISM AND INDIVIDUALISM.

To these words as understood by Americans—and again on account of the discussions still raging over the "Life of Father Hecker"—M. Brunetière devotes considerable space. They do not mean in America, he says, what they mean in Europe.

"The word rationalism over there does not so much signify what is 'rational' to the German or the Frenchman as what is 'reasonable,' what is conformable to the principles of pure reason, what is analogous to the dictates of ordinary common sense. . . . So, too, individualism in America—and perhaps in England—does not consist, as with us, in permitting one's self whatever is not expressly forbidden by law, and in arrogating, if need be, the right to set one's self above even that, but in desiring to be subject to law only, and not to combat or reform it, even in case of necessity, except by appealing to its assistance."

And again, emphasizing the necessity of making this distinction if American Catholicism is to be understood by Europeans, he adds :

"What is there, nevertheless, that is dangerous in individualism? In principle but one thing, which is that each of us is liable to yield to the temptation of making himself not merely the judge, but the lawful sovereign, of his own actions; and another thing in practice or in fact, which is the temptation to subordinate or subject others to the requirements of our personal development. But if, on one hand, like the Catholics of America, one applies the efforts of his individualism only to make himself more worthy of a task whose essential object is simply to sustain the faithful or to propagate the faith, and if, on the other, one consents that it shall not be himself, but an external authority which shall judge us, a visible authority, and one from which there is no appeal. I would not venture to say that the danger would have disappeared entirely, but assuredly it would have been singularly lessened. So it was that the same man could write: 'The increasing action of the Holy Spirit, joined to a more active coöperation on the part of each of the faith-

ful, will elevate the part of human personality to an intensity of force and grandeur productive of a new era in the history of the Church.' And almost on the same page: 'In case of obscurity or doubt concerning what is the divinely revealed truth, or whether what prompts the soul is or is not an inspiration of the Holy Spirit, recourse must be had to the divine teacher or criterion, the authority of the Church.' There is no contradiction between these two sayings of Father Hecker."

Seldom has a foreigner devoted equal pains to a study of an American phenomenon, in general or in particular. An immense amount of friendly research has been devoted to a study that takes in every essential point of its subject from the beginning, which shows an equal acquaintance with the actors in it, from Archbishop Carroll down to Archbishops Keane and Ireland and Cardinal Gibbons, who now stand abroad as the significant exponents of all that goes there by the name of "Americanism."

THE SCHOOLS OF PORTO RICO.

IN *Education* for December Mr. Charles Edward Waters tells what he has been able to learn about educational conditions in Porto Rico. He complains, however, that official reports contain very meager statistics.

Of the estimated 550 schools on the island of Porto Rico 40 schools (a little more than 7 per cent. of the whole number) are classed as private or church schools and the others are styled public schools, although they are supported by tuition fees instead of a school tax. (Poor children are exempted from payment for books or tuition.) The tuition fees in 1897 amounted to something more than 330,000 Cuban pesos (the peso is valued at 92 6-10 cents), and this total was apportioned between the two districts (*barrios*) into which the island is divided for purposes of school administration.

THE SCHOOL ORGANIZATION.

"To a person unacquainted with the language the system of school organization on the island of Porto Rico appears to be formidable and complex—not to say perplexing. But on his obtaining an insight into the system of education pertaining thereon the American is struck with its similarity to the system prevailing in his own country: the primary school, for children of five years and under that age; the auxiliary (intermediate) school; the elementary (grammar) school, and the superior (high) school, as maintained generally in the cities or large towns, while the *rutale* or ungraded school of the interior of the

island reminds him of the sometimes mentioned 'deestrik skule' of our own New England. The whole system, however, of Porto Rican education more closely resembles the 'common-school' system prevailing in the United States than that of any other nation in the world. It is necessary to say that only to a limited extent is advantage taken of the means as they exist to secure an education to the children of school age living on the island, the estimated school population of which is 125,700 (65,400 boys and 60,300 girls). The maximum school attendance for the same year was 28,000 pupils—including 5,000 *los pobres* (20,000 boys and 8,000 girls), or a little more than 20 per cent. of the entire school enrollment. There are three schools (two in the north *barrio* and one in the south *barrio*) on the island for adults, with a total estimated attendance of less than 200 pupils.

"The primary schools of Porto Rico are mixed schools taught by women. But here co-education may be said to end. In the auxiliary, the elementary, and the superior school there is no association of the sexes, girls being taught in one place by women teachers (sometimes Sisters of Charity) and boys in another place by men teachers. The course of study in the schools is similar to the course of study in the common or public school in the United States. The work in the superior school, however, falls short by at least one year of the work done in our secondary or high school.

HIGHER EDUCATION.

"The collegiate institute located in San Juan and supported by the government is all that remains to the seeker after knowledge on the island of Porto Rico. The course of study in the institute provides for one modern language (elective on the part of the student), for instruction in Latin and Greek, geology, botany, algebra, geometry, history, and chemistry and physics. The sciences are imperfectly taught by reason of lack of laboratory facilities. The degree of B. A. is given to the graduate of the institute after a four years' course, a course that may be compared with the close of the sophomore year in the recognized colleges in America. The average age of graduates is nineteen years and only about 20 per cent. of the matriculates are graduated—there were in the class recently graduated less than 20 to receive the degree. A tuition fee of 2½ pesos a year is charged for each study taken up by the student. It is stated that three young women have graduated from the institute and that its courses of study are open to men and women alike. The young woman of Porto Rico has not yet awakened to the advantages of higher education for women.

although she sometimes takes a finishing course (of study) in the United States.

"The priests' college receives a number of students as candidates for the priesthood. But the writer of this article is reliably informed that it is not infrequent for students to remain in this college until their desired education is complete, when they withdraw without taking orders."

A PLEA FOR SCHOOL PLAYGROUNDS.

IN *Appleton's Popular Science Monthly* for December Isabella G. Oakley laments the disappearance of the old-time school playground in many of our American villages and smaller towns. If it is worth while for the friends of education in large cities to exert themselves, as they are doing, to provide open-air playgrounds for school children, the matter should not be overlooked in rural and suburban communities.

In many places central school buildings are erected surrounded by fine lawns, which must be kept immaculate. The old-fashioned recess, "that time-honored joy of the American school-boy and school-girl," is abolished.

"The cheerful sounds of play no more reëcho; the little ones march in 'lock step' from the doors to the very curb of this immaculate ornate inclosure. If on this beautiful lawn any impulsive youngster is caught running or performing an instinctive hop-scotch or leap-frog, he is sure to be seen by a watching and powerful janitor and reported. Leap-frog and profanity, in the true Draconian spirit, are alike visited with the extreme penalty of a visit to the principal's office. However, in default of a playground the new school-house provides a gymnasium for physical culture. I speak now of a particular school, the pride of a simple village and a type of many. This gymnasium is a costly room filled with elaborate apparatus, most of which is suited only to the high-school pupils and never touched by the majority, who leave school at twelve or thirteen; their physical exercises have been chiefly provided for by a box of dumb-bells and wands. In many schools the 'gymnasium' is a cavernous and ugly basement, a place full of shadows cast by the gloomy arches on which the building rests, with walls of brick and floors of asphalt. Little troops of silent, pale children arrive and depart all day for their physical culture, a dreary repetition of silent dumb-bell exercises. There is no speech nor language among them; no sound is heard but the jingle of the piano and the sharp tones of the monitor's counting. I have never heard the children count aloud or accompany the calisthenics by singing except in a private school. What an alternative for a free recess! No peni-

tentiary drill could be more perfunctory, spiritless, dead. It must be said of the public schools that the thing they most seem to dread is the sound of a child's voice. The rude, untrained intonations, the slovenly speech, the slouching attitude remain rude, slovenly, and slouching, for all the school attempts to do for their improvement is infinitely little. Even the blessed relief of shaking the arm and hand to attract the teacher's attention has been reduced in some schools to lifting two fingers."

The pupils generally hate their "physical-culture" exercises, and in the opinion of the writer they would hate just as sincerely regulated games "superintended by some impossible master of sports." What they want and what they should have is spontaneity in play.

There is no place to play in except the basement or the streets. This basement "recreation" is painful to witness: "Running and loud talking are forbidden; a police of teachers keep the restless little prisoners within bounds."

THE SOCIAL ETHICS OF THE PLAYGROUND.

"Not to study, because the teacher will explain everything, and to behave just well enough to get safe out of school, is the simple code which covers the conduct of average children. To extend this code to ideas of social duty—the highest—is not possible while they do not form a society. Cultivation of friendship is just as much out of the case; awakening of ideals an impossibility. But thrown together half an hour or more each day, the dead machinery that pulls the bells and adds the marks within the school walls gives way to life; and here a man who sympathizes with childhood has all the opportunity he needs, and probably much more than he can use, in providing for that life where a code of reciprocity and honor must be established. It is not as the magistrate he will successfully rule, but as the sympathetic general in the field, whose very name is a talisman and an inspiration to every man. In the school-yard the bully, who comes to the front in about every tenth child, needs to be repressed; the foul mouth must be cleansed; against these prevailing evils the playground has a protection the street cannot possess. The boy's world is a peculiar world, certainly, making laws for itself as rigorous and about as barbarous as those of a gang of pirates; but it is through his *esprit de corps* he can be uplifted and educated; the individual may be a selfish animal; as one of a body he is capable of heroism and devotion to a noble idea. He can be a friend; the playground is the field for the natural growth of friendships, and youth the generous time of their birth."

PARNELL AS AN INTER-RACIAL TYPE.

MR. LOUIS GARVIN contributes a very brilliant paper to the December *Fortnightly* on Charles Stewart Parnell and his power. He declares :

"The power and the tragedy of Parnell's career require great comparisons. His fate was as tragic as that of Antony or Mary. Among his contemporaries Bismarck only was like him in epic cast of character. In English politics the character of Parnell in simple solidity, deep craft, conquering force, and the ruling ascendancy of sheer non-scrupulous strength takes us back to Cromwell. Parnell as a racial product was curiously enough the most typical representative of the English-speaking world that has yet been seen. His stock was of strong blood and strong bend . . . English extraction, Irish atmosphere, American maternity derived from Scotch and Welsh blood—the squire of Avondale was the microcosm of the English-speaking races. Nor is it without significance that the constituency he really represented in the House of Commons was a constituency as wide as the empire and America together."

WHAT HE DID.

In these clear, glancing sentences Mr. Garvin epitomizes the man's career :

"We know what he did. He was thirty when he began, and he died at forty-five. He disorganized the House of Commons ; reversed the traditional relations of the races by making Englishmen furious while he remained calm ; wrested all constitutional forms to revolutionary ends ; made Ireland ungovernable except by himself ; extorted more valuable concessions for Ireland ungovernable than Ireland submissive would ever have received ; paralyzed the great Liberal majority of 1880 ; overthrew Mr. Gladstone's government ; put Lord Salisbury and the Conservatives into power and persuaded the Constitutional party to hold remarkably civil language toward treasonable agitators ; threw the Irish vote in Great Britain for the first time against the Liberal party ; attained the balance of power at a general election—was for a moment the Warwick of the empire ; forced Mr. Gladstone to capitulate ; placed Mr. Gladstone again in power ; saw a bill that would have made him autocrat of Ireland rejected by a majority of 30 only in the House of Commons ; drove the most respectable of great journals to the exotic course of attacking him on charges of condoning assassination by facsimiles of letters that were forged ; defeated the *Times* in the last and most dramatic of his victories—only to be ruined by the divorce

case, as completely as was Queen Mary by the casket letters ; excommunicated by Mr. Gladstone ; deposed by the enthusiasts who had sworn eternal allegiance twenty-four hours before ; hounded by his own pack ; crushed by the blind forces hurled upon him by the Catholic Church ; and died very darkly, leaving his party to irremediable anarchy and his cause to certain extinction."

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN.

Mr. Garvin concludes with hypothetical predictions :

"The pity is that the first home-rule bill did not pass. With its provision for the exclusion of the Irish members it would have made Mr. Parnell autocrat of Ireland. He would have become at once an imperial force as strong as Mr. Rhodes. He had a deep idea for the settlement of Ireland. All Nationalist Ireland he had united—priests, Fenians, and farmers. There remained Unionist Ulster and the Irish gentlemen. His first work under a home-rule system would have been to bring them in. Parnell was far too great a man to propose to govern Ireland against Ulster and the Irish gentry, or in any other way except with them and through them. . . . Under a home-rule Parliament he would have dropped the land agitation. Within six months he would have shifted his base, and Belfast and the landlords would have been the support of his power. Ireland would have become a whole."

"The possession of Parnell was more important than the hypothesis of a Parliament. It was because of the enormous and characteristic failure to appreciate that fact in the moment of a crisis that Ireland has no Parliament and no Parnell."

STONEWALL JACKSON'S LAST FIGHT.

IN *Blackwood's* for December Gen. Sir Henry Brackenbury reviews Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson's recently published life of Stonewall Jackson. We quote from the description of the last scene at Chancellorsville, when Jackson, the invincible hero of so many fights, received the wounds that caused his death :

"In the evening of that awful forest fighting he had ridden to the front and was returning to his own lines, when an officer of the Eighteenth North Carolina Regiment, seeing the group of horsemen riding toward him through the darkness, gave the order to fire, and Jackson received three bullets, one in the right hand and two in the left arm, cutting the main artery and crushing the bone below the shoulder. We will not

linger over the painful incidents that followed as he lay under the fire of case-shot from the enemy's guns at short range, shielded by the three young officers who would gladly have given their lives to save his; of his fall from the stretcher when one of the bearers was shot on the homeward way; of the amputation by Dr. M'Guire, his friend and comrade of so many fights. After the amputation General Stuart sent for instructions, as the situation was critical. Jackson strove to concentrate his thoughts, but for the first time the master-mind failed him, and he said very feebly and sadly: 'I don't know—I can't tell. Say to General Stuart he must do what he thinks best.' "

On that occasion Lee addressed to Jackson the following note:

GENERAL: I have just received your note informing me that you are wounded. I cannot express my regret at the occurrence. Could I have directed events, I should have chosen for the good of the country to be disabled in your stead.

I congratulate you upon the victory, which is due to your skill and energy. Very respectfully your obedient servant,
R. E. LEE, General.

" 'General Lee,' said Jackson, 'is very kind, but he should give the praise to God.'

"Eight days later he died, in the presence of his wife. When told that he had but two hours to live he answered feebly but firmly: 'Very good—it is all right.'

His biographer continues:

"These were almost his last coherent words. For some time he lay unconscious, and then suddenly he cried out: 'Order A. P. Hill to prepare for action! Pass the infantry to the front! Tell Major Hawks——' Then stopped, leaving the sentence unfinished. Once more he was silent; but a little while after he said, very quietly and clearly, 'Let us cross over the river and rest under the shade of the trees;' and the soul of the great captain passed into the peace of God."

"STONEWALL JACKSON'S WAY."

The reviewer quotes these verses of a song once very popular among the men of Jackson's command:

We see him now—the old slouched hat
Cocked o'er his eye askew.
The shrewd dry smile—the speech so pat.
So calm, so blunt, so true.
The "Blue Light Elder" knows them well:
Says he, "That's Banks—he's fond of shell;
Lord save his soul! we'll give him—" well,
That's Stonewall Jackson's way.

Silence! ground arms! kneel all! caps off!
Old Blue Light's going to pray;
Stangle the fool who dares to scoff!
Attention! it's his way!

Appealing for his native sod
In form'd paupers to God,
"Lay bare Thine arm, stretch forth Thy rod.
Amen!" That's Stonewall's way.

He's in the saddle now! Fall in!
Steady the whole brigade!
Hill's at the Ford, cut off!—we'll win
His way out, ball and blade!
What matter if our shoes are worn?
What matter if our feet are torn?
Quick step! we're with him before morn!
That's Stonewall Jackson's way.

The sun's bright lances rout the mists
Of morning—and, by George!
There's Longstreet struggling in the lists,
Hemmed in an ugly gorge.
Pope and his columns whipped before—
"Bayonets and grape!" hear Stonewall roar;
"Charge, Stuart! pay off Ashby's score!"
That's Stonewall Jackson's way.

A DEFENSE OF THE SULTAN AND OF TURKEY.

IN the January *Harper's* there is an article on "The Sultan at Home," by Mr. Sidney Whitman. Mr. Whitman has seen the Sultan and talked much with his principal ministers and advisers, and he comes away with a very different opinion of the Turk and of the Armenian than prevails generally in this country and in England. He thinks we have done Turkey a great injustice. He says the Sultan is not at all unpopular in his own country, that he is a quiet, dignified, simple ruler. On audience occasions the Sultan wears a Turkish general's uniform.

"On other occasions his dress is simplicity itself, scarcely differing from that of his secretaries and other officials. He wears a black frock-coat, cut in Turkish fashion, which just hides a white waistcoat with a gold watch-chain. The only other jewelry is apt to be a plain gold ring on the little finger of the right hand with a fair-sized ruby cut or polished *en cabochon*."

A NEW VIEW OF THE ARMENIANS.

"The Turk may continue to deny officially this or that; but who reads with an open mind what he has to say for himself? Only those who have seen with their own eyes—the Burtons, the Gordons, the Hobarts. Such men know that when the Armenian rebellion broke out about 25 per cent. of the highest-paid government officials in the capital were Armenians; that the keeper of the Sultan's privy purse is an Armenian still; that half the ambassadors of Turkey abroad were from time to time Christian Greeks; that the wealthiest men throughout the empire are Greeks and Armenians; that one of the wealthiest and highest placed of the Armenians has since been convicted of being a tool of the Hindschakists. The late Turkish ambassador at Berlin, Aristarchy Bey, was a Greek, who, at his death, in return

for the favor of the Mohammedan Sultan, left his whole private fortune to the Greek Government. And yet we are told that the poor Christians—who probably own three-fourths of all real estate in the Turkish empire—are groaning under a despicable despotism."

Mr. Whitman has a great deal to say about the small opinion which Turks have of Englishmen and the great ascendancy the Germans are attaining, not only in Constantinople, but throughout Turkey. To-day the German colony is the most active and also the most thriving, and German and Austrian made goods rule the staple markets. Not only does Mr. Whitman give the Sultan credit for being a gentlemanly sort of fellow; he describes him as a hard-working man, hedged about with a minimum of bombastic ceremony, much less a hoard of fierce soldiery armed to the teeth. "As a matter of fact there is no palace of any monarch in the world into which it is so easy to penetrate as the Yildiz Kiosk." Altogether, Mr. Whitman's idea of Turkey and the Sultan is a very admiring one, and he thinks that when the day comes for the Sultan to call a million warriors to die gloriously in battle, it will be a very serious day for the opponent of the crescent.

HOW MADAME BERNHARDT TOOK TO SCULPTURE.

MRS. SARAH TOOLEY writes in *Cassell's* on "Madame Sarah Bernhardt as a Sculptor." As a girl she wished to be either a nun or an actress at the *Théâtre Français*. How she took on a quite new rôle is thus explained:

"In 1869, after she had attained the second of her girlish wishes, Mademoiselle Bernhardt sat for her bust to M. Mathieu Meusnier. She could not by any possibility have remained a quiescent sitter, and at once fell to criticising the work as it proceeded. The sculptor noted that her criticisms were valuable.

"Why does not mademoiselle try to sculpture?' was the pertinent query.

"Ah, what an excellent idea!' exclaimed the delighted sitter. 'I will begin at once, monsieur, and you will teach me.'

"That same night, after her evening performance was over, full of her new resolve, Sarah Bernhardt hastened home from the theater, went up to the sleeping apartment of her aunt, Madame Brock, awoke that good lady out of a sweet sleep, and peremptorily told her to sit up and be sculptured."

So her career as sculptor began. In 1875 she exhibited in the *Salon*, and in 1876 won great applause for her second exhibit. As can readily be understood, "her two models had undoubt-

edly a trying time, for the actress did most of her sculpturing at night after she returned from the theater. It was her custom to call for her models on her way home; she was too impatient to wait and see if they would come of their own accord, the hour being so late."

AMERICANISM IN MUSIC.

IN Professor Mathews' magazine, *Music*, Mr. John S. Van Cleve writes on the subject of "Americanism in Musical Art." He says:

"We now have in America the full perfection of the three conditions of art-life, viz., large reservoirs of accumulated wealth, strong, passionate, unifying national pride, and a high degree of educational training and that form of technical intellect which cuts the channels and conduits for our inspired impulses. However, it cannot be said without exaggeration that we have as yet any American musical art. Americanism in our music there is in abundance, at times a superabundance, but a true ripened art—not yet. But it may not be very far in the future, and there is no mistaking the encouraging flushes of dawn which the coming American music is sending before it. The mere names of the men who have written worthily in this country would fill many pages, but to compose respectably is not enough. There must indeed be much good writing before a genius of the first order can find a mellow leaf-loom deep enough for the ramifying amplitude of his mighty thoughts."

OUR MUSICAL LIFE STILL IMMATURE.

Mr. Van Cleve finds the chief distinction of our American music in the fact that so many well-educated musicians among us compose good, though not great, music. American musical life, he thinks, is in the same heterogeneous, even chaotic, state as American society.

"Is it a strange thing," he asks, "that such a people should pay thirty thousand dollars per year in royalties to such a march-maker as Sousa and such a waltz-maker as the author of 'After the Ball'? Should feed its religious life upon such a mild mixture of milk, warm water, sugar, and bread-crumbs as the gospel hymns and the like outputs, yet patronize the great artists of the operatic world with such reckless lavishness that they may well bless us and laugh at us alternately? Demand of the orchestral director all the latest works of the Germans, French, and Russians and pour themselves in tumultuous waves to hear the most abstruse creations of Bach, Brahms, and Berlioz, as they do at the Cincinnati May festivals? Surely a strange land

this dear America, with her muddy stream of street music and her crystal fountains of most sacred art, with her worship of Handel and her toleration of banal Sunday-school ditties."

Mr. Van Cleve is inclined to ridicule the exploitation of negro melodies and aboriginal Indian tones in the search for a basis of a national music. He says in conclusion:

"American music is a coming certainty, but it will not be made healthy by hyperdermic injections of Indian or African blood. When all is said and done we are not Indians, not negroes; we are Caucasians, with blood highly complex but prevaillingly Teutonic, even Saxon in its composition. We will have ripe American music when we have ripe American life. Our composers should strive after originality, but not strain after it. Far-fetched newness is likely to be mere oddity. Our composers must stand upon Brahms and Wagner, upon Beethoven and Mozart, upon Schumann and Chopin, upon Mendelssohn, Weber, and Haydn, upon Handel, Bach, and Palestrina, uttering their honest thought and their unfeigned emotion with such newness of voice as God may give them."

THE SIEGFRIED STORIES.

IN the current number of *Poet-Lore* Camillo von Klenze sketches the history of the Siegfried-Brunhild legend. No one, of course, can say when, where, or by whom this greatest of love-stories was conceived. We know that it was sung in one form or another in different dialects among all the Germanic peoples long before Christianity had come to destroy the belief in the heathen gods, but the remarkable thing about it was that it had sufficient vitality to adapt itself to the ideas of the new faith, becoming the basis of one of the greatest popular epics, the "*Nibelungenlied*," surviving the Renaissance, and in our own century inspiring Richard Wagner to some of his grandest creations.

The legend seems to have been developed from some form of "season myth," in which Siegfried and Brunhild personified natural phenomena. In course of time there became amalgamated with it new stories reflecting the tremendous events of the Germanic migrations. The precise form of these songs has not been preserved for us; the priests of later times tried to obliterate the last traces of heathenish beliefs and customs. In Iceland, Norway, and Greenland, however, a collection of ancient ballads known as the older "*Edda*" was made, it was long supposed, by the learned Bishop Sæmund in the twelfth century. These ballads were believed to have been

composed between the years 850 and 1050. It now seems more than improbable that it was Sæmund who collected these songs, but the collector, whoever he was, has preserved for us the Siegfried *saga* in its purest form.

THE ICELANDIC SAGA.

The story of Siegfried and Brunhild tells us of the glorious youth Sigurd (this name Sigurd is merely the Norse for the German Siegfried), the son of Sigmund, who by killing a dragon acquired an immense treasure, and soon after, on his wanderings, found the beautiful maiden Brunhild on a mountain surrounded by a ring of fire. She had been placed there by the supreme god for an act of disobedience, and was fated to be awakened by the hero Sigurd. She at once falls in love with Sigurd with all the passion of a powerful soul, and Sigurd answers her affection. But he is destined cruelly to deceive her without his knowledge. For he leaves her to seek further adventures and comes to the land of King Gunnar. Gunnar covets Sigurd's treasure and wants the famous Brunhild. His mother consequently administers a magic potion to Sigurd by which he completely forgets Brunhild and marries Gunnar's sister Gudrun. Gunnar now asks Sigurd to lend him aid in getting the far-famed Brunhild. Sigurd, whose oblivion has become complete, gladly assents. He alone can ride through the ring of fire, and assumes Gunnar's appearance, so that Brunhild does not recognize him. She had given up all hope of ever seeing Sigurd again, for much time had elapsed since he had left her, and she consequently follows the pretended Gunnar. Then Sigurd and Gunnar reassume their natural appearance, and Gunnar marries Brunhild. But she had not long been his queen, when in a quarrel with Sigurd's wife, Gudrun, she discovers the deceit. Her old love for Sigurd breaks out again like a flame. The thought that Sigurd deceived her and that he belongs so another woman consumes her. She induces her husband to kill him, and when she hears that Sigurd is dead she pierces herself with the sword and is burned upon the same funeral pyre with her beloved Sigurd.

Camillo von Klenze describes the "*Edda*" as grand and uncanny, like the northern light. "No ray of mildness which the creed of Christ introduced into the world has ever grazed the authors of these poems; everywhere the old Germanic power and harshness. Every character stands out like a rock. Nothing is petty here." This grandeur of feeling and of thought remained the most striking characteristic of these old songs even after they lost in great measure their original form.

THE "NIBELUNGENLIED."

"These songs of the 'Edda' were popular in the North even after Christianity had overthrown the heathenish observances, after they had ceased to represent the actual state of things. They were still appreciated at a time when the entire surface of German life had changed, especially on the continent, and when in Germany proper the old *saga* was being molded into a completely new form, corresponding to a new life. And, indeed, a very different life from that in the cold North was the life of Germany toward the end of the twelfth century—that is, that period which produced what is not only the greatest form of the Siegfried story, but the greatest of all mediæval epics, the 'Nibelungenlied.'"

"In literature the old poetry, often written in Latin and generally ecclesiastical in its nature, was succeeded by a secular form of verse in the mother tongue which breathed a thoroughly worldly atmosphere and was typical of a brilliant society."

Still the new literature and the new ideals did not drive out the old. The old stories and songs still held the popular heart, and in Austria, where French influence was least felt, the ancient *sagas* were molded into a form suited to the new age. About the year 1200 some unknown collector or reviser arranged the survivals of the Siegfried songs in the epic of the "Nibelungenlied."

"Just as the songs of the 'Edda' were in a sense representative of the times and country in which they were sung, so the 'Nibelungenlied,' though showing in every line traces of the fierce past, though dealing with individualities such as only the times of the migrations could produce, is the child of the twelfth century. A milder spirit, brought about by Christian doctrines, has come over the old story; the northern light has yielded to the warmer hues of morn. The whole tale has changed and has become a mirror of Barbarossa's age.

"The songs of the 'Edda,' it will be remembered, told us how Sigurd killed a dragon and acquired a treasure, how he found and fell in love with Brunhild, how he was made to forget her and unwittingly helped to deceive her, how she discovered the fraud and was seized again with love for him, had him put to death and died with him. They furthermore told us how Gudrun, Sigurd's wife, married another man after Sigurd's death, how her second husband, coveting the treasure which had belonged to Sigurd, invited his wife's brothers and killed them, and how Gudrun wreaked terrible revenge on her husband for this deed. In the 'Nibelungenlied' Brunhild, the greatest figure of the 'Edda,' loses much of her importance, and the whole of the epic becomes

the story of Kriemhild's love for her husband Siegfried. Kriemhild, who corresponds to Gudrun in the 'Edda,' here kills her brothers for murdering her husband Siegfried, and through grief at her husband's death changes from a lovely maiden to a fearful avenger."

While the "Nibelungenlied" represents the last great crystallization of the old Siegfried *sagas* in a popular form, the stories were in later times woven into new shapes, although the old power was gone.

OTHER FORMS OF THE LEGEND.

"Thus the sixteenth century has left us a rough tale of Siegfried. In the same century Hans Sachs, poet and shoemaker, wrote his poor tragedy of Siegfried. After these two inferior works nothing appears for hundreds of years to show that the old hero was not dead. Nevertheless, he was once more to rise, phoenix-like, and to delight the world. When one of the lost manuscripts of the 'Nibelungenlied' was found about the middle of the last century, great interest was manifested in this epic, and later in the *sagas* on which it is based. Dozens of dramas, some of them written within recent years, going back partly to the 'Edda,' partly to the 'Nibelungenlied,' among them works of great merit, owe their origin to this interest. In Germany Hebbel's trilogy 'Die Nibelungen,' Geibel's tragedy 'Brunhild,' and Jordan's epic 'Nibelungen' have become famous. Henrik Ibsen has used the story of the 'Edda' in his drama 'The Warriors of Heligoland' and transcribed it into a form worthy of that remarkable man. Mr. William Morris' work connected with this subject has made Siegfried familiar to every cultured English-speaking person. The greatest modern remolding of the Siegfried story, however, was to be achieved not by a man of letters, properly so called, but by a musician. In his trilogy 'The Ring of the Nibelung' Richard Wagner has shed the whole magic of his imagination over our *saga* and has interpreted the passions of those grand individualities by means of the subtlest of interpreters, harmony.

"Siegfried belongs now, however, not alone to the world of culture. In the distant North, on the lonely Faroe Islands, the fishermen are said to sing to this day the songs of Siegfried's death. Nay, we do not need to go so far, for we ourselves have unwittingly heard and told the old story many times. Our own fairy story of 'The Sleeping Beauty' is merely another form of the old season myth; the last faint echo wafted through the ages of that tale which in ancient Germany was crystallized into the story of Siegfried and Brunhild."

ELECTRIC RAILROADS INSTEAD OF STEAM.

PROF. SIDNEY H. SHORT, a noted electrician and inventor, writes in the January *Cosmopolitan* to explain how in the next fifteen years, unless there should be an unexpected slump in electrical progress, steam will be superseded by electricity as the motive power for even the trunk-line railroads. The change will mean, he says, the reduction in time between New York and Chicago to ten hours, and a general readjustment of business and social conditions to a standard of 125 miles per hour instead of 40. This revolution will come, he thinks, without any great sacrifice in railroad properties and without radical departure from present methods of railroad construction.

THE OBSTACLES TO ELECTRICITY.

The chief difficulty in the way of this great revolution is the waste which conservative railroad men always point out that it would bring to the enormous railroad plants already in operation. In the matter of locomotives alone there are now 30,000 steam-engines in the United States in service, and if they only cost \$10,000 each it would mean that some \$300,000,000 worth of machinery would have to be sold as scrap-iron, as they could probably not be adapted to electrical service. It has been estimated that the cost of installation of an electrical plant—conductors, locomotives, motors, and cars—for a single railroad system such as the Pennsylvania would reach \$100,000,000.

PROFESSOR SHORT THINKS THIS OVERESTIMATED.

Professor Short thinks that it would be much more feasible than some railroad men think to change the plant. Running over an inventory of the items in a steam railroad property of today, he finds a great number of the assets of a sort which would not have to be changed—real estate, office and terminal buildings, stations, round and car houses, repair shops, road-bed and appurtenances for its control and protection, passenger and freight car bodies, car-trucks, and many of the locomotives. All mentioned here, except the car-trucks and locomotives and the general repair shops devoted to locomotive work, would continue in uninterrupted use.

Professor Short then takes the case of a railroad running by steam and goes into the details of the cost of changing it. He suggests that as fast as a steam freight locomotive should become superannuated—and the life of such a machine is just so many years—an electric locomotive should be substituted, and thus in time the whole equipment would be changed.

THE ADVANTAGES OF THE ELECTRIC SYSTEM.

Aside from the enormous advantage of greater speed, there are obvious economies in fuel and repairs. Five pounds of coal in a steam locomotive are now required to do what one and a half pounds will do in a stationary plant. The cost of fuel per horse-power per hour would be brought down to a half cent, and if gas-engines were used to still less.

"The cost of repairs would be enormously reduced, in spite of the greater speed obtained. Track life would lengthen with the gradual elimination of the locomotive, and repairs to a motor are both less costly and less troublesome than to a locomotive. The electric motor runs without intermission, requires little attention, and gives an output far in excess of that demanded of any other machine in hard service. While it may not be asserted that electrical apparatus is invulnerable or that the mighty power which we drive through devious ways finds its pathway always free from obstruction, it is true that correctly designed and well-made electric railroad apparatus is of lasting utility."

THE AMERICAN WOMAN AS HOUSEWIFE.

MISS EDITH YOUNG expatiates in the *Lady's Realm* on the inexhaustible theme of the charms of the American woman. She speaks of her cleverness, her acute memory, her ready power of expression, her atmosphere of fearlessness, "her splendid dignity and comely bearing," her good looks and queenly figure, her business energy. One aspect less frequently dwelt upon is here given prominence:

"Chief among the accomplishments of the American woman is her talent for housekeeping. The uncertainty in securing servants—for in America anything may be had for money, but a good servant last of all—and probably the influence of a hard-working sensible ancestry have had their effects. An American woman, with the exception of very moneyed American women, can run her house without a 'help' if she needs to, and runs it so well that one cannot always credit there is no retinue of servants behind. She keeps her house bright and beautiful, but not at the expense of her personal appearance, she being always neatly and prettily dressed whatever she does. Her house is most conveniently appointed for the saving of labor and useless drudgery—the reason being that the prevailing stubbornness of servants in trying new appliances has small weight in a country where 'brainy' women have so often to do their own housework and naturally choose the best ways of

accomplishing it. It would be a revelation to some ardent English housewives to know that the ladies one meets at an afternoon whist-party in America, who have a club meeting for every day in the week, or who lounge on their piazza hammocks as though life were one long holiday, who are all animation and vivacity, have now and again, perhaps all the time, been doing housework of a kind we should have two or more servants for in this country: getting up in the small hours to cook their elaborate breakfasts of hot bread and various indispensable dishes, and later making cakes, candies, and dainty stuffs, besides the real meals of the day."

"From her attributes of beauty, liveliness, and accomplishment, one might infer the American woman perfect were it not that, putting aside all her faults and taking her at her best, there is still something wanting. Neither good looks nor cleverness nor sound common sense constitutes genius; daintiness and prettiness do not constitute art; and one may have all talent and all means of educating one's self and yet be destitute of that sympathetic feeling for things beyond which we call 'soul.'"

THE BRITISH POST-OFFICE AND THE TELEPHONES.

IT is an ugly story which Mr. Robert Donald tells in the *Contemporary* in his paper on "The State and the Telephones," a "betrayal of public interests." He takes his facts from the report of the select committee appointed by the House of Commons to investigate the subject. His narrative is not likely to increase the confidence which England might be expected to feel in the management of its postal department.

When telephonic communications were declared by the courts to be within the monopoly of the post-office, the post-office began—it was in 1880—to grant licenses "with reckless liberality," Mr. Donald says, only exacting 10 per cent. of gross receipts. In 1884 it proceeded to grant general, not local, licenses, though always without resigning its right to compete or to grant competing licenses. The licensees amalgamated. Mr. Raikes, when postmaster-general in 1889, protested against this amalgamation.

A JACKAL TO PRIVATE MONOPOLY.

But since then, according to Mr. Donald, the post-office has played into the hands of the monopoly at the expense of the public. In 1892, when the trunk lines of the National Telephone Company were bought by the government at full value, the company secured additional privileges. It won for its subscribers connection with the local exchanges established by the post-office.

As a consequence the local business of the post-office dried up.

"The department has been pursuing the suicidal policy of cultivating telephone businesses for the National Company. At every point the company gains, and the post-office's failure is the public's loss. The capital invested in these local exchanges is lost. We do not know the amount of public money thus thrown away, as the post-office nowhere gives information about the financial position of its telephones; but as the Newcastle exchange alone cost £80,222, the total amount must be considerable. The post-office is peculiarly secret about these things."

AGAINST THE MUNICIPALITIES.

The postmaster-general declared in Parliament in 1895 that the position of local authorities was absolutely safeguarded; but when the city of London refused permission to the National Telephone Company to use its streets unless charges were reduced, the post-office "surreptitiously laid a subway for its use," and the company triumphed over the city government. A kindred policy has been followed over larger areas:

"What the department declined to concede in writing it has, nevertheless, given in practice. The telephone company has obtained all it asked. Areas have been enlarged and licenses refused to municipalities. This policy of enlarging telephone areas without regard to municipal boundaries helped to consolidate the company's monopoly, and was a subject which specially interested the select committee, as it creates an obstacle to municipal telephones. As the telephone company said, were towns grouped in one area there would be no inducement for corporations to start separate schemes."

MYSTERIOUS "MISTAKES."

The case of Guernsey telephones is adduced:

"The channel islands were omitted from the schedule of the agreement with the company. The company had established business in Jersey, but Guernsey was free. The states of that island decided to apply for a license and, on the advice of their engineer, Mr. A. R. Bennett—one of the leading authorities on telephony—to work the service themselves. The post-office and its confederate the telephone company then tried a little game of 'bluff.' The states were informed that Guernsey had been added to the Jersey area, and the telephone company then began erecting poles in the island. The map of telephone areas submitted to the select committee by the post-office actually showed Guernsey as scheduled under the agreement of March, 1896. . . . Only a mistake, for which no one appears to be responsible. These 'mistakes' are always oc-

curring, and they always favor the telephone company."

"NO COMPETITION"—A POLICY, IF NOT A PROMISE.

The post-office has persistently shielded the company from competition. The chairman of the company declares he had promises from Sir James Fergusson, Mr. Goschen, and Mr. Arnold Morley that there should be no competition. Mr. Goschen and Mr. Morley point-blank deny the charge; Sir James admits that he was opposed to competition, but does not accept the chairman's emphatic interpretation of his remark. Yet this alleged assurance has been "accepted by the department as binding." "It has decided the practice of the post-office:" it has enriched the company. For "there has been no competition" by the post-office and no desire shown to encourage municipal competition.

STATE PURCHASE "RECKONED ON."

Sir James Fergusson and the post-office recommend that the company should be bought up as a going concern. The company "has reckoned on the certainty of purchase," though it knew "the state was under no obligation to purchase it when its license lapsed" in 1911.

"It is notorious that much of the company's capital is 'water'—inevitably so, as it bought up a competing plant to throw it away and acquired the interests of licensees which represent no assets. The estimate of the post-office is that the whole plant of the company could be replaced for £2,500,000. But the company's capital is nearly £7,000,000, and in 1904 will be £9,800,000."

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON'S POSITION.

The unpleasantest thing in the whole paper is this paragraph:

"It should be remembered that Sir James Fergusson was not only the postmaster-general who signed the first agreement; he has other qualifications. After leaving office he tells us that he used to inquire of a 'relative, who was a director of the company,' how the new arrangement was working. In 1895 he was a member of the select committee appointed to inquire into the efficiency of the telephone service; and we find him in the following year a director of the National Telephone Company—a lucrative position which he still retains—and now undertakes difficult missions as a representative of the monopoly with all the prestige of an ex-postmaster-general and of the minister who signed the agreement creating the monopoly!"

Mr. Donald is not satisfied with the recommendations of the select committee. Municipal authorities have not facilities given them to counterbalance the difficulties interposed by the

reigning monopoly. Company or post-office could easily strangle any attempt at municipal service. "After what has happened, no one has much confidence in the post-office as a competitor. The select committee have none."

COW'S MILK AND CONSUMPTION.

"TUBERCULOSIS in Man and Beast" is the title of a paper in the *Nineteenth Century*, in which Sir Herbert Maxwell conveys the gist of the report of the last royal commission on the subject. This opening paper reminds us that the perils of the milk-can once so notorious in connection with typhoid now extend to tuberculosis as well. This fell disease is common to the lower animals and man, and from them he takes it most frequently. But not chiefly by eating their flesh.

"The commissioners are at one with their predecessors in believing that 'no doubt the largest part of the tuberculosis which man obtains through his food is by means of milk containing tuberculous matter.' The reason for this, in the United Kingdom at least, is pretty obvious. Our people are in the habit, which for practical purposes may be treated as inveterate, of drinking uncooked milk. Children, especially, are seldom given boiled milk.

"From a British point of view, then, it is a serious matter to find that the tuberculosis is far more prevalent among dairy cows than among bullocks, heifers, or any other class of agricultural stock. Not only is milk, as we use it, the form of food most likely to convey infection to the consumer, but the cows whence the milk is drawn are more subject to the disease than any other domestic animal."

THE INFALLIBLE TEST OF TUBERCULIN.

Koch's famous discovery of the tubercle bacillus and of the lymph tuberculin has made preventive measures possible, for though fatal to human life, the lymph "remains a harmless and practically infallible test for the presence of tuberculosis in living ruminant animals." By this method of detection and the consequent isolation, Danish stock-yards show a reduction of tuberculous cases from 66 to 25 per cent. The writer asks:

"If our board of agriculture adopt the recommendation of the royal commission and undertake the culture and gratuitous distribution of tuberculin, on conditions of subsequent management similar to those prescribed in Denmark, will British farmers and stock owners be so blind to their own interest as to refuse the boon?"

He warns his countrymen that the French

Government in prohibiting the importation of breeding stock which has not stood the tuberculin test has set an example likely to be followed. He exposes the chaotic arrangements for inspection which we now follow, which are fair neither to the owners nor to the public. He also insists that "the excellent uniformity of meat inspection which has been attained in Germany, France, Denmark, etc., cannot be emulated in Great Britain so long as private slaughter-houses are allowed to exist. The evidence on this point is overwhelming."

He calls attention to the importance of the public securing sterilized milk or milk from an untainted supply. He lays stress on the fact that tuberculosis in infancy—commonly classed under the head of infantile diarrhoea—has not shown the diminution which sanitary progress has effected in the ravages of adult tuberculosis. He attributes this fact to the increased use of new milk by children.

SHALL WE LIVE IN GLASS HOUSES?

M. HENRIVAUX, in the first November number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, recommends the use of glass as a building material. He thinks that the moment is suitable for an important evolution in architecture.

It is only about four years ago that architects began to realize the enormous possibilities of glass as a material for building; its decorative value is obvious, and it can also be used instead of wood and iron in many portions of house construction. For mantel-pieces, interior walls, and even for staircases it has been found exceedingly useful, for it is lighter and less expensive than bricks; but the idea of a house constructed entirely of glass would have seemed chimerical a very short time ago. Now, however, the problem is an easy one owing to the invention of what M. Henrivaux calls "ceramo-crystal," or glass stone, a kind of vitrified glass. These plaques are capable of most varied decoration, while their resisting power is, extraordinary as it may seem, very much greater than granite, and it has been shown by experiment that they do not share the brittleness of ordinary glass.

At the Paris Exposition of 1900 we shall see, close to the Eiffel Tower, a building called "The

Luminous Palace," which will be raised in honor of the electric light, and the architect is building it of glass. The scheme of decoration will be very elaborate and the rule of nothing but glass will be strictly adhered to. The experience gained over this building should certainly, as the writer of this article anticipates, enable us to judge definitely whether this vitrified material is to make the dwelling-house of the future.

THE "AUTONAUT."

MR. HERBERT C. FYFE describes in *Pearson's* the wonders of the *Autonaut*, a boat that propels itself, but can only move in rough waters:

"The fact is that the boat is propelled by the action of the waves; in perfectly still water she would not move at all unless she was caused to pitch artificially. The secret of her propulsion lies in a couple of pieces of apparatus, not unlike gridirons, fixed one at the bow and one at the stern about on a level with the keel. These are what the inventor, Mr. H. Linden, of the zoological station at Naples, calls 'feathering fins.' They are strips of hardened steel with their free ends pointing in the reverse direction to the course of the boat. Each frame holds four of these. They are twenty inches long and ten inches wide; they are seven-tenths of an inch thick at their union with their frames, and taper off to one-tenth of an inch at their free ends.

"The effect of oil on troubled waters has passed from a proverb into a regular adjunct of navigation, but there has always been one very serious drawback. It is of no use unless a vessel is going with the wind. If a vessel beating against the wind were to put oil over the side it would simply be blown to leeward of her and do her no good. Now, the peculiarity of the *Autonaut* is that she will go just as well against the wind and the waves as with them; in fact, the more bumpy the waves are the better she goes. Therefore it occurred to Mr. Linden that his boat would serve admirably to carry oil and distribute it in front of fishing-boats, life-boats, and vessels riding at anchor in a heavy broken sea."

It is thus of use as a sort of advance guard of peace, preparing the way by oil distribution to the windward of ships in troubled seas.



THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

THE January *Harper's* contains two features which we have quoted from among the "Leading Articles"—"The Naval Lessons of the War," by H. W. Wilson, and "The Sultan at Home," by Sidney Whitman.

An excellent account of the conditions which surround the closing years of the long reign of Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, is given in Mr. Sidney Brooks' article, "Fifty Years of Francis Joseph." The tumult and turmoil of Austria-Hungary, both social and political, can be explained in a single small table which Mr. Brooks cites, showing the distribution of the races which make up the population of Austria and Hungary respectively.

Austria.		Hungary.	
Germans.....	8,461,580	Magyars.....	7,426,730
Czechs.....	5,472,871	Servians and	2,604,360
Poles.....	3,719,232	Croats.....	2,591,905
Ruthenians.....	3,105,221	Roumanians.....	2,107,177
Slovenes.....	1,176,672	Germans.....	1,910,379
Servians and	644,926	Slovacks.....	888,392
Croats.....	675,305	Ruthenians.....	94,679
Italians.....	209,810	Slovenes.....	82,258
Roumanians.....	8,139	Gypsies.....	94,679
Magyars.....		Other nations.....	
Total.....	23,473,756	Total.....	17,300,357

With such a racial hodge-podge as this one does not wonder at prophecies of disruption. "Were dismemberment," says Mr. Brooks, "to set in, it could rely on no friendly state coming to its rescue, least of all among its partners in the triple alliance. Austria-Hungary must work out its own salvation and float or sink without help from outside. It is this isolation that constitutes the peril of the internal feuds that have paralyzed the realm during the past two years."

An unusually picturesque and readable article is contributed by Capt. T. S. Speedy in "A Glimpse of Nubia," the country which we generally miscall the Sudan. The fine-appearing Nubians are a curious race as to customs and traditional connections, which Captain Speedy tells of with pleasant discrimination. One of the most curious things to be seen among them is the sword, always of one pattern, and an exact copy of the long, straight, double-edged blade carried by the Crusaders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the hilt being in the form of a cross, which the Christian warrior kissed in his last moment. Most of these are manufactured in Germany, but a few bear every appearance of being the veritable weapon of the Crusaders, and are in possession of some of the chiefs, having been handed down from generation to generation. The chiefs hold these weapons as priceless. Captain Speedy says no doubt exists that 90 per cent. of the inhabitants of Nubia desire peace and will be most thankful to see their commerce restored to its former status. "And we have every reason to believe that the late successes of Sir Herbert Kitchener are rapidly conducing to this much-desired end."

In an essay on "The Weakness of the Executive Power in Democracy," Mr. Henry Loomis Nelson is im-

patient of the interference of the legislative branch of the Government with the executive, when that interference makes, as he thinks it does make, the executive weak and uncertain. He does not think we need a king, nor a kaiser, nor a Diaz in this country, but "we do need executive and administrative officers who can be trusted to put into operation the conclusions of the legislative body in the wisest and most effective manner."

Lieut. S. A. Stanton, who served throughout the war on the flagship *New York* as assistant chief of staff to Admiral Sampson, describes "The Naval Campaign of 1898 in the West Indies," and gives a readable version of the often-told story of the great fight at Santiago.

The series of detached articles which *Harper's* has been publishing on Bismarck is continued in a sketch of "Bismarck, the Man and the Statesman," by Charlton T. Lewis, and Prof. Albert B. Hart gives a historical account of "Brother Jonathan's Colonies."

THE CENTURY MAGAZINE.

THE January *Century* is an unusually attractive number. Worshipers of Carlyle will rejoice in both the illustrations and text of Mr. John Patrick's account of "The Carlyles in Scotland," not least in the pictures. The engraving of Carlyle by Thomas Johnson, from a photograph taken in 1874 by Mr. Patrick, is the best picture of the philosopher we have ever seen. A great many pages of the *Century* are taken up with the further installments of the war articles, Captain Sigsbee's "Personal Narrative of the 'Maine'" and Lieutenant Hobson's account of "The Sinking of the 'Merrimac.'" In part second of the latter Lieutenant Hobson reaches the most dramatic period of his exploit, when the ship was running in. The literary opportunity in a description of this terrific experience by the man who was at all times in the center of the hell of shot and shell which plunged about the *Merrimac* is tremendous, and Lieutenant Hobson shows that he is something of a writer as well as a great deal of a hero. The story of the sinking of the ship and the escape of its men is fascinating. Another echo of the late war is in Mr. Edmond Kelly's article, "An American in Madrid During the War." Mr. Kelly was recognized as an American in the hotel where he was staying, and it is worth noting that he records the fact that he was received with no less courtesy, if with less cordiality, than before the fact was known.

Another important article is that by Capt. A. S. Crowninshield, of the United States navy, on "The Advantages of the Nicaragua Canal." Captain Crowninshield begins his arguments for the Nicaragua route with a *résumé* of the various isthmian canal projects, and favors the Nicaraguan scheme because of two general important physical facts: First, that Lake Nicaragua is at the summit level of the projected work, and, second, the range of hills which separates the lake and the Pacific and prevents its waters from flowing west instead of east is at one point only forty feet above the lake, while the lake is one hundred and ten feet above the level of the sea. This point in the hills is consequently only one hundred and fifty feet above the sea-level, and is, as a matter of fact, the lowest point in the great

mountain range which extends the entire length of the American continent. The panoramic view of the Nicaragua Canal which accompanies this article gives the best idea possible to readers of the geographical statistics of that part of the isthmus. Captain Crowninshield gives it as his opinion, or rather as the general consensus of opinion at present, that the entire work can be constructed for from one hundred millions to one hundred and twenty millions of dollars.

The serials, all of them excellent ones, which are running in this first number of the *Century's* new year are the novel "Via Crucis," by F. Marion Crawford, Prof. Benjamin Ide Wheeler's story of Alexander the Great, and Paul Leicester Ford's "The Many Sided Franklin."

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE.

THE January *Scribner's* contains two features inspired by the Spanish-American War, Col. Theodore Roosevelt's first chapter in his story of the Rough Riders and Richard Harding Davis' story, "On the Fever Ship," the latter the first important example of war fiction we have seen. Colonel Roosevelt occupies this first chapter of his story chiefly in describing the make-up of his famous regiment from its several sources—New York policemen, athletic club and college men, Western hunters, deputy sheriffs and cowboys, and full-blooded Indians. He gives Allyn Capron the palm for being the best soldier in the regiment, and calls him, in fact, "the ideal of what an American regular army officer should be." Another echo of our war appears in Dr. Charles R. Gill's account of his "Ride Into Cuba for the Red Cross"—a ride undertaken to acquaint Miss Clara Barton with the condition of the country and the needs of the people in the regions beyond the city of Santiago.

Maj. Edward S. Wortley, in command of the Arab irregular force, gives a brief sketch of the action at Omdurman under the title "With the Sirdar." He says the Soudan is devastated and miserable beyond description from the effects of Dervish tyranny, and that it will take years of peace under British guarantee to restore the ravaged country to its normal prosperity.

Still another military article is an account of "The British Maneuvers," by Capt. W. Elliott Cairnes, illustrated by very interesting photographs. An unusually clever story-sketch is from Mr. A. S. Smith, under the title "The Peach." A first installment of the Colvin-edited "Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson" appears this month, covering the novelist's early engineering excursions; Mr. Robert Grant contributes some of his light and pleasant social philosophy under the title "Search Light Letters," and there is a fine story from George W. Cable, "The Entomologist."

THE COSMOPOLITAN MAGAZINE.

THE January *Cosmopolitan* has an interesting practical article by Prof. Sidney Short on "The Coming Electric Railroad," which is reviewed in another department.

Mr. Charles R. Flint, the head of the great mercantile house of Flint, Eddy & Co. and one of the most active industrial organizers of the decade, writes in the series on "Great Problems in Organization" on "Economic Organization." He cites the great world forces which have brought about the disappearance of the merchant prince, a picturesque figure made impos-

sible in this day by steam and electricity. Mr. Flint gives some very valuable illustrations of how business used to be conducted fifty or a hundred years ago in the case of, for instance, a flour merchant doing business in South America, and how it is done to-day. In the more highly organized methods of the end of the century, when the merchant receives his cable dispatch from Brazil two or three times a day, makes his calculations with the utmost nicety, and closes a sale by cable on the same day on which it is made, the great profits of the merchant prince are impossible. But, on the other hand, the profits are surer. As to the great corporation combinations, Mr. Flint says that they have come about in the same way as the political federation of our and other states have come about. He protests against these consolidations of large corporate capitals being called trusts, and argues to show that they are necessary in order to employ specialization, avoid waste, and insure the greatest amount of smoothness in industrial transactions.

Prof. Harry Thurston Peck essays in "For Maids and Mothers" to show that woman makes a great mistake when she enters the field of specialization along with man. "She brings with her all the intensity, the overwrought enthusiasm, and the mental myopia of her sex. She lacks the ability to take a large and well-proportioned view of the work she is doing, and she throws herself into it with a passionate eagerness that is fine in itself, yet hurtful in its results. And even after all this sacrifice of health, after all this loss of charm, after losing much of what makes womanhood so beautiful, she has not gained a thing for which she sought. She will still be at the most somewhere down in the second or third rank of the undistinguished."

Mr. John Paul Bocock makes a surprisingly strong showing for Irishmen in his article on "Irish Leaders in Many Nations." There are Gen. Lord Wolseley, Justin McCarthy, the Duke of Tetuan, Gen. Lord Kitchener, Sir Robert Hart, Chief Justice Russell, Gen. Lord Roberts, and Lord Dufferin, of course; but it is a picturesque surprise to find that General Obrutcheff is an O'Brien, General Skalon originated in the Emerald Isle as a Scallen, and the gallant Odontcheff was a veritable O'Donnell.

McCLURE'S MAGAZINE.

CAPTAIN MAHAN'S paper in the January *McClure's*, "The War on the Sea and Its Lessons," is quoted from in another department this month.

McClure's begins with a graphic account by Simon Lake of his invention, the submarine boat *Argonaut*, and her achievements. He says that notwithstanding the fact that the *Argonaut* is quite a small vessel, a crew of five men have lived aboard her during an experimental cruise extending over two months, during which she traveled over one thousand miles under her own power, partly on the surface and partly on the bottom. Mr. Lake says that this extraordinary boat has proved herself perfectly seaworthy. She is so small that the seas wash clear over her decks, but this causes no inconvenience to those below. Mr. Lake regards the *Argonaut* as a merely experimental craft, and he intends to complete at once a hundred-foot boat for practical work. He boasts that if the *Argonaut* had been at Santiago she could have cleared the harbor of Spanish mines within forty-eight hours. "Then we could have crept under the Spanish fleet, where our divers

would have stepped out and deliberately set mines or even fastened torpedoes to the bottoms of the ships."

Mr. Stephen Bonsal prints a chapter of stories gathered from the field of battle at Santiago under the heading "The Day of Battle," which will form part of a forthcoming book, "The Fight for Santiago."

There are stories by Hamlin Garland and E. Nesbit, and a further installment of Mr. Kipling's "Stalky & Co." and of Ida M. Tarbell's "The Later Life of Lincoln." Mr. F. W. Hughes illustrates in maps and text the expansion of the United States from the Mississippi to the Pacific and the gradual encroachment on Spanish possessions from 1764 on. Mr. Stephen Crane gives a graphic account of his ride "On the Engine of the Scotch Express." He says that there can be no question that the road-beds of English railroads are at present immeasurably superior to the American road-beds, the reason being of course clear, in that the Americans were called on suddenly to build thousands upon thousands of miles of railroad, where the English slowly built tens upon tens.

THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

IN the January *Ladies' Home Journal* Mr. Cleveland Moffett, the well-known interviewing magazine writer, gives a most readable account of the Viennese music-teacher, Leschetisky, "The Man Who Taught Paderewski." He says that Paderewski took a lesson at the professor's house every evening, this being a mark of special favor. These nightly lessons lasted one or two or three hours, while all day long for six months Paderewski worked away at the mechanics of piano-playing and exercises specially devised for him by this teacher. The young Pole had no special influence and very little money; it was his exceptional talent that procured him these favors with the exacting old teacher. Mr. Moffett tells us that no piano student is refused by the great Leschetisky. He has many other preparatory teachers, usually women, his former pupils, who teach his method, and make it possible for him to have one hundred and fifty or two hundred pupils constantly studying under him, although a small number of these get much of his personal instruction. Five hours is the maximum of daily practice allowed, and the teacher advises less and also uses many unique methods of saving the muscles fatigue. Leschetisky says a child with a serious career ahead must begin piano work at not later than six and must be a finished concert performer at fifteen. Mr. Moffett finds out that a young man or young woman would scarcely do well to go to Leschetisky for less than two years and with less than a thousand dollars a year to spend.

Miss Elizabeth G. Jordan tells "What it Means to be a Newspaper Woman." She has much to say about the hardships and disappointments that must await a beginner, but she thinks that there is a bright side to the picture, and not the least bright side is the salary that a woman may get to. "There is no reason why her income should not be thirty-five or forty dollars a week at the end of the second year. After she has worked in New York five years she should be earning at least fifty dollars a week." The glittering quality of this statement is somewhat mitigated by Miss Jordan's additional assurance that the average newspaper woman breaks down at the end of five years' work.

An editorial in this number deplores "The Rush of American Women," and says that the mothers of this

country are coming to speak of the work-basket, the evening lamp, the home music, and the evening games of brothers and sisters as in the past, almost as archaic curiosities. The editor apparently agrees with Mr. Kipling when he said that "the Americans are still camping out."

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE.

THE January *Lippincott's* publishes as its complete novel of the month "The Mystery of Mr. Cain," by Lafayette McLaws, and Charles C. Pinckney recalls "The Great Debate of 1833," when Calhoun and Webster shone in Congress with such brilliancy. J. L. Sprague gives some curious reminiscences in "A Reporter's Recollections," and gives the palm to Chicago reporters for enterprise in getting the news, although he qualifies the compliment very seriously by accusing the "journalists" of that city of absolute unscrupulousness in their enterprise, and cites chapter and verse to support his accusation. Other short sketches in fiction and essays complete the number.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

THE January *Atlantic Monthly* begins with a very comprehensive paper by President Charles W. Eliot, entitled "Destructive and Constructive Energies of Our Government." The author thinks that the most important general lesson to be learned from the late war is the permanence of the martial virtues in a people who are devoted to outdoor sports, and who are still engaged in a more or less constant battle with the forces of nature. In other words, he thinks we need no professional soldiery.

"The professional soldier may be softened and perhaps corrupted by a long period of peace; for in peaceful times he may have nothing to do, or at least his occupation may be so slight and so dull as not to keep his physical and mental powers at full play; but a citizen soldiery, when free from the horrible activities of war, returns promptly to the labors of peace and escapes the dangers to which a professional soldiery is exposed. It is, then, the regular pursuits and habits of a nation in times of peace which prepare it for success in war, and not the virtues bred in war which enable it to endure peace."

Dr. Eliot draws other deductions from the experience of last summer, and then goes on to compare various items of our national expenditure for constructive purposes with the cost of our battleships, to the open disadvantage of the former. His argument is, however, rather that we should spend more on preserving the forests and food fishes and on improving our harbors and waterways than that we should neglect our preparedness for war.

Mr. George Bird Grinnell, in his article entitled "The Wild Indian," shows many popular ideas of the red man to be very erroneous. Mr. Grinnell's estimate of the natural Indian would be somewhere between the Fenimore Cooper, or ideal estimate, and the opinion that would probably come from a Westerner who has had experience of the later and degenerate phases of the red man. In the first place, he tells us the natural Indian was not wholly a warrior; fighting was only an incident, not the business, of his life. Mr. Grinnell, who is as clever and careful a student of this subject as America has produced, gives the Indian credit for various

"savage virtues, many of which are admirable, among them honesty, bravery, hospitality, consideration for their neighbors, family affection, and fidelity—the keeping of pledged faith even with an enemy. These people have a respect for their promises which seems remarkable to a white man.

"A liar is regarded with contempt, and when a man has once been detected in an untruth it is almost impossible for him to regain his reputation. Often when I ask a man to tell me a sacred story he sits silent for a while to arrange his ideas. Then he holds his palms up toward the sun and passes them over his head, arms, and body, rubs them on the ground, and again passes them over his head, arms, and body. Then he prays: 'O Wise One above, listen. Earth, listen. All you spiritual powers, listen. Take pity on me. Help me. I am going to talk to this man. I am going to tell him a story of ancient times, of the things which used to happen a long time ago. Help me to talk straight to him. Watch me and do not let me tell a lie. Make me tell these things just as they used to be. Listen carefully and make me tell him the truth.'"

Prof. Hugo Münskeberg has an interesting scientific essay on "Psychology and Mysticism;" Norman Hapgood a pleasant essay on "The Actor of To-day;" and Mrs. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps-Ward contributes an impassioned poem, "Salutation" to Nicholas II., in praise of the peace manifesto.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

IN the December number of the *North American Review* Dr. Lyman Abbott has a discussion of the Indian problem which we have noticed separately.

This number of the *North American* makes a remarkably strong presentation of the reasons for a reorganization of our naval *personnel*, including articles by the Hon. Francis H. Wilson, the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, Commodore Philip, representing the line, Commodore Melville, representing the engineers, and the Hon. George Edmund Foss. These writers are unanimous in advocating the prompt passage of the bill now before Congress, which not only provides for the amalgamation of the line and staff, but also offers a way by which young officers of merit may be advanced to command rank without serving a lifetime in subordinate positions, as is now too frequently the case.

Dr. Alvah H. Doty writes on "The Scientific Prevention of Yellow Fever." The methods that he advocates for dealing with the problem in Havana and other Cuban ports are direct and easily understood. First, get rid of all the old sewers and the filthy and infected woodwork of the docks. Then put in new and modern systems of sewerage, pave and grade the streets, clean and disinfect all vaults and cesspools, and flush the streets with water at frequent intervals. When these things are done, says Dr. Doty, the Cuban towns will cease to be a menace to this country.

Max O'Rell contributes a "Study in Cheerfulness," in which he expresses the conviction that the Frenchman is the happiest of men and the Englishman and the American among the most unhappy. The Frenchman, it is admitted, is badly governed—"a bad politician and a worse republican"—but his private life, Max O'Rell thinks, is to be envied by most European nations. He lives well and thoroughly enjoys living.

The Hon. Thomas L. James eulogizes the services of the national bank examiners, who report to the Com-

troller of the Currency at Washington. Many banks have been saved from disaster and their depositors from loss, it is said, by the shrewdness and energy of these officials.

The Hon. Hannis Taylor severely criticises the work of the American peace commissioners at Paris. While he believes that the war was a just one on our part and inevitable, and while he also believes that the results of it, in the form of our territorial acquisitions, are "the natural and inevitable outcome of our expansion, that is moving us on through the agency of immutable laws beyond our comprehension and control," he still holds that our commissioners did wrong in refusing to assume at least a part of the Cuban debt, assuming that the sovereignty of Cuba, to all intents and purposes, passes to the United States.

Mr. C. M. Stadden presents the latest aspects of the Nicaragua Canal project; Mr. P. T. McGrath, a Newfoundland journalist, gives the Canadian side of the fisheries question, and Lieut. Winston Spencer-Churchill reviews the Fashoda incident.

In "Notes and Comments" President Roswell Miller, of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway, discusses the anti-pooling decision; Lieut. Clarence Wiener shows that currency conditions in Porto Rico permit the local merchants to get a net profit as high as 162½ per cent.; and Geraldine Meyrick writes "Concerning Ethics and Etiquette."

THE FORUM.

IN another department we have quoted from Professor McMaster's exposition of the problems of annexation and universal suffrage in the December *Forum*.

The Hon. Charles Denby advocates as a principle our intervention in foreign affairs whenever our national interests are concerned; but beyond insisting that Americans abroad should always be under the flag's protection, he does not make it very clear to precisely what kind of cases in international law this principle of intervention should be extended.

Chief Geographer Gannett, of the United States Geological Survey, contributes an article on the important subject of forest fires. It is shown from statistics gathered in the past that an area of more than ten and a quarter millions of acres of forest land has been known to be burned over in this country during a single year. In the summer of 1898 forest fires raged over Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, and California, causing terrible destruction. There were also destructive fires in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan, although in the older States New York's example has been generally followed in organizing corps of fire wardens and taking other preventive measures.

Assistant Postmaster-General Heath explains his position on the enforcement of the national civil-service law, giving his interpretation of President Cleveland's famous proclamation warning against "obtrusive partisanship" and "pernicious activity" on the part of office-holders. Mr. Heath frankly says:

"My entire thought is in the direction of encouraging the manly, proper, intelligent, and honest exercise of political freedom. I believe that letter-carriers and post-office clerks will be better carriers and better clerks through hearing political speeches, by attending primaries and conventions, and by going to the polls and voting. If a man did not attend church nor hear a

sermon, it would be very difficult for him to be saturated with religious thought. How can a man be intelligent and well informed, and vote as a citizen who would do the best for his community and country, if he hears no speeches and never discusses political questions?"

The tone of Mr. D. W. Stevens' article on "The Relation of Japan to Other Nations" suggests a frank and cordial desire on Japan's part for the most friendly relations with the United States, especially in view of the new position assumed by this Government in the far East. Mr. Stevens speaks from an experience of a quarter of a century in the closest official relations with the Japanese Government.

Prof. W. S. Scarborough, of Wilberforce University, gives some reasons to account for the fact that the educated negro often follows menial pursuits. Although the negro is at a manifest disadvantage in attempting to enter the professions, Professor Scarborough does not despair of his future. While he heartily commends the efforts of Hampton and Tuskegee in the direction of industrial education, he still insists on the value of higher training.

In his second article on "Germany and Great Britain" Dr. Albert von Schäffle advocates the "open-door" policy in the East and a policy of "fair trade" for both nations throughout their colonial possessions.

Mr. Francis E. Leupp declares that the recent so-called "outbreak" of the Pillager Indians in Minnesota was not an outbreak in any fair sense of the term, but an attempt of a mere handful of Indians to resist, on their own soil, what seemed to them a gross aggression on the part of an armed force of whites. It was the culmination of a half century of white overreaching.

Professor Lombroso finds in the history of the Venetian states a warning lesson for our own republic. The greatness of Venice was due to the liberty her people enjoyed, and the decline of that liberty was brought about chiefly by conquests in distant lands. "Let the citizens of the United States," says Lombroso, "carefully consider these facts before drinking the intoxicating but poisonous cup of conquest."

Representative Babcock, chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, writes on the lessons of the recent elections; Truman A. De Weese on the rewards and opportunities of journalism; David Willcox on "Recent Construction of the Federal Anti-Trust Act;" and Gustav Kobbé on "Cyrano de Bergerac."

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

ELSEWHERE we have noticed the anonymous article on Emperor William's attitude toward England and the United States in the *Contemporary* for December.

"DOES TRADE FOLLOW THE FLAG?"

Lord Farrer attempts a statistical refutation of the cry that "trade follows the flag"—so far, at least, as the British empire is concerned. He seems to prove by his figures that "the trade of the United Kingdom with foreign nations is three times as great as the trade of the United Kingdom with countries under the British flag; that this proportion has been substantially maintained for the last half century—in fact, for the whole period for which we have trustworthy statistics; that it has remained the same, or nearly the same, in spite of changes of all kinds; in spite of the enormous increase of the British empire; in spite of wars and alterations of boundaries; in spite of changes

in the internal policies of the nations; in spite of the partial adoption, and in spite of the subsequent relinquishment by other nations, of the principles of free trade. And in the very peculiar case of Egypt, which, though under British dominion, is not under the British flag, the figures above given show that the extension of British dominion, whether accompanied or not by an extension of British trade, has not involved a greater extension of Egypt's trade with the United Kingdom than of Egypt's trade with other nations. In short, these figures prove conclusively that extension of empire is not necessary for the maintenance of the foreign trade of the United Kingdom, and that there is some fundamental fallacy in the doctrine, so dear to jingoes and protectionists, that 'the trade follows the flag.' . . . 'Trade,' as has been well said, 'does not follow the flag; it follows the price-list.'"

Chief among the corollaries drawn by Lord Farrer is this—that "jealousy of the extension of other civilized nations into the waste places of the world is altogether out of place . . . if we could be satisfied that they would adopt the policy of the 'open door' we should obtain all that our trade requires." This should be England's attitude to France, Germany, and Russia in China and to the United States in the Philippines.

"FROM BREAKING HEADS TO COUNTING THEM."

Mr. E. Jenks lays down a theory of "the origin of political representation," in which fact and conjecture are somewhat indistinctly mingled:

"The Roman could not grasp the idea of political representation. The peoples who have never been in contact with Rome—the Slav peoples, for example—cannot grasp it. It is the discovery of the races which destroyed Roman civilization, and yet were overcome by it—the conquerors and yet the children of Rome."

The idea of vicarious liability—that a community, or even any chance member of it, must suffer penalty or make payment for the crime of any other of its members—is common to primitive peoples. The idea of agency is a device of the Roman law. The contact of these two simpler notions gave birth to the idea of political representation. In England the idea of agency was weak, and the strength of the royal power would not brook mere delegates. It insisted on representatives "having full and sufficient power" to bind by their action the communities they represented. Gradually representation became not an infliction, but a privilege, a franchise. Then the practical question arose: "How was a community, being divided in opinion, to choose its representatives? Choose it must, or the sheriff would settle the difficulty by coming to the shire or town moot and snapping up the first two substantial knights or burgesses on whom he could lay hands."

To secure the unanimity once required, as even now in the case of the jury, the readiest process in old time was to wipe out one or other disputing party in a regular fight. The survivors were then unanimous. Then it was thought less disastrous simply to feign the battle, to count heads on both sides and so estimate how many the survivors would likely be. So came in the rule of the majority. So arose the conception of numerical equality. "The equality of man is not the cause, but the result, of the theory of the majority."

FACTS ABOUT BALLOON EXPERIENCE.

The Rev. John M. Bacon, whose skill as an aeronaut seems to make peculiarly his own the title of "sky-

pilot" given by sailors to clergymen indiscriminately, contributes much interesting matter about "scientific ballooning." He gives a vivid idea of "the great atmospheric ocean, its tides, its streams and torrents," its layers of damp and dry air. He states that "sounds heard aloft lose reverberation." The thunder is a "single bang." The report of a gun is a single yelp. The eye gains what the ear loses in fullness of sensation:

"The extraordinary brilliance and steadiness of celestial objects viewed by optical aid from a balloon ten thousand or twelve thousand feet above sea-level must be seen to be realized. Indeed, from half that height the full moon, regarded through an ordinary field-glass, becomes an object intolerable to gaze upon. . . . Much incongruity is found in the experiences of different individuals. To one, on ascending, the earth will seem to recede from beneath and hollow itself out, as it were, into a basin bounded only by the horizon. To another no optical illusion is noticeable, and the earth, from all considerable heights, will appear only as a dead level. . . . The rawness of the evening is absent and the night grows genial instead of chill."

MR. WATTS-DUNTON'S NOVEL.

Dr. Robertson Nicoll dilates on the significance of Mr. Watts-Dunton's "Aylwin" in the most eulogistic vein and with a rare profusion of superlatives. The novel is declared to be a concrete expression of the author's criticism of life and literature and also of his theory of the universe:

"This theory I will venture to define as an optimistic confronting of the new cosmogony of growth on which the author has for long descanted. . . . I take the significance of 'Aylwin' to be this: it teaches a profound moral lesson, not by dictation, but by dramatic and pictorial expression—the lesson that the heart through suffering sees where the intellect is blinded. What makes me think that this novel will be read when many fine novels of our time are forgotten is that next century the question here grappled with will be felt so vital as to swallow up all other questions. It is the question of man's soul, the question between materialists and spiritualists, and it is answered in 'Aylwin' with the logic of the heart. In the true sense of the word, religion—deep, earnest religion—is the mainspring of 'Aylwin.'"

OTHER ARTICLES.

Capt. G. H. Bretherton gives a vivid picture of life in Gilgit near the Hindoo Kush, and reports that "the extension of British influence to include these distant regions has been productive of nothing but good to the people."

Mr. Edmund Gosse, in his paper on recent literature in France, pays his tribute to Mallarmé, and remarks on the very little place taken by poetry or history or biography, or in fact any serious imaginative or philosophical works, in what is now being read and written in Paris.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE articles about Egypt in the *Nineteenth Century* for December claim separate notice.

CREDIT FOR ENGLAND'S RECENT WARS.

England's two latest wars come up for a study in comparative glory—if the phrase may be tolerated—in two articles. Mr. L. Oppenheim, newspaper correspondent in both campaigns, contrasts the Tirah and Khar-

toum expeditions. He feels that interest and credit have scarcely been fairly apportioned. He points out that in the Soudan the fighting lasted only two and a half hours; in Tirah it never ceased day or night for two and a half months. In the Soudan every preparation could be made and was made. In Tirah everything had to be done in a hurry, with inferior transport and equipment. The great waterway of the Nile, protected on both sides by the desert and ascended in comfortable barges, offered access which was ease itself compared with the Indian hills, and the march over the flat desert was play to the mountaineering scramble. The Khalifa came on in the open. The Afridi mostly couched unseen. The frontier army had the infinitely more arduous task.

Major-General Maurice, resenting the disparagement which has been cast upon the victory at Omdurman, magnifies the perils of the fight. The chief danger was a night attack. To avoid this the Sirdar hurried on his advance by five days that he might have the help of the full moon; but even so there were dark hours before the dawn, which might have enabled the Khalifa to wipe out the British army. This deadly peril the Sirdar only averted by conveying to the Khalifa "the false impression" that the British designed a night attack on Omdurman.

JOHN BULL A DISOBLIGING TRADESMAN.

"Neglecting Our Customers" is the title of a paper in which Miss Agnes Lambert frames an indictment of British trade methods. Several of the counts have an equally valid application to American commercial methods. She lays stress on the British indisposition to oblige. The English are slow to humor foreign whims, to provide cheaper goods, to translate their catalogues into foreign languages, their prices and measures into foreign equivalents, to pack goods carefully, to state precisely the inclusive terms at which goods can be delivered, to send English agents who know the language, etc. A Naples report puts a difficulty which individual enterprise cannot of itself overcome:

"It does seem absurd that the first commercial nation in the world should measure their horses by hands and their dogs by inches, their cloth by ells and their calico by yards; that such impossible numbers should come into their square measure as $30\frac{1}{4}$ and 4840 and in their measure of solidity as 1728."

ROMAN VERSUS ANGLICAN.

"Does the Church of England Teach Anything?" is the provocative title of a clever piece of polemic in the Catholic interest by W. H. Mallock. He at first essays to find the common denominator of Anglican teaching, broad, low, and high; and produces a necessarily attenuated and impalpable series of propositions. Then he asks Dean Farrar, whose book on the Bible he is reviewing, for the authority with which this teaching is supposed to be given, and with which the Bible itself has its varying value assigned to it. He finds three authorities given by the dean—the Catholic creeds, the co-ordinate help of the Holy Spirit in the study of Scripture, and "the general consensus of Christians." This last is set up as controlling the other two, and Mr. Mallock argues that this "general consensus" without papal infallibility to give it fixity and sure development sinks into atomism or nothingness. He is cruel enough

to say "it would be difficult to imagine a better guide to Rome than this treatise of Dean Farrar."

FRENCH IMPRESSIONS OF OXFORD.

Mrs. M. L. Woods gives a sparkling account of French views of Oxford. She quotes "birds of passage" from France first, and says they are greatly impressed with the dignity of her palaces and the almost Hellenic joyousness of her outdoor life, but are perfectly convinced that of education there is none. Yet they all admire the discipline which takes the place of the unbounded freedom of the continental student. Then she goes on to cite the opinions of M. Jacques Bardoux, who spent some months in Oxford. He is much impressed with the space and beauty of the students' surroundings and with their zest for athletics. But he is most struck by the zeal for social problems and social settlements. He does not think highly of the oratorical power of the Union or the professors. Mrs. Wood suggests a revival of the old intercommunion between foreign and English universities.

OTHER ARTICLES.

The Moulvie Rafididdin Ahmad pleads the cause of the proposed Moslem University in India, which he predicts will be an important reinforcement to Moslem loyalty throughout the British empire. Francis Count Lützow describes the national revival of Bohemia, which he expects will again become a Slav country. Mr. J. Horace Round replies to Mr. Frederic Harrison's criticisms of microscopic research, and declares that the eminent positivist is but fighting phantoms of his own creation. Mrs. Percy Leake describes a working girls' lodging-house and gives many touching glimpses of the humanizing effect of the matron's common sense and sympathy.

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE December *Fortnightly Review* is an admirable number. It contains many articles of first-class importance, several of which have been quoted elsewhere.

THE PROBABLE UNIFIER OF THE SERB RACE.

Mr. J. D. Bouchier writes from personal knowledge on Montenegro and her prince. He dismisses the idea of a Balkan league as impracticable and of a southern Slav confederacy as a chimera. He insists that "the first aspiration of the Serb race must be for unity. Once united it may advance to the fulfillment of its mission." That mission he takes to be "the formation of a compact homogeneous state, which may eventually include within its borders the greater part, if not the whole, of the Serb *pleme* or tribe." This would involve the break-up of the Hapsburg empire and the disappearance of one of the rival Serb dynasties. "This much at least is certain," says Mr. Bouchier; "if the union of the Serb race is to take place in our time, it will be realized under one man—the present ruler of Montenegro."

THE ECONOMICS OF EMPIRE.

Miss Ethel R. Faraday, M.A., presents for discussion "some economic aspects of the imperial idea." The mercantile system was, she points out, "the economic counterpart of the new monarchy and the triumph of the national idea. Free trade and *laissez faire* were closely connected with the French Revolution and subsequent liberalism. Modern economics are now under the influence of the two distinct tendencies, the cosmo-

politan and the nationalist, and tend toward a blend or compromise of these antagonistic principles. "The ideal of imperial administration is the practical expression of the modern economic theories of relativity and development, and in fact of the historical method generally." The British empire is at present more important as an economic than as a political organization. Flaws in the working of the empire as an economic whole are accidental, not inherent:

"For instance, the colonies have failed to afford a sufficient outlet for surplus population: they want only those classes of emigrants that Great Britain is least able to spare, such as skilled artisans and domestic servants. If imperial responsibilities were better understood in this country, the present system of popular education might be exchanged for one better adapted to the satisfaction of the economic needs of the empire. . . . The ultimate decision of all economic questions affecting the prosperity of Great Britain and her colonies depends on the existence of an intelligent imperial patriotism."

A FRENCHMAN ON FRENCH COLONIAL IMPOTENCE.

A translation is given of M. Gaston Donnet's article on the French colonial craze which appeared in the *Revue Bleue* for September 24. The author declares France right in her desire to possess a few colonies, but wrong in her exaggerations of that desire which threatens to become a chronic mania. England he depicts as an overweighted Hercules, "weighted down by her plethora of health and riches . . . absorbed and paralyzed by India, Canada, Australia, and the Transvaal," unable to maintain order in all parts of her empire, and defenseless in a big colonial war. Of his own country he says:

"In plain speaking, we desire to annex a good half of the African continent; truly an ambitious scheme, and one into whose possible results, if effected, we have a right to inquire. . . . Dare I venture to assert that in colonial matters we are merely amateurs, or to speak more correctly, incorrigible Utopians? . . . We collect colonies as connoisseurs collect *bric-à-brac* or tapestry!"

National vanity this unsparing critic alleges to be the only reason for this impotent mania. Of recent events he says:

"We know that the country desires no further expeditions or conquests, and we dare not oppose her wish; still we hanker after part of the Nile in imitation of our great English neighbors. Accordingly, under pretext 'of making sure of our posts in the Congo region, established and organized by the lieutenant-governor,' we send out Captain Marchand with directions to reach Fashoda; and in order to carry out the scheme he is given a couple of battalions of Havassas and Gabonais, not sufficiently numerous to be considered an army, but too numerous to constitute a peaceful caravan."

OTHER ARTICLES.

"The Centenary of Lithography" is the title of a paper by Mr. and Mrs. Pennell. The invention of the art dates from 1798. It is another of the arts which we owe to the ingenuity of poverty.

The unpublished portion of the Bishop of Killala's diary during the siege of Killala in 1798 is given to the world by a descendant of the bishop, St. George Stock. The bishop bore witness that the Irish rebellion was "the offspring of poverty and opportunity."

Mr. Andrew Lang chats at length, amiably and critically, about Charles Dickens and his works. Mr. Herbert Bentwich describes the progress of Zionism, and asks whether the Zionists are not to be "our new Maccabæans." "A Student in Vedanta" inveighs against Dr. Crozier's alleged disparagement of that venerable system, and expounds the difference between the nameless self which the Vedanta extols and the petty self with which Dr. Crozier is said to confound it.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

THE December number of the *National Review* presents an admirable survey of the life of the English-speaking world. Lord Northbrook's defense of the gold standard in India, the Rev. Gilbert Reid's ethical estimate of the Chinese situation, and Mr. Conybeare's theory of Henry's complicity in Esterhazy's treason have received special notice.

LORD LISTER AND THE TORTURE OF BRUTES.

The Hon. Stephen Coleridge challenges Lord Lister's "anodyne to public conscience"—his statement that as vivisectors now resort to anesthetics, the actual pain caused is "commonly of the most trifling description." He quotes from the testimony of vivisectors themselves, published in medical journals, to the effect that "chloroform should not be administered during the periods of observation." Mr. Coleridge says:

"We have their own word for it that before they could begin their 'observations' the effect of the chloroform must be allowed to pass off, and the animal must have nothing better to alleviate its agony as it lies with its throat cut and its bowels laid open than morphia. . . . Claude Bernard, one of the greatest authorities on the subject, has laid it down that under morphia 'the animal remains sensitive . . . he feels the pain, but has lost the idea of self-defense.'"

In another case "curare, however, was used, which, as all the world knows, renders the animal unable to move, but leaves its sensation intact. Tennyson called it 'the hellish oorall.'" Mr. Coleridge calls on Lord Lister to modify or withdraw his statement.

MORAL OF THE HOOLEY DISCLOSURES.

Mr. H. E. M. Stutfield gives "a city view" of "the company scandal." He denounces "the world of company promotion and trustmongering finance" as "a disgusting center of corruption" and "a standing menace to commercial stability, as well as morality." The Hooley scandals "are quite trifling compared with the iniquities of the trustee and executor group of trust companies which were so carefully hushed up five or six years ago owing to the number of eminent persons involved." Above all things, "your company promoter loves to pose as a patron of religion." He supplies "an evidence of social rottenness" which "revolutionary agitators" will turn to account. As practicable but improbable remedies the writer suggests:

"Public opinion, as Lord Russell reminds us, must be roused. For this purpose the subject must be ventilated in the press and on the platform. The powerful interests opposed to reform must be fought with determination. The stock exchange must alter its procedure; the Companies' acts need revising—with discretion, lest honest enterprise be shackled. Most important of all, the criminal law should be strengthened, so that the baser sort of company-mongers, who

now too often enjoy seats in Parliament or lucrative posts, may obtain entertainment more in accordance with their deserts at her majesty's expense. Men who become involved in shady finance should be socially ostracized."

KRUGERISM INEVITABLY EVANESCENT.

"A Recent Glimpse of South Africa," by the Right Hon. Evelyn Ashley, gives a cheery picture of Bulawayo. "Villa residences, well built and neatly planted, have already sprung up round the town, while shops of all sorts meet the wants and even the whims of its inhabitants. The men and also the few women are full of energy, hope, and confidence." Of the Transvaal autocrat he says:

"He occupies a very special position; he is the Grand Old Man of south Africa. He has won his great influence by very dexterous management, aided by marvellous good luck and by the numerous mistakes of his opponents. There are many of his race both in the Transvaal and in the rest of south Africa who would support him and resent any interference with him even though they acknowledge that he is bigoted and wrong. It will not be the same in the case of any successor. He will have to stand on his merits and the strength of his case, not merely on slowly acquired prestige. To wait, therefore, patiently until another man steps into the presidential chair is all that a wise man can counsel for the present. That time cannot in the nature of things be far distant."

BEAUTY A NECESSITY IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL.

Miss Catherine Dodd furnishes an interesting study of town and country children, and shows how painfully little acquaintance English "board-school" children in the towns have with natural objects. With much force she insists that "the great problem for the town schools to solve is how to surround the child with beautiful things, in order to compensate, in some measure, for his loss of the first-hand acquaintance with nature. . . . The school which aims at developing the whole nature of the child must appeal to his sense of beauty. The interior of the building should be beautiful, the coloring harmonious, the pictures good, and the flowers carefully tended. No inharmonious details, such as untidy maps hanging on the walls or bad and crude pictures, should be permitted to pervert the child's taste. The school music should be of the best quality and the songs simple. . . . The literature and poetry should be of the best. Above all, regular excursions into the country all through the spring, summer, and autumn should be a part of the ordinary instruction in every town school."

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

THE first paper in the December *Westminster*, on the need of a leader for the British democracy, is unsigned. The writer says:

"We have a decaying body of legitimate Conservatives, represented by Lord Salisbury. We have a small but vigorous body of commercial imperialists, represented equally well by Mr. Chamberlain or Lord Rosebery. And we have a great, perplexed, silent democratic mass, represented by absolutely no one, inspired chiefly by negative convictions, undecided as to what means to adopt for the advancement of its own interests, feeling confidence in none of the political leaders at present above the horizon, and half doubting whether it is not

fated to be practically thrust back again into that unrepresented condition which existed before the first reform act."

AN UNRIVALED OPPORTUNITY.

Here, urges the writer, is an unrivalled opportunity for a popular leader to make himself effective. Sincere convictions, moral courage, and the power of putting the position plainly and picturesquely are needed:

"The financialists, no matter what their professed political creed, will have none of him; the National Liberal Federation will cast him out of their synagogue. Nevertheless, be this as it may, his action, if he but exercised the power of speaking plainly and to the point, if he took care to rely upon principles rather than upon forms, would produce an effect which, however slight it might seem at the beginning, would quickly spread like a leaven through the whole democratic mass."

The paper concludes with a suggestion which Mr. Herbert Gladstone may read with interest or amusement:

"Is such a leader to be found? It is hardly possible to answer this question with certainty. All that can be said is this: There is something, there is much, in the influence of a great name; and if the present owner—in a parliamentary sense—of a great name could make up his mind that when a great cause is concerned youth is no disability, and could also make up his mind to display the moral courage which should be a rich part of his inheritance, he might live to find his reward in a national reputation second only to that of his father."

THE MUNICIPALIZATION OF BANKING.

A "banking revolution" is, according to Mr. Robert Ewen, now in process in England. The amalgamation of the City Bank of London and the London and Midland Bank of Birmingham is hailed as a sign of less contracted methods in banking. The large extent to which bank checks have become the currency of the country is made the basis of a demand for giving other banks and the treasury itself the right to issue notes for ten shillings, a pound, and upward. A mutual banking system is also suggested. But of all the facts mentioned, none savors more of revolution than this:

"There is a most extraordinary new system of banking going to be started in Glasgow by the municipality of the 'second city' in the empire, which may probably set an example to other cities and towns to take advantage of banking to benefit the communities. The finance committee of the Glasgow Corporation have resolved to recommend the establishment of a bank for borrowing and lending money and for issuing of notes payable on demand to an amount not exceeding £500,000, upon the security of the corporation property; and to apply immediately to Parliament for powers to do so."

FOREIGN VERSUS COLONIAL TRADE.

Mr. A. G. Herzfeld writes on England's "falling trade" and bewails the chase after new markets. He says:

"The amount of goods sent to all British possessions is given at about £85,000,000, of which Canada takes about £9,000,000. Reckon the cost of maintaining that trade, and we shall arrive at a startling result. . . . Altogether Europe takes from us £126,000,000 and the United States takes £40,000,000 worth of our goods out of a total export of £270,000,000—that is, about two-thirds—and all this without a penny of expense to the

country at large exclusive of the consular service. The above in itself shows that it would pay us much better to cultivate trade with Europe and the States than rushing about the new markets which have first to be created."

He pleads for the creation of a home market by planting some eleven millions of the population in the country.

ANGLO-FRENCH COÖPERATION ON THE NILE.

Mr. F. A. Edwards, F.R.G.S., tells the story, "How the Soudan was Conquered," and has the temerity to close with this suggestion:

"Is there not some way of meeting French susceptibilities and enlisting their coöperation and interest in the civilization of this great region? If only the expeditions which France has dispatched—not with friendly motives, it is true—to the upper Nile could be made the means of some united policy, the gain to both countries and to European peace would be incalculable. Is such a *rapprochement* beyond the bounds of practical politics?"

THE TRUE OBJECTIVE OF THE CHURCH.

"A Plea for a Free Church of England" is advanced by Mr. Dudley S. A. Cosby, who draws a strong contrast between primitive Christianity and the same "as by law established." He quotes a good saying from Cardinal Newman:

"The bishops think too much how to keep their Church together, as if that were the main thing—that their establishment should continue. Let them first think how to bring God's kingdom to this earth, and the Church will very easily take care of itself."

BLACKWOOD.

"BLACKWOOD" for December opens with a paper by Lieut.-Gen. Sir H. Brackenbury on Stonewall Jackson, from which we have quoted elsewhere.

Capt. Arthur Lawley recounts his journey from Bulawayo to the Victoria Falls on a visit to King Lewanika.

The controversy on ritualism has suggested a paper on the primitive Church which winds up with the alarming suggestion that as "the Church of England got on without bishops once for a generation," so it might again. The Presbyterian Church has peace because it recognizes the rights of the laity. "Protestantism is the nearest known approach to the primitive Church."

Prof. Max Müller tells of the newly discovered birth-place of Buddha at Kapilivastu, in the Basti district of the Northwest Provinces.

"The Looker-on" regrets Lord Salisbury's cold douche at the Mansion House on the ardor of the British people longing for a protectorate over Egypt. He considers that the country by its resolute unanimity over the Fashoda question resuscitated British diplomacy, previously impotent and dead. As in forcing on the expansion of the navy eleven years ago, so now; it was the nation that spoke, and the government and opposition followed.

"The Looker-on" is also impressed with the fighting strength of the United States. He says that this "new empire," though launched only yesterday and as yet imperfectly equipped and much hampered, is so soon to be one of the most formidable nations in the world that "no great country can settle its plans to-day without regard to the august intruder."

CORNHILL.

THERE is much readable matter in the December *Cornhill*, though little that demands special and separate notice. Mr. Fitchett enters under his "Fights for the Flag" the story of Florence Nightingale. We have quoted from his article in another place.

The Bishop of London discourses wisely and warily on "heroes." He urges that in selecting a hero we should be sure he worked for principles that are fruitful and should be an inspirer of our own action. He objects to the acquisition of great territory being used to condone bloodshed and falsehood. He notices with pleasure that public men in England, when they are compelled to act or speak on a lower level than they wish, do it badly.

Mr. C. J. Cornish gives much information on "London's Store of Furs" and where they come from. It appears that London and Peking are the two great treasure-houses of fur. Li Hung Chang's samples of Chinese furs sent last winter showed that as furriers the Chinese are unequaled in the world. "Monkey is the only costume fur which comes from a hot climate—namely, west Africa."

"Significant Acts of Parliament" is the title given by H. T. S. Forbes to a collection of legislative *bric-à-brac*. An act of the seventh year of Henry VIII. bears witness to the custom of payment of members by decreeing that absentees from Parliament should forfeit their wages.

Ernest G. Henham gathers together sundry "Humors of Speech and Pen," chiefly consisting of verbal or clerical slips. Mr. W. E. Garrett Fisher supplies "A Study in Imposture." The hero is a Frenchman born about 1680, named George Psalmanazar, whose fraudulent account of himself as a native of Formosa and of the Formosans made him a lion of London in 1704. This man, too, was before the Royal Society, and succeeded in putting Bishop Burnet's skepticism to shame. In the end the impostor was converted by reading Law's "Serious Call," and won from Dr. Johnson warm commendation for his piety.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

THE contents of the October number of the *Quarterly* supply an excellent and varied mental meal. Science, art, history, biography, politics, sport, fiction, and religion are all well represented.

WHAT BURNE-JONES HAS DONE FOR US.

Of the few papers not already noticed elsewhere may be put first a fine appreciation of the late Sir E. Burne-Jones. His own saying of himself is indorsed, that "he was a painter of the fourteenth century, born out of due time." "Not Birmingham, but Assisi was his true birth-place." The reviewer concludes:

"The fame of Burne-Jones will grow and the value of his work increase, there can be little doubt, in the coming years. His art will be reckoned among the forces that have helped to regenerate the world in these latter days, and, with the music of Wagner, the poetry of Tennyson and Browning, and the painting of Watts and Rossetti, will be recognized as forming part of a movement which is the natural reaction from the materialism of the present century and the rationalism of the last. The artist, as Plato told us long ago, has many functions. But among them all none assuredly is greater than the mission which he has received from

Heaven to keep alive the sense of a world that is out of sight and to show how the troubled waves of human life may dimly reflect the beauty and mystery of God. This Burne-Jones has done for us. This has been the master-passion of his life, this the gleam which he has followed along earth's dark and perilous ways."

PATRON OF LETTERS—OLD STYLE AND NEW.

"The Last of the Patrons" is the title given to a paper on the first Lord Lytton. The cheap newspaper killed the old order of literary patronage:

"The effects of journalism on literature may be open to criticism. But it is the periodical and, in these later days, the newspaper press which have made letters a self-respecting and self-supporting profession. To those who belong to that profession the only patron possible is the public for which they write. Socially, the functions of the patron have been in no small degree usurped by the club. The men who once made a show of playing the Mæneas to the wielders of the pen are now not the hosts, but the guests, of the industrious literary workers of the day. . . . Yet in a more subtle form, and with the parts reversed, there have not been wanting signs that the hard-won independence of authors is menaced by the old danger, and that subservience to the patron is exchanged for subservience to journalists who stand between the author and the public."

WAS ROUSSEAU MAD?

The story of Rousseau in England is reviewed by a writer who pleads in defense of his eccentricities—to use no harsher terms—then and later, "not guilty on grounds of insanity." The world, he holds, "owes too much to Rousseau to do him injustice," and it is a grave injustice, he argues, not to recognize that the later Rousseau was insane:

"It would seem that from the moment he set foot on English soil the Nemesis which seldom fails in the long run to attend the profligate, subjection of the reasonable to the emotional nature, began to pursue its disastrous course. The generous enthusiast of 'Emilius' and the 'Social Contract,' the vigorous and masculine controversialist of the 'Letter to Beaumont' and the 'Letters from the Mountain,' disappears in a morbid, hysterical, and sentimental egotist, and indeed in something worse, in one of the most pitiable illustrations of the Aristotelian 'Acolast' to be found in the records of men of genius."

OTHER ARTICLES.

The high qualities and terrible sufferings of the loyalists of the American Revolution are sympathetically recalled. They numbered one-third of the population of the revolted colonies, and from thirty to forty thousand migrated to Canada. Their descendants probably number one-seventh of the present population of the Dominion—about the same proportion as the descendants of the Puritans in the United States. The autobiography of Joseph Arch is reviewed by some one whose chief concern is to oppose its criticisms of the Church of England clergy. A very interesting study of "Boccaccio as a Quarry" shows how Chaucer, Lessing in his "Nathan der Weise," Shakespeare in his "Cymbeline" and other plays, Keats in his "Pot of Basil," Tennyson in his "Falcon" and "Lover's Tale," and a string of Italian novelists have borrowed their stories from the "Decameron." A paper on "The Setting of a Greek Play" argues that "the conditions of

the Greek stage far more nearly resembled those of the modern opera than those of the modern drama," the essential thing being to hear distinctly.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

THERE is much good reading in the October number of the *Edinburgh*. The most important articles have already claimed treatment on other pages. "The Memoirs of Henry Reeve," who was editor of the *Edinburgh* for forty years, beginning in 1855, naturally receive prominent notice. Other biographical articles are those of "The Carlisle Papers" and of "George Savile, Lord Halifax."

THE INDIAN CURRENCY.

A writer on the Indian gold standard is distinctly hopeful. He declares that the lowness of the value of the rupee and the unsteadiness of the rupee appear to be gradually removing themselves. "If this continues," he says, "the question will settle itself and gold will flow in automatically." The delay in establishing a gold standard is, he maintains, due largely to the absorptive needs of the great banks:

"During the seven years from 1890 to 1897 the world's output of gold has been £257,000,000, and of this amount no less than £157,000,000 went into the banks of Europe, especially those of France and Russia. But this absorption is not likely to last, and the output of gold is increasing so enormously that there is no reason to anticipate any difficulty arising from scarcity of gold in the establishment of any gold standard."

THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN REVIEWS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

THE *Revue des Deux Mondes* is fairly up to its usual level in point of interest.

A FRENCH VIEW OF ENGLAND.

In the first October number M. Fouillée contributes a long paper on "Individualism and the Social Feeling in England." It is an exceedingly sympathetic review of England's national characteristics, and the writer is more blind to British faults than might have been expected. It is natural for a Frenchman to be struck by the orderly political development of Great Britain as well as by her remarkable success as a colonial power; but he holds that the attempt to transplant British institutions to other countries is foredoomed to failure, like the pathetic attempts of children to plant in their gardens most beautiful flowers which unfortunately lack roots.

CARICATURE.

M. de la Sizeranne has a most learned article on "Caricature" and its various forms in different countries. It is evident that the caricaturist is armed with a weapon even more powerful than the pen, because he can more readily make his thought plain to the multitude as it were in a lightning flash, and that even to many people whose ignorance is proof against all efforts of writer or speaker. Another valuable function performed by caricature is to personify to the multitude such abstract and impersonal things as law, constitution, or a responsibility.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THACKERAY.

A writer on Thackeray holds that "Vanity Fair" touches the climax of his peculiar genius, while "Esmond" shows the gathered strength and maturity of his literary power, and has won for him an eminent place among historical novelists:

"One may observe with astonishment that the youthful writer who delighted in suburban chronicles, in mean lives and paltry incidents, has risen by middle age to the rank of an illustrious painter on the broad canvas of history. The annals of literature contain few, if any, other examples of so remarkable a transformation."

MUSIC AND THE OTHER ARTS.

One of the most interesting things in a review of Frazer's "Pausanias" is contained in a foot-note. Remarking that it seems to be the fate of this age of scientific progress that it should mark a stagnation in the fine arts, the reviewer adds:

"The singular exception to this statement is the case of music, in which the treatment of voices has indeed made no progress since Handel and Mozart; but that of instruments may be called the artistic revelation of the nineteenth century. The history of this art seems to follow laws wholly at variance with those of the sister arts. When architecture and printing began to decay in England, music began to grow. We have good reason to believe that the Greeks, so great in other fine arts, were very far behind in music, and such is the case at present with the Japanese, the most artistic of modern people."

INTERNATIONAL DISARMAMENT.

M. Desjardins, the great authority on international law, writes upon the Czar's Eirenikon from the point of view of his special subject. It is impossible to imagine, as M. Desjardins says, that the representatives of all the powers, coming together from all parts of the world, should exchange views upon the subject of the famous circular without obtaining any useful result at all. M. Desjardins naturally finds most hope in the development of international arbitration, and he comes to the conclusion that if the powers do not succeed in drawing up a code of disarmament, they might at any rate be able to write the preface.

ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN WEST AFRICA.

In the second October number M. Rouire writes an important paper apropos of the Anglo-French West African Convention of this year. He certainly tells a different tale from that which we have been accustomed to hear from England's colonial experts. If M. Rouire is right, England has got in west Africa the most fertile regions, densely populated with the most sociable and pacific inhabitants, while poor France is left lamenting with almost barren deserts, sparsely inhabited by bellicose tribes. The main cause, he thinks, is that with England it is the merchant and with France it is the soldier who fixes upon the point to be occupied. He assures the French people that the English irritation at the French occupation of Mossi and Bousa was sincere, because England did not wish to be

driven to imitate the expensive French system of colonizing with military expeditions instead of with traders.

Naturally the recent tension between England and France receives a good deal of attention. Thus in the first November number M. Charmes in his "Chronique" goes over the story of the blue-books and the yellow-book which appeared in quick succession on the Fashoda question. The tone of his comments is not very pacific. In the second November number M. Charmes devotes much more space to the question, and he appears to have, in part at least, realized that the French colonial party have "rushed" the French Government far beyond the limits of prudent enterprise. M. Charmes thinks that France had no aggressive intention in sending the Marchand mission, and that England has exhibited nervousness, restlessness, and impatience over the affair.

SOCIALISM AND INDIVIDUALISM.

M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu contributes a clever dialogue between a collectivist and an anarchist on the subject of "Socialism and Individualism." As may be expected, they do not convert one another, and in the end the collectivist proposes a toast: "To the united society where justice in equality will reign;" while the anarchist proposes the health of "The society of free men, in which fraternity in liberty will reign."

REVUE DE PARIS.

WE noticed last month the article on Russian colonization in Siberia. Perhaps the most interesting contribution to the first October number is Dostoevsky's curious biographical chapter entitled "My Defense." Just fifty years ago, in the April of 1849, the St. Petersburg police arrested twenty-three young men who were holding a meeting in the house of a certain Petrachevsky. The whole party, who were accused of what would now be called nihilistic tendencies, were condemned to death, their sentence being commuted while they were actually on the scaffold to transportation to Siberia.

Perhaps the most curious point about the whole of this "Defense" is the fact that Dostoevsky is apparently not at all surprised that the Russian police of that day should have broken the lives and careers of himself and his twenty-three friends simply because they belonged to a rather advanced debating society.

In view of recent events it is very curious that although there is an article on Samory and what the French have done in Senegal, there is not a word bearing on the Sirdar's exploits on the upper Nile or on the Marchand mission.

MURAT'S LETTERS TO NAPOLEON.

A number of hitherto unpublished letters written by Joachim Murat, while King of Naples, to his brother-in-law, Napoleon I., are valuable from the historian's point of view, if only because they show what a very intelligent woman Caroline Bonaparte must have been, and how completely she identified herself with her husband's rather than with her brother's interests. This was so true that Napoleon always intercepted his sister's letters and had them copied before sending them on to Murat, and this is how it is that they are now able to be published, for there is a large number of these copies extant in the archives of the French Foreign Office.

Another curious point which comes out in this correspondence is the extreme respect with which Napoleon insisted on being treated even by his nearest relations. Murat always addressed the Emperor as "Sire" or "Your Majesty;" in fact, far more respectfully than he addressed the Emperor of Austria, to whom when writing he generally began his letters: "*M. mon frère.*"

From Naples on January 18, 1815, Murat addressed an extraordinary letter to the Prince Regent, in which he pointed out that even when he was on the worst terms with England he always behaved very well to every individual Englishman he met, and he proposed there and then to enter into an alliance with the British Government.

C. Adler continues his very interesting and powerful study on Bismarck, which, although written of course from the French point of view, is evidently done as much as possible from contemporary documents taken from German sources, and so is so far the best general biography written of the extraordinary man who for so many years exercised a terrorizing influence on the whole of the continent. M. Adler does not say very much that is new, but he places the facts in their chronological order, and his work, when it appears in a volume, will be interesting to compare with the forthcoming "Bismarck Memoirs."

MODERN FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY.

An anonymous and apparently well-informed article in the first November number deals with French foreign policy in the last twenty-eight years. The writer traces the course of events from the Franco-Prussian War, or rather from the time when France began to recover from that almost overwhelming calamity. It is admitted that French policy has been inspired during this period partly by a more or less confused national instinct, partly by the individual preferences of leading politicians, tempered by the unseen influence of successive presidents of the republic. The story of French abdication in Egypt is retold—of course from the French point of view—and the view is taken that France was on the horns of a dilemma, for she could neither forget Strasburg nor did she wish to sacrifice Alexandria. Most of the mistakes of French foreign policy are set down to the terror inspired among politicians by the violence of a noisy group in Parliament and in the press, the result being that sins of omission were committed in consequence of the general dread of incurring responsibility by decided action. The upshot of the whole situation, in the opinion of the writer, is that France has offended England without having secured any compensating benefit in Egypt, and that her policy must now be devoted to preventing an alliance between England and Germany, which would be to France the greatest possible danger. One notable feature of the article is the writer's invariable reference to England as a constant quantity in European politics, and as if her policy depended in no way upon the individual statesmen who direct it; whereas in dealing with Germany and Italy, and notably with his own country, he is careful to put forward the personalities of particular statesmen as factors in the situation.

MILITARY DUTY.

In the second November number M. Boutroux has a curious article on military duty. It is really a speech which M. Boutroux delivered to the pupils at the famous

military college of Saint-Cyr. He shows that the technical, scientific, and professional education which is now given to the modern soldier is of no avail in the absence of a certain moral force. The true explanation of Waterloo, he says, is not that Grouchy was far off, not the delay of Napoleon in engaging; it is simply that the Emperor's forces were demoralized. This moral force is, if we analyze it, faith in an idea, attachment to some cause which is felt to be just and great, or even a love of glory and of immortality. M. Boutroux traces the famous wars of the past to show the effect at once of the presence and of the absence of this moral force, and he is sure that in the wars of the future, beside which the wars of the past will be as child's play, it will not be less necessary. He thinks that in the war of the future cold mathematics will take the place of the enthusiasm and the heroism, the passion and the generosity of the past. The upshot, nevertheless, is that the most important thing in making a soldier is moral education. It is a question of developing in him the spirit of obedience, abnegation, initiative, bravery, and firmness, based on the idea of duty toward his country. How can this education be effected? Probably, says M. Boutroux, by the force of example.

NOUVELLE REVUE.

WITH the exception of the pages in which Mme. Juliette Adam discusses contemporary political matters, *La Nouvelle Revue* has only one article which can be said to reflect in any sense upon the present situation, and that is an anonymous contribution, entitled "Our Colonies," in which the writer frankly admits that France has not hitherto been fortunate as a colonial power. It is easy to see that he puts down every failure to the rampant red-tapeism which seems to be the leading characteristic of the third republic. And with a frankness somewhat rare in modern French political writers, he alludes to the many fiascos which marked the Madagascar campaign, pointing out that not only human lives and money, but also a great deal of time was uselessly lost by those who had charge, not so much of the expedition, but of the organization of the expedition.

BRITISH AND FRENCH COLONIAL METHODS.

In a report lately made on the French colonies the following striking passage occurs: "British governors are chosen with a view to their suitability; they are not frequently changed from one colony to another, and thus it becomes to the interest of each official to encourage the prosperity of his own part of the world, each man doing all he can to increase and to create trade with the mother country. As for our colonies, the only way there in which an official can obtain advancement is to get a post in some district quite removed from wherever he happens to be; and in addition to other obvious reasons why such a course is undesirable, these perpetual official journeys greatly increase the amount of the colonial budget."

"ASSISTANCE PUBLIQUE."

In the second number of the *Revue* M. Elbert continues his valuable series of articles on modern French philanthropy. He takes to task the *Assistance Publique*, which is the only French equivalent to the English poor-law system, and he points out as an extraordinary fact that the *Assistance Publique*, although indirectly recruited from what would be considered in

England very amateurish sources, is not only solvent, but exceedingly prosperous. Even ten years ago sixty-eight million francs of its income remained unspent in one twelvemonth. Probably this is owing to the fact that private charitable endeavor in France is so admirably organized that there is for the state very little left to do, the more so that the *Assistance Publique*, forming part of the republican administration, is very unwilling to assist in any way the religious houses which undertake to so great an extent the care of the sick and of the infirm.

M. Elbert is exceedingly indignant that ladies are not asked to form part of the various committees which distribute relief. He points out that French women take the keenest interest in philanthropic efforts, and that many of them would be in a position to point out to the *Assistance Publique* really deserving cases. As seems always to be the case with any kind of state aid, the French poor have a great dislike to the *Bureau de Bienfaisance*, and too often those who apply for grants are the least deserving of them.

Other articles comprise "An Analysis of Hypnotism," by M. de Rochas, an account of the part played by the Duc de Richelieu at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818 by M. E. Daudet, some new and hitherto unpublished details bearing on the life of the Prince of Albany, a literary adventurer who created no little stir both in the France and Germany of the eighteenth century, and to whose career M. van Blema has devoted a great deal of research.

THE ITALIAN REVIEWS.

TO the *Rivista Internazionale* Professor Toniolo, the friend of Leo XIII. and the spokesman of the Vatican on all questions pertaining to the policy of the labor encyclicals, contributes a thoughtful and lucid article on the Christian conception of social duty. After sketching the various philosophic and materialistic conceptions which from the days of Macchiavelli have influenced and molded public opinion on the subject and have obscured the main issues, the distinguished writer points out how the immutable Christian tradition of social duty necessarily leads up to the modern conception of Christian democracy. He points out how the ultimate solution of all the social problems of the day depends largely on the acceptance by Christian nations of the full Catholic doctrine of social duty, and declares, in conclusion, that the upper classes have before them only two alternatives: on the one hand, socialistic democracy, which is violent and leveling, and on the other Christian democracy, which is reconstructive and makes for peace.

Both the September numbers of the *Nuova Antologia* contain articles by an Italian Deputy dealing with the Czar's peace rescript. The first article, written at the moment of the publication of Count Muraviev's letter, is somewhat tentative in its approval; the second, written on maturer reflection, is much more enthusiastic and optimistic as to possible good results. Putting aside the possibility of any general measure of disarmament, the writer looks forward to the foundation of a sounder basis of European understanding which will certainly make for peace. And as regards Italy, he states emphatically that it is her duty to support the Czar with all her strength.

On "The Education of Our Sons" Signora Mengarini produces a Cassandra-like lament. But there is prob-

ably some truth in her opening assertion that "physically, morally, and economically" we allow our children to cost us too much, far more than reason or nature demands. Hence, with our supersensitiveness to pain, an ever-growing number of men and women feel they cannot venture on the responsibilities of a family; and this shrinking from a natural duty marks a first stage in the decadence of a nation.

AN ITALIAN OPINION OF "HELBECK OF BANNISDALE."

The theological discussions concerning "Helbeck of Bannisdale" have spread from the *Nineteenth Century* to the *Nuova Antologia* (October 1). Carlo Segré, a competent student of English literature, writes with enthusiastic admiration of Mrs. Humphry Ward's book, which he rashly pronounces the finest English novel of the last five years. On the vexed question of Helbeck himself as a representative Catholic, he takes up a position midway between Father Clarke, S.J., and Professor Mivart, and while giving Mrs. Ward full credit for honesty of purpose and impartiality of treatment, points out that she has chosen a gloomy and unattractive type of Christian piety. Although Helbeck is described as a tertiary of St. Francis, there is, as the Italian critic points out, singularly little of the Franciscan spirit about him. Signor Segré regards it as a sign of the times that a non-Catholic novelist should have to have recourse to a Catholic hero in order to find a logical and comprehensible type of dogmatic fidelity, while he regrets the tendency of English novelists to treat more and more of social and philosophic problems, instead of restricting themselves to what he is pleased to consider their legitimate sphere.

In the same number C. Sforza points out how much the universal adoption of the anthropometric system of measuring criminals would facilitate the work of that international police whose labors will be immensely increased should Italy bring her scheme into effect of dealing with anarchism by some combined international effort.

To the mid-October number Lieutenant Orsini contributes an exceedingly interesting account of a recent visit to Candia, including an expedition into the interior of the island and up Mount Ida. The lieutenant himself is an enthusiastic believer in Cretan autonomy, and declares that annexation to Greece is by no means as popular in Crete as is generally supposed.

To the *Rassegna Nazionale* the distinguished Italian who writes under the *nom de plume* of "Eleutero," contributes an appreciative study of Cardinal Manning,

founded on Purcell's life, and of his celebrated "Nine Obstacles to the Progress of Catholicism in England," and points out how applicable many of his conclusions are to the spiritual condition of Italy to-day. In the mid-September number there appears a laudatory if somewhat belated review of "Jude the Obscure."

One might have supposed that Italy already received more than her fair share of travelers and of the profits that accrue from them. Nevertheless, a contributor of the *Rassegna Nazionale* quite seriously suggests the formation of a society for increasing the number of tourists in Italy. This is to be accomplished by encouraging the publication of good guide-books and of all literature bearing upon the advantages of the country, by the founding of clubs and casinos, by persuading people to invest money in hotels, by an agitation to improve the train service, and so on. Certainly in some of these directions a good deal might be accomplished for which travelers would be extremely grateful.

The same magazine contains a sympathetic sketch of the late Padre Luigi Tosti, the learned Benedictine writer and historian, who in some ways exercised an almost unique influence over intellectual thought in Italy. He died last year at a ripe old age.

The *Civiltà Cattolica* publishes the first part of an account of that most learned and edifying lady of the seventeenth century, Helen Lucretia Carnaro, of whom a new life has recently been issued by the English Benedictine nuns in Rome, who devote themselves mainly to literary work.

THE LATIN AND THE EASTERN CHURCHES.

The learned ecclesiastical review *Bessarione* takes the opportunity of the third anniversary of its foundation to review the situation in regard to the union between the Latin and the Eastern churches, to promote which is the main object of the publication. One important stumbling-block in the way of reunion—the clinging of the Eastern churches to their own rites and language—has been removed by Leo XIII., who has wisely ordained that in no cases are the Eastern churches to be induced to adopt the Latin liturgy. Another great bar—the constant antagonism of Russia and her desire for supremacy over all that now constitutes the Turkish empire—seems likely to be removed, at least in part, through the decided *rapprochement* that has recently taken place between the Czar and the Vatican, and which may produce far-reaching effects. Hence the situation from the Roman point of view is fairly hopeful.



THE NEW BOOKS.

RECENT AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

HISTORIES OF THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

The War with Spain. By Charles Morris. 12mo, pp. 383. Philadelphia J. B. Lippincott Company. \$1.50.

Mr. Morris aims at a sense of completeness in his history which is not claimed by the other volumes we notice this month, with two exceptions, which are noticed elsewhere. Mr. Morris is the author of "The Nation's Navy," "History of the United States," "Historical Tales," and other works of an historical nature. Naturally, in a history of the war which does aim at completion not much more than outlines of events can be traced in less than four hundred not large pages. Mr. Morris can afford, however, even in this space, to go back a few hundred years to trace the early history of Spain's dominion in Cuba, and show how centuries ago its character had forebodings of the necessity which came to the United States to drive her out of Cuba in this year of our Lord. There is also a chapter on the relation of the United States to Cuba throughout this century. Indeed, nearly a third of the book is given up to the events and conditions which made the war a necessity. The war once declared, Mr. Morris takes us rapidly through its notable scenes up to the signing of the peace protocol. This volume being written in strictly historical style, the appearance of its photographic illustrations from pictures taken with the camera during active operations reminds us that this struggle will have a more thorough portrayal by historians than any war perhaps that was ever fought, in the double material of camera and documents.

A Short History of the War with Spain. By Marriion Wilcox. 12mo, pp. 350. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. \$1.25.

Another history which has been published in an attempt to give a complete picture of the period is Mr. Wilcox's book, an unillustrated volume of some 350 pages. Mr. Wilcox was for some years a resident of Spain and is thoroughly familiar with the Spanish language and the Spanish character, which fact, when joined with his capabilities as a trained journalist, give him some unusual sympathies and strength in the performance of such a task as he has chosen. He gives rather less attention than does Mr. Morris to the long chain of events which led up to American interference in Cuba, and instead of attempting to use the occasion of such tragic incidents as the fight with Cervera as material for his literary skill, he contents himself with printing the reports of Sampson and Schley, and the opinions of Captain Mahan and other participants. In general, Mr. Wilcox's book is strong on the side of his citation of the public utterances and official documents which were available at the early date on which his book appeared.

History of Our War with Spain. By Henry B. Russell. 8vo, pp. 780. Hartford, Conn.: A. D. Worthington & Co.

Mr. Russell's volume aims to cover the entire ground of the Spanish-American war, beginning as it does with a chapter on the Spanish character and history, and the discovery of Cuba, and ending with the story of the peace commission and the text of the treaty of peace. The volume is opened with two introductions; one by the Hon. Redfield Proctor, United States Senator from Vermont, who makes here a public statement of what he saw during his visit to Cuba, and how the situation impressed him; the second by the Hon. John M. Thurston, the Senator from Nebraska, who gives the reasons which appealed to the American people in persuading this country to intervene in Cuba. Several hundred pages of the volume are occupied by the author in de-

scribing the struggles of the Cuban patriots before the United States took the field. Indeed, fully half of the book is devoted to the Cuban revolutions. The work is illustrated with portraits of leaders in the war, and many other pictures.

The Santiago Campaign. By Major-General Joseph Wheeler. 8vo, pp. 386. Boston: Lamson, Wolfe & Co. \$3.

Besides being a dashing and heroic leader of cavalry, a brave, patient and discerning brigade commander, and an honest legislator, Gen. Joseph Wheeler is by temperament an exact, painstaking man, with a sense of order. He has too, as a military historian, an unusual perspective in his experience a generation ago, in that greater war. These qualities make this volume of importance, even though it has been published almost immediately after the events which it describes. General Wheeler begins his book with his appointment on April 18, to be one of the fifteen major-generals of the United States army. There is something inspiring in the fine old soldier's account of his appointment. The President sent for him, and after some pleasant interchanges said, "General, I have sent for you to ask if you want to go, and if you feel able to go." "I replied that while I was sixty-one years old I felt as strong and capable as when I was forty, and that I desired very much to have another opportunity to serve my country." What the President did, and how General Wheeler served his country, every American now knows. General Wheeler has of course had many advantages in his knowledge of the official organization and his consequent ability to reprint the important official documents which have to do with the Santiago campaign. These form a considerable proportion of the book, and enhance decidedly its reference value. Messrs. Lamson, Wolfe & Co. have gotten out the volume in dignified, handsome style.

The Gatlings at Santiago. By Lieut. John H. Parker. 12mo, pp. 274. Kansas City, Mo.: Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Company. \$1.50.

Lieut. John H. Parker, a dashing young Missourian, not only proved himself a first class soldier in the Santiago campaign, being one of the Regulars who was accorded special mention in the official reports of his commanding general, but has also written a first-class book about the part his branch of the service played in the Santiago campaign. The largest difference between a battle fought a generation ago and a battle fought to-day is that made by the machine gun service. Obdurman and Santiago show this clearly, and Lieutenant Parker has given in vigorous, sensible style, the history of these terrible weapons in that Cuban siege. Col. Theodore Roosevelt, in his preface to this volume, bears witness, if any additional testimony be needed, to the value of this arm of the service. He records his belief that a Gatling battery is of the most valuable assistance to a regiment or a brigade, infantry or cavalry, "for I believe that it could be pushed fairly to the front of the firing line. At any rate, this is the way that Lieutenant Parker used his battery when he went into action at San Juan, and when he kept it in the trenches beside the Rough Riders before Santiago." So actively were these terrible machines pushed forward at Santiago that Lieutenant Parker's "history of the Gatlings" means very nearly a history of the siege of Santiago. He tells us of the difficulties encountered in organizing his detachment for the expedition, the march from Balquiri to the front, and the battle in detail, with the scenes which the author witnessed, and the condition of the transports in which the American troops were taken to Cuba, and the native Cuban troops as

the Americans found them; he analyzes from a tactical point of view the battle, describes the volunteers' part in it, and gives a technical critical chapter to the management of the campaign. The book is a valuable one for both the military man and the lay reader; for the first in its precise, lucid recountal of what happened, and the tactical deductions; for the second in the story told with so much vigor and authority. The volume is illustrated with forty half-tone pictures, chiefly from photographs taken by the author and his first sergeant on the battlefield, and in camp.

The Cuban and Porto Rican Campaigns. By Richard Harding Davis. 12mo, pp. 360. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

None of the contemporary writers on incidents of the war are better known than Mr. Richard Harding Davis, whose articles in *Scribner's Magazine* are now reprinted in the volume before us. Mr. Davis is always a capital reporter. What he sees comes to us as something fresh, even if we have seen it before. And this valuable quality makes his pictures of the army and the battle scenes, in the midst of which he himself moved, remarkably vivid and readable. The present volume opens with a chapter which notes "The First Shot of the War," and follows the two campaigns closely to the dramatic moment when our soldiers were entrenched before Guayama in Porto Rico, when the shell was in the chamber, the gunner had aimed the piece and had run backward, but when, before it spoke, a lieutenant of the signal corps galloped up to the scene and shrieked, "Cease firing! Peace has been declared!" "Whereat" says Mr. Davis, "the men swore." Mr. Davis' story, partly from his skill in telling it, partly from the fact that he was among the few correspondents to reach the thick of practically every engagement in the two campaigns, never flags for a moment in interest. The readable quality of the book is increased, too, by a refrain from any attempt to be statistical or technical. It is frankly a record of what Mr. Davis saw and heard in the field of battle, on the march, in camp, and in the company of the officers, correspondents and foreign *attachés*. The many illustrations are from snapshots from the camera.

Our Navy in the War with Spain. By John R. Spears. 12mo, pp. 428. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

Mr. John R. Spears is very well known indeed as a writer on naval subjects, best known of course from his recently published four-volume "History of the United States Navy." The present volume aims to give "an account in every way truthful of those events of our war with Spain in which our navy had a part." Mr. Spears is peculiarly conscientious in whatever he writes about, and readers of this book may take it for granted that whatever he has to say is as accurate as may be. In addition to the events of the war Mr. Spears views briefly the incidents in the history of Cuba that compelled the United States to interfere, and also gives a very excellent account of the growth of the United States navy from the inception of the "White Squadron." The volume is illustrated with pictures of the vessels of our navy, the notable officers of our fleet, and several maps. The timeliness of the book is illustrated in the final chapter, in which Mr. Spears discusses the new naval programme of the United States. In this part of his work he expresses a very decided opinion that we ought to make the Naval Academy free to all American boys who could pass the examination, and would serve in the navy before the mast, as need required, a reasonable number of years.

Under Dewey at Manila. By Edward Stratemeyer. 12mo, pp. 291. Boston: Lee & Shepard. \$1.25.

Mr. Stratemeyer has conceived of a collection of stories for boys, an "Old Glory Series," of which "Under Dewey at Manila" is the first to appear. His object was first to give young readers a simple account of the reasons which led us up to the war with Spain, and the conditions prevailing in Cuba and the Philippines, and to trace just as they occurred

the progress of events in Admiral Dewey's great victory. The author takes a sturdy, conscientious American boy, who, under the temptation of circumstances, runs away, becomes a sailor boy, a castaway, and then a gunner's assistant on the Flagship *Olympia*. The narrative is, therefore, largely imaginative, but the author tells us he has been exceedingly careful with the historic portions of the book, and that Admiral Dewey's character is drawn from a narrative of people who had known him at various periods of his life.

A Gunner Aboard the "Yankee." Edited by H. H. Lewis. With Introduction by W. T. Sampson. 8vo, pp. 327. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. \$1.50.

The *Yankee*, it will be remembered, was one of the auxiliary cruisers called into service when the United States did not have enough regular cruisers at the beginning of the late war. The ship was manned by a crew made up of the New York naval militia, commanded by Captain Brownson, with a regular executive officer, navigator, paymaster, and marine guard. Admiral Sampson in an introduction to the book has some strong words of praise for the work of these young clerks, physicians, brokers, lawyers, and merchants, who left their offices to help their country in her time of need. The narrative is, according to the title, "from the diary of Number 5, of the after port gun," and a fine spirited narrative it is, forming a very legitimate and worthy contribution to the history of the struggle between Spain and the United States. It is a good book for a boy, or a man either. The publishers have bound the volume in an exceptionally attractive form, and have illustrated it with pictures of the amateur crew at work swabbing decks, manning the search light, aiming guns, clearing for action and so forth.

Reprint of the Squadron Bulletins of the North Atlantic Squadron. With an Introduction by Rear Admiral Sampson. Paper, 12mo, pp. 98. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. 25 cents.

The Doubleday & McClure Co. have made an unpretentious but worthy addition to the literature of the war by neatly reprinting in paper covers the squadron bulletins of the North Atlantic squadron, with an introduction by Rear Admiral Sampson. These bulletins were first published on board the United States Flagship *New York*, on June 14, 1898, when the majority of the North Atlantic fleet was engaged in monotonously blockading Santiago. To relieve somewhat the dull round of blockading duty, and to enable the officers and men of the fleet to learn something of the daily progress of the war, the bulletins were issued. The little volume will be valuable for many reference purposes. Rear Admiral Sampson states in his introduction that whatever profit may come from the sale of the brochure will be donated to the proposed Sailors' Rest in Brooklyn.

SPECIAL PHASES AND EPISODES OF THE WAR.

Heroes of Our War with Spain. By Clinton Ross. 12mo, pp. 366. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. \$1.50.

Under the title given above Mr. Clinton Ross, the well known writer of adventurous fiction, has prepared—to stimulate the ambitions and hero worship of the American boy—many stories of the thrilling exploits of our soldiers and sailors in the Spanish war. Naturally Admiral George Dewey makes a subject for the first chapter. There are others about the adventures of Lieutenant Rowan, Captain Henry H. Whitney, the marines at Guantanamo Bay, the Rough Riders, Commodore Schley and his chase for Cervera, Lieutenant Hobson and how he sunk the *Merrimac*, the destruction of Cervera, and more incidents of the war where notable things were done in a notable way. Mr. Ross adopts the easy conversational tone in talking with his young public, and the book ought to be absorbing material for the youngsters, not to speak of many out of their teens. The pictures are drawings by Henry B. Wechsler.

Cannon and Camera. By John C. Hemment. 12mo, pp. 308. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$2.

Mr. J. C. Hemment has been well known for many years, especially among publishers and journalists, as a remarkably expert photographer, who was especially skillful in the daring catching of difficult subjects. His instantaneous photographic work, done with an apparatus specially designed by him, was astonishingly successful in obtaining clear, good pictures of men and horses in the act of jumping and running, and such subjects. Naturally, the war offered an alluring field for such talent as this, and Mr. Hemment did not rest until he had photographed the most important scenes of the war, both in Cuba and the camps in this country. The wreck of the *Maine*, Camps Black and Chickamauga, the troops at Tampa, the scenes about Santiago, have furnished admirable material for him. These pictures, or a hundred of the best of them, have been republished in this volume, "Cannon and Camera," together with Mr. Hemment's written description of the various scenes and experiences of the campaign. The pictures, as might have been expected from their maker, are of most unusual beauty, and the text is a plain-spoken recital of Mr. Hemment's own war experiences and conclusions.

Cartoons of Our War with Spain. By Charles Nelan. Large folio. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. \$2.

Mr. Nelan came to the New York *Herald* as the successor of Bush, the well known cartoonist, and he proved a very worthy successor, although he had come from the West and had no reputation in the metropolis. His drawings have shown the bold, decisive stroke of the born cartoonist, and the republishing of those that had to do with the war in this volume has especial justification from the important part played by the cartoon in both the Spanish and American papers during the late struggle. Mr. Nelan avows in a brief introduction his disbelief in the bitter, stinging cartoon. He thinks it best to produce a laugh always, and his work stands by this creed. The cartoons are arranged on a chronological principle, and as one turns the pages they form a vivid outline sketch of the exciting events of the past summer.

Cartoons of the War of 1898 with Spain. From Leading Foreign and American Papers. Oblong folio. Chicago: Belford, Middlebrook & Co. \$1.25

Messrs. Belford, Middlebrook & Co. have done for the cartoonists of a great number of papers in America, Spain, Cuba, England, Germany, Mexico and Hungary what Mr. Nelan has done with his own cartoons in the *Herald*. In this volume the pictures are much smaller, with several to the page, but they are arranged with the same idea, telling pictorially the story of the war from its first mutterings to the beating of swords into plowshares.

The Fall of Santiago. By Thomas J. Vivian. 12mo, pp. 246. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. \$1.50.

Mr. Vivian tells us that he wrote this account of the siege and capture of Santiago because so much had already been printed on that subject, as the confusion of contemporary material made him believe that a straightforward simple story, told with all possible clearness and compactness, would be valuable at this time. The volume takes up the story at the time when Schley began his hunt for Cervera's fleet, tells how the Spanish vessels were discovered in Santiago harbor, how Hobson sank the *Merrimac*, on through Guantánamo, the landing at Baiquiri, Las Guasimas, El Caney, San Juan, the great seafight, to Toral's surrender. The matter is entirely narrative and the incidents are illustrated with some forty maps and pictures.

The Triumph of Yankee Doodle. By Gilson Willetts. 12mo, pp. 239. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. 50 cents.

Mr. Willetts was one of the correspondents who started for Cuba on the 16th of February, the day after the destruc-

tion of the *Maine*. This volume is chiefly made up of sketches contributed to the illustrated weekly papers and the syndicates. The author has grouped these sketches with an attempt to give a brief outline of the causes of the war, a narrative of his own personal experiences, a discussion of the political advantages accruing to the Cubans by American victory, extended comments on the condition of the American army after its triumphs, and the general situation in Cuba as the United States troops found it after the war.

A Young Volunteer in Cuba. By Edward Stratemeyer. 12mo, pp. 305. Boston: Lee & Shepard. \$1.25.

Mr. Stratemeyer's second volume in his "Old Glory Series," takes up the fortunes of Ben Russell, the older brother of the young hero of Manila, with his friend Gilbert Pennington. Ben fights in Cuba with a New York volunteer regiment, and Gilbert joins the Rough Riders. Their life in camp, the voyage across from Tampa, the landing at Baiquiri, and all the incidents of the Santiago fight make a great opportunity, of course, for a stirring boys' story.

In the Saddle with Gomez. By Capt. Mario Carrillo. 16mo, pp. 201. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. 50 cents.

Capt. Mario Carrillo contributed most of the stories which make up this book to the *Illustrated American*. The stories are told from the point of view, as the title indicates, of a Cuban soldier in the field, and give an idea of the trials and the victories of the Cuban forces in their struggle for freedom.

Notes on the Nicaragua Canal. By Henry I. Sheldon. 12mo, pp. 242. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. \$1.25.

Mr. Sheldon's book on the Nicaragua Canal appears as a second edition, the first edition having been published early in 1897. The volume sums up in the most lucid and convenient way a vast deal of valuable information about the practical and engineering phases of the proposed canal, the historical and diplomatic phases, and the financial and commercial aspects. It is being widely read and evidently deserves its popularity.

BOOKS ABOUT SPAIN AND HER COLONIES.

The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America. By Bernard Moses. 12mo, pp. 338. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.25.

Professor Moses of the University of California is one of our most scholarly and accomplished students of political history, and he has given especial attention to the foundations of the Spanish colonial empire in the Western Hemisphere. The present volume is made up of a series of connected essays—some of which have been published in historical periodicals—dealing with the most essential phases of the establishment of Spanish-American institutions from the discovery of the Western world down to the beginning of the present century. It is to be hoped that Professor Moses will give us one or two more volumes dealing with later conditions in Spanish America.

Commercial Cuba. By William J. Clark. 8vo, pp. 514. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$4.

This generously printed volume by Mr. Clark is undoubtedly the most valuable book about practical conditions in Cuba from the point of view of commerce, agriculture and material resources, that has yet made its appearance. For the business man, the statesman or the intelligent tourist about to visit Cuba this book is to be recommended in the highest terms. It has a series of valuable general chapters answering the principal questions one would be likely to ask about Cuba from the commercial standpoint, and then in a series of compact descriptive chapters each province is taken up and analyzed as to its population, towns, means of transportation, products, etc. In an appendix is a good Cuban business directory.

Cuba: Past and Present. By Richard Davey. 8vo, pp. 284. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.

Mr. Davey—if we mistake not—spent some years in Cuba in Her Majesty's consular service. He is the same entertaining writer who gave us, a year or two ago, two volumes on *The Sultan and His Subjects*. Mr. Davey, as an English witness, presents matters of much interest to Americans concerning objectionable Spanish methods in times past. The book is one of the most useful in the group of those that have lately appeared on Cuba, although it is neither a history nor a systematic description, but rather a discursive budget of information and comment.

Cuba and Porto Rico, With the Other Islands of the West Indies. By Robert T. Hill. 8vo, pp. xxviii—429. New York: The Century Company. \$3.

Mr. Hill's work is a scientist's account of the West Indian islands. He shows by his citation of authorities in his introduction that he has studied the various special works on the subject from Lafcadio Hearn's "Two Years in the West Indies," to Schomburgk's "Barbadoes," and, what is more important, Mr. Hill has in his work for the United States Geologic Survey had ample opportunities for personal investigations for the subjects treated of in this book. Indeed, there are few if any sources other than this volume which give us accurate recent information concerning Porto Rico. The chapters with such headings as "Geographic Relations of the West Indies," "The West Indian Waters," "Classification of the West Indian Islands," etc., show a distinctly scientific and rather technical style. Especially interesting is Mr. Hill's authoritative account of what we have obtained in our new possession, Porto Rico. He tells us that no part of the Antilles is more fertile than this island, and none so generally susceptible to cultivation and diversified farming. Although it is not large, it possesses every variety of tropical landscape. It is essentially the land of the farmer in the most highly cultivated West Indies. Unlike most of the tropical countries, it is not monopolized by large plantations, but is mostly divided into small independent holdings. The author's description of the resources, industries and commerce of Cuba and Porto Rico gain an attractive authority from the fact that he has so frequently visited the islands in association with Prof. Alexander Agassiz.

The Story of Cuba. By Murat Halstead. 8vo, pp. 649. Akron, Ohio: The Werner Company.

Mr. Halstead writes with vigor and force whenever his pen touches paper, and even where—as in the case of this book—his work may bear some marks of journalistic haste, that quality is fully redeemed by the fact that Mr. Halstead's wide experience and knowledge gained through a long life of study and observation are reflected upon every page. "The Story of Cuba" is mainly a history of the recent war, but the volume includes also a large amount of historical material upon Cuba, and also of matters descriptive, statistical and commercial.

The Spanish Pioneers. By Charles F. Lummis. 12mo, pp. 292. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. \$1.50.

Mr. Lummis's little book is written primarily for young Americans, and it is built upon the theory that the earlier Spaniards who created the great Spanish-American empire have been totally misrepresented by English and American historians. A number of these Spanish-American empire builders are eulogized by Mr. Lummis in little sketches setting forth their careers in a most picturesque and attractive manner.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PHILIPPINES AND THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

Manila and the Philippines. By Margherita Arlina Hamm. 12mo, pp. 227. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. \$1.25.

Miss Hamm has done an excellent piece of work in her volume. She has had an unusual opportunity to study the

subjects chosen in her considerable experience in Manila and in China. She is a close observer, and tells what she knows in an earnest, direct way, which makes her book pleasant and instructive reading. Some of the material has appeared in different form in newspaper correspondence for well known papers in America and China, but the matter has been rewritten and brought up to date as thoroughly as the obstacles introduced by the peculiarities of Spanish official policy would allow. That Miss Hamm does not agree with the disparaging reports of Aguinaldo, the leader of the Filipinos, is shown in advance in her dedication "To Rizal and Aguinaldo, the dead martyr and the living hero." Her work begins methodically with a chapter on the routes to the Philippines, and she then passes to the chief island of Luzon, and Manila, its people, its architecture, its stores and shops, and the manners and customs of its people. There is a chapter each for Cavité, Iloilo, Cebu, Sulu; and then succeeding divisions deal with the general characteristics of the Philippines group, the history in brief, the government, the natives and their industries, the animals, birds and fishes of the islands, and their agriculture and mineral resources. In a final chapter on the future of the Philippines Miss Hamm expresses the firm conviction that "with law and order established, with roads connecting all the districts, with schools and a kinder government, the islanders can be raised to a high level of civilization in a single generation." She looks forward to some sort of protectorate by the United States over the Philippines, and predicts that these islands will soon be to our Pacific States what Cuba once was to the Atlantic States.

The Philippine Islands and Their People. By Dean C. Worcester. 8vo, pp. xix—529. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$4.

Professor Worcester has been perhaps the most prolific writer in the periodicals on the special subjects of the Philippines since they came into such important proportions for American interest. Professor Worcester accompanied Dr. Steere to the Philippines in an extensive trip with zoological aims in 1887-88. Again in 1890 Professor Worcester returned to the islands to remain two years, and worked in a score of the more important provinces during his stay with full and effective official authorization from Spanish officers. As the expedition was semi-official there was exceptional opportunity for observation, and Professor Worcester came in touch with all classes, from the highest Spanish officials to the wildest savages. The author and his companion took numerous photographs and many careful notes, and he now publishes this account of his personal observation, prefaced by a *résumé* of the more important points incident to the archipelago. His method is more that of the scientific observer than Miss Hamm's, and his volume is stronger in the accumulation of accurate, detailed facts, while Miss Hamm's book has the advantage of a somewhat broader and freer stroke. As a report on the physical characteristics of the island, especially of the flora and fauna, Professor Worcester's work is, of course, unusually valuable.

The Story of the Philippines. By Amos K. Fiske. 8vo, pp. 165. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. \$1.

Mr. Fiske aims to give "a popular account of the islands from their discovery by Magellan to the capture by Dewey." The first chapters tell how Spain came by the islands, their physical characteristics, industrial, religious and social conditions, Spain's method of government, and the work ends with a description of the battle of Manila Bay.

Hawaii and a Revolution. By Mary H. Krout. 12mo, pp. 345. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

The author obtained the material, or most of it, for this volume in visits to the Hawaiian Islands in 1893, and subsequently. In an introduction she traces briefly the history of the islands through the last two decades, and then tells in the form of personal narrative of her visit and her experiences. She has no great liking or respect for the Hawaiians,

and thinks that our sympathy with them has been misplaced. She thinks that civilization will soon make the Hawaiian as extinct as the dodo. "Anglicizing is slowly doing its work, apart from the gin and restraining clothing, which are held partially responsible for the decay of the race. They are losing their joyousness by slow degrees." The native Hawaiian she describes as improvident and a gambler, as "devoid of forethought and deficient in judgment to an astonishing degree." The book is very handsomely bound and manufactured, and the few illustrations are beautiful.

Vacation Days in Hawaii and Japan. By Charles M. Taylor, Jr. 8vo, pp. 361. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co. \$2.

Mr. Taylor's book is, as he tells us in the preface, the outline of a three months' tour in the Hawaiian Islands and Japan, with the assistance of a camera and sketch book. The Hawaiian group is described rather in the travel sketch style, and the many illustrations are such as would accompany a text in this method. Mr. Taylor's aim was to show the characteristics and surroundings of the native peoples and their home life, rather than to describe the scenes which confront the eye of the ordinary tourist.

MISCELLANEOUS HISTORICAL WORKS.

Recollections of the Civil War. By Charles A. Dana. 12mo, pp. 309. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$2.

For three years of his active life the late Charles A. Dana exchanged the duties of newspaper work for those of public office, and those were the most eventful years of his own or his country's history. In 1862 he was called into Government service by Secretary Stanton and remained in that service till after the close of the Civil War, in 1865. Throughout that time Mr. Dana was "behind the scenes" at Washington as perhaps no other man outside the Cabinet could have been. In the first half of this period his duties as a confidential agent of the War Department took him to the great battlefields of the war; later, as Assistant Secretary of War, Mr. Dana came in contact with all the political and military leaders who were supporting the cause of the Union, from President Lincoln down. Thus Mr. Dana had in a marked degree that prime qualification of an historian of the Civil War—an intimate, personal knowledge of men and events. As to his literary qualifications for the task—they have been known for a generation to the whole American public, and especially to that part of it that has read the *New York Sun*.

Letters of a War Correspondent. By Charles A. Page. Edited, with notes, by James R. Gilmore. 8vo, pp. 410. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. \$3.

"If Page says that it is so" was a common remark of Horace Greeley's in the *New York Tribune* editorial rooms during the Civil War. Page was one of the brilliant group of special correspondents in the service of the *Tribune*. He had a reputation for the graphic and truthful reporting of battle scenes. In the present volume his more important letters to the *Tribune* are reprinted, with notes by Mr. Gilmore. Mr. Page died in 1873 at the early age of thirty-five.

A Students' History of the United States. By Edward Channing. 12mo, pp. xlii+615. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.40.

Professor Channing has added to his admirable history a few pages covering the war with Spain, making the book probably the most complete of its class now on the market.

A General History of the World. By Victor Duruy. Translated from the French. Thoroughly Revised, with an Introduction and a Summary of Contemporaneous History (1848-98), by Edwin A. Grosvenor. 12mo, pp. 744. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. \$2.

Besides adding a concise history of the the last half-

century, a period not touched upon in the original work, Professor Grosvenor has incorporated in M. Duruy's own chapters many of the results of recent research and discovery which tend to modify views formerly accepted. As thus completed this work seems to go further than any other in the English language toward meeting the demand for a trustworthy universal history in a single volume.

History of the People of the Netherlands. By Petrus Johannes Blok. Translated by Oscar O. Bierstadt and Ruth Putnam. Part I. 8vo, pp. 382. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.

This scholarly work, by the professor of Dutch history in the University of Leyden, is now presented to an English-reading public in a version prepared with the author's approval. The work, when completed, will supply us for the first time with a connected history of the Dutch people from the period of Roman dominion in the Netherlands down to the formation of the kingdoms of Holland and Belgium in our own century. The translation has been made by Miss Ruth Putnam, the biographer of William the Silent and an enthusiastic student of Dutch history, and Mr. Oscar Bierstadt, of the Astor Library.

BIOGRAPHY.

A Life of William Shakespeare. By Sidney Lee. 12mo, pp. xxv+476. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.75.

This volume deserves to rank as a model of literary biography. It amply fulfills the promise implied in the words of its preface, to "supply within a brief compass an exhaustive and well-arranged statement of the facts of Shakespeare's career, achievement, and reputation," and to "reduce conjecture to the smallest dimensions consistent with coherence." The book is based on Mr. Lee's article on Shakespeare contributed to the fifty-first volume of the "Dictionary of National Biography," but many changes and additions have been made. Verifiable references are given to all the original sources of information. No merely æsthetic criticism is attempted—studies of that kind abound in other works; what Mr. Lee does is to furnish us with a trustworthy guide-book to Shakespeare's life and work. The exceptionally full bibliographical data appended to the book will prove a source of delight to the Shakespearean student of confirmed "grubbing" proclivities.

Life and Times of William E. Gladstone. By John Clark Ridpath. Large 8vo, pp. 624. New York: Eaton & Mains.

Dr. John Clark Ridpath, whose writing has done so much for the popular education of the people of the United States in their homes during the past quarter-century, and whose history of the United States has been read by more people by far than any one else's, has now written a popular but none the less able and well-informed life of Gladstone. The book contains numerous illustrations, and is sold by subscription.

Charles Lamb and the Lloyds. Edited by E. V. Lucas. 12mo, pp. 324. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. \$2.

This book grew from the discovery, in 1894, of two masses of correspondence relating to the family of Charles Lloyd, a Quaker philanthropist and banker of Birmingham. The papers contain upward of twenty new letters of Charles Lamb, some of them worthy to rank with his best, and others, also hitherto unpublished, of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, William Wordsworth, Thomas Manning, Robert Southey, and other interesting personalities of the period, including Mr. Lloyd's two sons, one of whom was a poet.

American Bookmen. By M. A. DeWolfe Howe. 12mo, pp. 311. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$2.50.

Mr. Howe has brought together in this volume a group of very readable papers devoted to such well-known per-

sonalities in our literature as Irving, Cooper, Bryant, Poe, Whittier, Lowell, Longfellow, Holmes, Emerson, and Hawthorne, with a chapter on the historians, especially Prescott and Parkman. Mr. Howe's papers are biographical rather than critical, and the volume is illustrated with portraits.

Edward Gibbon Wakefield. By R. Garnett. 12mo, pp. xxvii+404. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.50.

This brief biography of one of the founders of Britain's colonial empire is of timely interest in these days in other lands than England. In the ordinary sense of the word Wakefield was not a colonizer. "Though living and breathing in an atmosphere of colony-making, he never saw a colony until his last days." Yet his was the master mind in the colonization of South Australia and New Zealand and his life well deserves a place in the series devoted to "Builders of Greater Britain."

Bismarck: His Life and Times. By Ferdinand Sonnenburg. Translated by Ida L. Saxton and Grace H. Webb. 12mo, pp. 200. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. \$1.25.

LITERATURE.

The International Library of Famous Literature. With Biographical and Explanatory Notes, and with Introductions by Donald G. Mitchell and Andrew Lang. Compiled and arranged by Nathan Haskell Dole, Forrest Morgan, and Caroline Ticknor. 20 vols., 8vo. New York: Merrill & Baker.

There is much activity nowadays in the making and selling of literature compilations that appear in a good long row of volumes under the editorship of some prominent and experienced literary person, with the assistance of a staff of expert editors whose names also carry weight. Such compilations serve a highly useful purpose. There may be a few people who can enter upon the business of life with the assurance that they have familiarized themselves with a thorough reading of all the best writings of all the world's best authors, but such people are not many. It is the merest affectation to pretend that the average reader would not be greatly instructed by the use of one of these "best literature" compilations. The one known as The International Library of Famous Literature is in our hands for examination, and we must confess that it seems to us highly ingenious in point of arrangement and selection, and fascinating to an uncommon degree. Its peculiarity lies in the fact that it associates literary production with the course of human history in such a way that to read it in the order of its volumes is to proceed from one epoch to another with the pleasant feeling that the world's literature has after all had some organic relationship to the world's great uninterrupted movement of races and civilizations. This set of volumes ought to serve a very valuable purpose in every school, particularly, for instance, in village high schools, and it could with great advantage be made the basis of family reading and study in literature through, let us say, two winters. It might then be given to some other family, where its educational ministry could be performed a second time, and so on. The editor-in-chief is that veteran and delightful man of letters, Donald G. Mitchell, while Andrew Lang's name is also given in the group of editorial sponsors. The actual compilation and arrangement is due to the labors of Mr. Nathan Haskell Dole, Forrest Morgan and Miss Caroline Ticknor, all of whom are eminently qualified to do this particular sort of work.

English Literature From the Beginning To the Norman Conquest. By Stopford A. Brooke. 12mo, pp. 338. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

Just now the publishers are bringing out a rather unusual number of books about books and book-writers. Professor Saintsbury's "Short History of English Literature" which appeared last summer, has been followed by Stopford

Brooke's "English Literature, from the Beginning to the Norman Conquest." Both are published by the Macmillan Company. The latter work treats of the early and obscure period of English letters, and more fully than it has been possible for Professor Saintsbury to do in his more inclusive volume.

A History of Spanish Literature. By James Fitzmaurice-Kelly. 12mo, pp. 432. New York: D. Appleton Company. \$1.50.

We have also a new history of Spanish literature in Appleton's series of "Short Histories of the Literatures of the World." This volume is the work of James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, a member of the Spanish Academy. This author undertakes to do for Spanish literature, what Saintsbury has done for English, but in smaller compass. His book is adapted to the needs of the English reader who cannot hope to acquire an intimate acquaintance with any but the most important Spanish classics.

Manual of the History of French Literature. By Ferdinand Brunetière. Translated by Ralph Dercchef. 12mo, pp. xxix+569. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. \$2.

The Messrs. Crowell have brought out the author's English translation of Ferdinand Brunetière's "Manual of the History of French Literature." This is a critical work, and contains full bibliographical notes of great value to the student. The publishers have illustrated the volume with a number of portraits of the masters of French literature.

Great Books. By the Very Rev. Frederick W. Farrar. 16mo, pp. 311. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. \$1.25.

In Dean Farrar's little volume of essays entitled "Great Books," the writers treated are Bunyan, Shakespeare, Dante, Milton and Thomas à Kempis. These appreciations by Dean Farrar are stimulating, and calculated to direct the reader to a first-hand acquaintance with the authors treated.

A Century of French Fiction. By Benjamin W. Wells. 12mo, pp. 405. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$2.

Still another book in this department is "A Century of French Fiction," by Prof. Benjamin W. Wells of the University of the South. The essays that make up this volume are less biographical than the chapters of Brunetière. As Professor Wells himself says, his book is a study of novels, and not of novelists. He deals with the most prominent phase of modern French literature, and his chapters should be read in conjunction with Brunetière's book, as supplementing the latter, and providing a distinct point of view.

American Prose. Edited by George Rice Carpenter. 12mo, pp. xviii+465. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.

Of a somewhat different character are two volumes of selections from representative authors which have recently appeared. The first has been prepared by Prof. George Rice Carpenter of Columbia University, and is entitled "American Prose." This volume contains, besides the selections themselves, critical introductions by various writers, together with a general introduction. The authors chosen include the greatest names in American prose authorship, beginning with Cotton Mather, and ending with George William Curtis and Francis Parkman. An appendix reproduces several remarkable passages from the older Colonial writers.

Modern American Oratory. Edited by Ralph Curtis Ringwalt. 12mo, pp. 334. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$1.

Prof. R. C. Ringwalt, of Columbia, has edited several "Representative American Orations," prefixing thereto an essay on the theory of oratory. The deliberative, forensic, demonstrative, commemorative, platform and after-dinner types of oratory are all represented.

RELIGIOUS AND ETHICAL WORKS.

The Gospel for an Age of Doubt. By Henry van Dyke. 12mo, pp. 335. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.25.

Dr. Henry van Dyke's book entitled "The Gospel for an Age of Doubt" has reached a sixth edition, for which the author has written a new preface. Originally prepared as a course of lectures on preaching and delivered before Yale divinity students, it has been found that the work appeals to a far larger public. It has been widely read by those whose "attitude toward religious things is interrogative."

The Divine Drama: The Manifestation of God in the Universe. By Granville Ross Pike. 12mo, pp. 394. New York: The Macmillan Company.

A recasting of religious thought to conform to the enlarged conceptions of nature and life which dominate our time is attempted by Granville Ross Pike in "The Divine Drama." This author holds that the change of view-point leads only to an enrichment of the religious faith.

ESSAYS AND MISCELLANY.

Educational Reform. By Charles William Eliot. 8vo, pp. 418. New York: The Century Company. \$2.

University Problems in the United States. By Daniel Coit Gilman. 8vo, pp. 319. New York: The Century Company. \$2.

Presidents Eliot, of Harvard, and Gilman, of Johns Hopkins, the two senior university presidents of this country, are educators whose views on educational topics are universally accepted as expert opinions. In the volumes recently published by the Century Company the most important addresses and essays of these champions of the modern university idea are collected. If a foreigner making a study of our institutions were seeking an epitome of our recent progress in higher education he would find it very clearly presented in these two books.

The Georgian Period: Being Measured Drawings of Colonial Work. Part I., large 4to, 33 plates. Boston: American Architect and Building News Company. \$3.

This little portfolio is intended for the technical purposes of the architect, rather than the man who would like to build a home for himself on the so-called colonial lines. It consists of carefully scaled drawings of a number of very interesting pieces of old colonial architecture and ought to be in every American architect's collection of books.

Symphonies and Their Meaning. By Philip H. Goeppe. 12mo, pp. 407. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. \$2.

The author of this work aims primarily "to set forth the impression of each of certain chosen symphonies, and through them to get, at first hand, a clear glimpse of the individuality of each of the great masters." To this end the book takes up in succession the symphonies of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn, and Brahms, offering sympathetic appreciation of these composers, but omitting biographical details, which can easily be obtained from other sources. The point of view is that of æsthetic interpretation purely.

Rivers of North America. By Israel C. Russell. 8vo, pp. 345. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.

Earth Sculpture. By James Geikie. 8vo, pp. 410. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.

These two volumes in the "Science Series" are concerned with closely allied subjects of investigation; the former considers the more obvious and better understood phenomena, while the latter is mainly a treatise on the equally interesting but less familiar phases of land formation, in which glacial action plays a prominent part. Professor Russell holds the chair of geology in the University

of Michigan and has already published entertaining volumes on the lakes, glaciers, and volcanoes of North America, while Professor Geikie, of Edinburgh, long ago achieved an international reputation through the publication of his work on "The Great Ice Age."

A FEW NEW EDITIONS OF POPULAR FICTION.

The Choir Invisible. By James Lane Allen. 12mo, pp. 376. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

The publishers of Mr Allen's famous romance of Kentucky life have brought out an exquisite edition for the holidays, which is enriched by nearly a hundred admirably appropriate illustrations by Orson Lowell, seven of them being full-page photogravures.

Twenty Years After. By Alexandre Dumas. 2 vols., 12mo, pp. 400—398. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. \$2.50.

All lovers of the romances of Alexandre Dumas will welcome this new edition of "Twenty Years After." Many full-page illustrations are furnished by Frank T. Merrill, and the typography and binding are very attractive.

Cranford. By Mrs. Gaskell. With a Preface by Anne Thackeray Ritchie. 12mo, pp. xxx—298. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.

Hugh Thomson has supplied for this new edition of "Cranford" forty charming colored illustrations and sixty pen-and-ink sketches, which with the other superb mechanical excellences of the book-maker's art will make this volume a favorite holiday gift book.

The Man Without a Country, and Other Stories. By Edward Everett Hale. 12mo, pp. xiv—397. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$1.50.

Messrs. Little, Brown & Co. are issuing a new uniform edition of the principal works of Edward Everett Hale, which will be completed in ten volumes, each volume having an excellent photogravure frontispiece. Dr. Hale's most famous short story, which has a new interest in these times of quickened national life, gives the title to the first volume.

The Ingoldsby Legends. By Thomas Ingoldsby. 12mo, pp. xxiii—638. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.25.

These popular tales are now published in a handsome volume, beautifully printed, and embellished with more than one hundred choice drawings in black-and-white and in color. These stories seem to have a phenomenal life and hold on popular interest.

The Blindman's World and Other Stories. By Edward Bellamy. With a Prefatory Sketch by W. D. Howells. 12mo, pp. xiii—415. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.

Magazine readers of twenty years ago may recognize in this volume of short stories one or two which they read in the old *Scraper's Monthly* before the name of Edward Bellamy was fairly known to fame. In a prefatory sketch Mr. W. D. Howells testifies to his sincere appreciation of Mr. Bellamy, both as an author and as a man. Whoever will take up this book will find in it more than one indication of the genius which only came to recognition with the amazing success of "Looking Backward."

A Golden Sorrow. By Maria Louise Pool. 12mo, pp. 441. Chicago: Herbert S. Stone & Co. \$1.50.

The last work of Miss Pool's busy life, as represented in this story, was characteristically vivacious. The book abounds in amusing dialogue and charming bits of character sketching.

The Chase of an Heiress. By Christian Reid. 12mo, pp. 261. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.

This novel is probably republished at this time because

of the fact that its scene is laid in the West Indies. It was written two years or more before the outbreak of the late war. The story in itself, however, is vivid and attractive.

NEW AMERICAN NOVELS.

The Lost Provinces. By Louis Tracy. 12mo, pp. 408. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

The much-talked-of Anglo-American alliance has proved so attractive a vision in the eyes of Mr. Louis Tracy that he has seen fit to embody it in the plot of an imaginative work which he calls "The Lost Provinces." In the plot of this romance international relations are made to take on almost the precise form of development predicted by the enthusiastic advocates of an alliance between the two great English-speaking nationalities. That is to say, the continent of Europe unites against Great Britain, but finds that Great Britain and the United States together are invincible, and the final result is a confirmation of peace throughout the world.

It Was Marlowe. By Wilbur Gleason Zeigler. 12mo, pp. 321. Chicago : Donohue, Henneberry & Co. \$1.50.

Mr. Wilbur Gleason Zeigler chooses to put in the form of a story his argument to prove that Christopher Marlowe was the author of the plays attributed to Shakespeare. Whatever may be thought of the soundness of Mr. Zeigler's contention, he has, at least, succeeded in picturing for us a living Marlowe. For such readers as care to pursue the curious question of Marlowe's claims to authorship of the plays, notes from leading authorities on the subject are given in an appendix.

The Letter and the Spirit. By Cora Maynard. 12mo, pp. 330. New York : Frederick A. Stokes Company. \$1.25.

A picture of New York society life very much up to date. It deals especially with the divorce question.

BOOKS FOR YOUNG FOLKS.

An Island Heroine. The Story of a Daughter of the Revolution. By Mary Breck Sleight. Illustrated by George Foster Barnes. 12mo, pp. 432. Boston : Lothrop Publishing Company. \$1.50.

Bilberry Boys and Girls: Their Adventures and Misfortunes, Their Trials and Triumphs. By Sophie Swett. Illustrated by Etheldred B. Barry. 12mo, pp. 326. Boston : Lothrop Publishing Company. \$1.25.

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 Sinking of the "Merrimac," R. P. Hobson, CM.
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 World Politics Through a Russian Atmosphere, W. T. Stead, AMRR.
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 Yellow Fever, The Scientific Prevention of, A. H. Doty, NAR.
 Zionism, The Progress of, H. Bentwich, FR.
 Zola, Émile, and the Dreyfus Case, T. T. Bouvé, NatM.

Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index.

[All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

AJS.	American Journal of Sociology, Chicago.	DeutR	Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart.	NW.	New World, Boston.
AMonM.	American Monthly Magazine, Washington, D. C.	D.	Dial, Chicago.	NC.	Nineteenth Century, London
AMRR.	American Monthly Review of Reviews, N. Y.	Ed.	Education, Boston.	NAR.	North American Review, N. Y.
APS.	Appleton's Popular Science Monthly, N. Y.	EdRNY.	Educational Review, N. Y.	NR.	Nouvelle Revue, Paris.
AA.	Art Amateur, N. Y.	EngM.	Engineering Magazine, N. Y.	NA.	Nuova Antologia, Rome.
AI.	Art Interchange, N. Y.	EM.	España Moderna, Madrid.	OC.	Open Court, Chicago.
AJ.	Art Journal, London.	FR.	Fortnightly Review, London.	O.	Outing, N. Y.
Art.	Artist, London.	F.	Forum, N. Y.	Out.	Outlook, N. Y.
AM.	Atlantic Monthly, Boston.	FrL.	Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y.	OM.	Overland Monthly, San Francisco.
Bad.	Badminton, London.	GM.	Gentleman's Magazine, London.	PMM.	Pall Mall Magazine, London
BankL	Bankers' Magazine, London.	GBag.	Green Bag, Boston.	PA.	Photo-American, N. Y.
BankNY	Bankers' Magazine, N. Y.	GMag.	Gunter's Magazine, N. Y.	PT.	Photographic Times, N. Y.
BU.	Bibliothèque Universelle, Lausanne.	Harp.	Harper's Magazine, N. Y.	PL.	Poet-Lore, Boston.
Black.	Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh.	HM.	Home Magazine, N. Y.	PSQ.	Political Science Quarterly, Boston.
BTJ.	Board of Trade Journal, London.	HomR.	Homiletic Review, N. Y.	RN.	Rassegna Nazionale, Florence.
Bkman.	Bookman, N. Y.	IntS.	International Studio, London.	RefS.	Réforme Sociale, Paris.
CanM.	Canadian Magazine, Toronto.	IA.	Irrigation Age, Chicago.	RRL.	Review of Reviews, London.
Cass.	Cassell's Magazine, London.	JF.	Journal of Finance, London.	RRM.	Review of Reviews, Melbourne.
CasM.	Cassier's Magazine, N. Y.	Kind.	Kindergarten Magazine, Chicago.	RP.	Revue de Paris, Paris.
CW.	Catholic World, N. Y.	LHJ.	Ladies' Home Journal, Phila.	RDM.	Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris.
CM.	Century Magazine, N. Y.	LH.	Leisure Hour, London.	RG.	Revue Générale, Brussels.
CJ.	Chambers's Journal, Edinburgh.	Lipp.	Lippincott's Magazine, Phila.	RPP.	Revue Politique et Parliaméntaire, Paris.
CREv.	Charities Review, N. Y.	Long.	Longman's Magazine, London.	RSoc.	Revue Socialiste, Paris.
Chaut.	Chautauquan, Meadville, Pa.	McCl.	McClure's Magazine, N. Y.	R.	Rosary, Somerset, Ohio.
CR.	Contemporary Review, London.	Mac.	Macmillan's Magazine, London.	San.	Sanitarian, N. Y.
C.	Cornhill, London.	MA.	Magazine of Art, London.	Scrib.	Scribner's Magazine, N. Y.
Cosmop.	Cosmopolis, London.	Men.	Menorah Monthly, N. Y.	Str.	Strand Magazine, London.
Cos.	Cosmopolitan, N. Y.	MidM.	Midland Monthly, Des Moines, Iowa.	SunM.	Sunday Magazine, London.
Crit.	Critic, N. Y.	MisH.	Missionary Herald, Boston.	TB.	Temple Bar, London.
Dem.	Demorest's Family Magazine, N. Y.	MisR.	Missionary Review, N. Y.	USM.	United Service Magazine, London.
DH.	Deutscher Hausschatz, Regensburg.	MM.	Munsey's Magazine, N. Y.	WR.	Westminster Review, London.
		Mus.	Music, Chicago.	WM.	Werner's Magazine, N. Y.
		NatM.	National Magazine, Boston.	WWM.	Wide World Magazine, London.
		NatR.	National Review, London.	WPM.	Wilson's Photographic Magazine, N. Y.
		NEM.	New England Magazine, Boston.	YR.	Yale Review, New Haven.
		NIM.	New Illustrated Magazine, London.		



THE AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

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PRINCE UKHTOMSKY.

(President of the Russo-Chinese Bank and the editor of the St. Petersburg *Viedomosti*,—one of the great leaders in the policy that is Russianizing northern China.)

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY

Review of Reviews.

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NO. 2.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

The "Solid" South. One of the most remarkable situations in all the history of political parties is disclosed by the statistics of the Southern State Legislatures. The Republican party, except in a few spots in the South, is apparently non-existent. In the mountain regions of Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, and the Appalachian belt as it enters other States a majority of the people usually vote the Republican ticket; but they are not numerous enough to count much as against the overwhelming Democratic majorities in the non-mountainous and more populous districts. In the new Legislature of Florida, which will meet at Tallahassee on April 4, there are 100 Democrats and no Republicans at all. The Mississippi Legislature has 176 Democrats and no Republicans, although there are 2 Populists of presumably Democratic rather than Republican leanings. In the South Carolina Legislature, which assembled at Charleston on January 10, the Democrats have 159 members and the Republicans have 1. In the Georgia Legislature the Democratic members number 213 and the Republicans 1, there being also 5 Populists. That of Alabama is the only Southern Legislature in which the Populists have any considerable hold, the figures being 96 Democrats, 5 Republicans, and 32 Populists. The North Carolina Legislature, which has been sitting since the first week of January, has 134 Democrats and 8 Populists, with 28 Republicans, most of whom come down to Raleigh from the western hills. In like manner there are 27 Republicans, mainly from the East Tennessee mountains, to offset the 105 Democrats in the Legislature that met at Nashville on January 2. The Texas Legislature, which came together at Austin on January 7, has only 2 Republicans, with 148 Democrats. That of Virginia has 8 Republicans, with 130 Democrats. The sugar tariff and other considerations have greatly affected party lines in Louisiana, and there the Republicans have 31 members of the Legislature as

against 88 Democrats. Aggregating the eight or nine Southern States in which there is no distinctively local Republican district—like East Tennessee, for example—one finds about a dozen Republican legislators as against more than 1,200 Democrats, a ratio of 1 to 100. North Carolina and Tennessee, by virtue of their Republican mountain districts, will each have 2 Republican members in the Fifty-sixth Congress. It happens also that there is one Republican Congressional district in Texas, where the able and popular R. B. Hawley, of Galveston, who carried his district in 1896 and was reelected for another term in November, 1898. But apart from these 5 Republicans and 1 Populist from North Carolina, the eleven Southern States named above will be represented in the Fifty-sixth Congress by Democrats.

The Fruits of "Reconstruction."

The statistics speak for themselves. Yet, in spite of the fact that there seems to be only one party in the South beyond the line of border States, the Republican President with his Republican Cabinet were as warmly received several months ago when they visited those solidly Democratic States as they could have been if all the people had been Republicans rather than Democrats. The situation is certainly an anomalous one, that might well puzzle the foreign observer. But it can be explained. The people of the South are not so largely Democratic because of any views that they agree in cherishing on the tariff question, the money question, or any other disputed issue of national policy, whether internal or external. They are Democrats for local reasons—through the powerful force of a traditional instinct of self-preservation. Those who are uninformed and wish in all seriousness and good faith to know why it is that the South votes the Democratic ticket, could hardly do better than to read Mr. Thomas Nelson Page's new story, "Red Rock: A Chronicle of Reconstruc-

tion." If "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is entitled to any consideration whatever on the score of its containing truthful pictures of the evils of slavery, Mr. Page's book, on the other hand, is not one whit less entitled to consideration for the pictures it presents of the hideous wrongs per-



Photo by Davis & Sanford.

MR. THOMAS NELSON PAGE.

(Whose new novel depicts the mistakes and wrongs of the reconstruction policy.)

petrated by the North upon the South in the reconstruction period. The North was full of good people who meant to do exactly what was right. Their good intentions, however, did not alter the fact that they enforced a ruinous policy—a policy more devastating to the Southern States, in some respects, than the war itself.

The carpet-bag Republicanism that robbed and outraged the Southern States for a few years, sustained as it was by a *régime* of military occupation, affords explanation enough of the attitude of the South in shrinking from the local domination of any set of men bearing the hated party name. When the war was ended, the Southern people were either fit to be intrusted with the management of their own State and local affairs or else they were not fit. In the latter case their affairs should have been temporarily managed for them by military administrators on principles of justice. The policy actually adopted was neither the one thing nor the other. The right and broad-minded solution—as it is now easy to see—would have been the full restoration to the Southern people of local control in their own States, with such temporary limitations upon their participation in federal affairs as might have seemed justifiable under the circumstances. It has taken the North a great many years to learn the nature of the mistake, and it is not perfectly learned even yet. The true way to restore the South to the Union after the war was to restore the South to its own people. This is not a mere paradox or a cheap epigram, but the plainest kind of common sense and practical statesmanship. The English for a long time made a similar mistake in their dealing with Ireland, and they have never been quite able to grasp the obvious principle that the way to tie Ireland most firmly to the United Kingdom and to the empire is simply to give Ireland to the Irish, to whom it properly belongs. They have gone far, however, of late, in learning their lesson; and the Irish people are now preparing for the forthcoming election of their county governments under the new legislation that at last accords Ireland local home rule.

Our New Reconstruction Tasks. The people of the United States have just now a very especial reason for taking seriously to heart the lessons of the reconstruction period after our Civil War. They have in their hands, at the close of another war, four new problems of reconstruction, two of which are serious in the highest sense, while the other two are not to be regarded as trifling or insignificant. The two minor tasks are the bringing of the Sandwich Islands in the Pacific Ocean and Porto Rico in the West Indies into the wisest and most salutary relations under the American flag. As regards Hawaii, the great point to be borne in mind is that the people best fitted to govern were, in fact, carrying on a very successful Hawaiian administration at the moment when annexation was consummated. All Hawaiian affairs not directly and importantly affecting the people of the United States at large,

should continue to be managed solely by the Hawaiian people themselves. In Porto Rico the Spaniards had never allowed the well-qualified native population anything more than a closely restricted control over their own local affairs. It will be our duty under the principles of government in which we believe, and in the light of our best experience, to give the people of Porto Rico the full control over all their affairs excepting those which—to repeat the phrase used above—directly and importantly concern the people of the United States at large, and which, therefore, belong appropriately to the Government at Washington. The faintest symptoms of carpet-bag rule in Porto Rico or in Hawaii should be viewed with alarm and denounced with emphasis. Nobody is qualified to govern the Hawaiian Islands except the people whose homes and interests are well established there. And precisely the same thing is true of Porto Rico.

*Reconstruction
Work for
Cuba.*

The two large and serious tasks of reconstruction that devolve upon us in consequence of the war with Spain have to do first with Cuba and second with the Philippine Islands. As respects Cuba, we have only to keep constantly in mind the purposes that we avowed when we intervened by force and extinguished the sovereignty of Spain. The Cuban people had been fighting for years for their independence, and our intervention recognized the principle that the people of Cuba ought to be governed in a manner satisfactory to themselves, provided that they could at the same time satisfy reasonable international claims and obligations. Our aim in Cuba, therefore, is to supervise the restoration of order and—in the shortest time compatible with the securing of permanent and wise results—to make over Cuba to the people whose homes and interests are in Cuba. Thus far no great mistakes seem to have been made. We were obliged to supersede the Spanish military occupation by an American military occupation. The natural and convenient way to make sure that no interregnum of anarchy shall follow will be to continue our military occupation until it has plainly become a nominal and superfluous arrangement. As soon as Cuba has become "reconstructed" there will be small need of soldiers if reconstruction proceeds on sound lines. If there is to be any permanent army there, it must, in due time, be a Cuban army.

*How to
Treat Cuban
Soldiers.*

Any other idea is not to be entertained. But if there is to be a permanent Cuban army its elements will have to be found in the Cuban army of liberation, which fought the Spaniards through more

than three years. At present it would seem desirable that the Cuban army of liberation should disband without delay. It ought not, however, to be disbanded on any other theory than that it has won undying glory, and that—since great credit attaches to the emancipation of Cuba from the Spaniards—there must certainly be as much credit due to the soldiers of Gomez, who fought the Spaniards for several years and lost half their

comrades, as to the soldiers of Shafter, who fought the Spaniards for a few weeks. A great many of our soldiers—officers as well as privates—have come back from the Cuban campaign saying disparaging things about the Cubans. It is well for the country to understand that as a rule these excellent soldiers of ours, whose bravery is beyond question and whom we all honor, do not know anything whatever about the history of the Cuban struggle for



MENDEZ CAPOTE.

(Who was vice-president of the Cuban provisional republic, and is now political adviser to General Brooke, being one of numerous appointments of Cubans to positions under the American military authorities. Capote was, before the war, professor of international law in the University of Havana. He is a real Cuban leader.)

liberty, and have never had any opportunity to acquaint themselves with the real state of affairs concerning the Cuban army. This struggle on the part of the Cubans from 1895 to 1898 is one of the most heroic in all the annals of history. Our Government at this moment is face to face with a question of great moment. That question is, How shall the United States treat the Cuban soldiers? The true leaders of the Cuban people, both civilian and military, are strongly urging that the Cuban officers and private soldiers, to whom a large amount of back pay is due, should have this pay advanced to them by the United States, the money to be made a claim against the reestablished Cuban treasury. It seems to us that it would be a highly statesmanlike thing for the United States to advance the necessary amount of money. And if it is to be done at all

it is obvious that it ought to be done quickly. The sooner the Cuban soldiery is reabsorbed in agriculture and industry the better it will be for the restoration of order and prosperity in the island. Furthermore, the prompt recognition by the United States of the merits of the Cuban soldiers would be of great value in establishing confidence and good-will throughout Cuba toward this country. In the third place, the claim thus established by the United States against the Cuban revenues would give added reason for a prolonged oversight by our Government of Cuban finances, and such oversight would be even more advantageous for the Cuban people than for our own Government. So long as the Spanish army remained in Cuba and the peace treaty was still under negotiation, there were reasons of considerable weight why the Government of the United States could not accord to the Cuban army of liberation all of the recognition and honor to which that army was morally entitled. But now that we have taken full possession of Cuba, beginning with the new year, those reasons no longer exist. The delay in completing the Spanish evacuation and the sensitiveness of the pro-Spanish element in Havana seemed to afford reasons why it was wise not to allow the Cuban patriots to carry out their programme of a public celebration at the beginning of the year. Otherwise, however, their celebration would have been not merely a thing to be permitted, but a plan to be encouraged in every possible way. It would seem strange indeed if the Cubans were not inclined to rejoice over the withdrawal of the Spaniards after a series of struggles for liberty running through nearly a century.

A Truly Conservative Policy. We shall make a lamentable mistake, for which we shall have to pay dearly in the end, if we allow a high-handed or arbitrary spirit to enter into our dealings with the people of Cuba. Conservatism and statesmanship call for just the opposite policy. If any men can be trusted in relation to the present and future of Cuba, those men to be trusted are the ones who have been engaged in the work of securing their country's freedom. Let it be admitted that the Cuban army ought to be promptly disbanded. On the other hand, let it be admitted that its achievements entitle it to every kind of compliment and honor. The greatness and wealth of the United States require that the Cuban soldier should be dealt with in no niggardly manner, but should be sent to his home with money enough to aid him to start again in life as a worker. The Cubans are a sensitive people, and the man-

ner in which the claims and pretensions of their army is met by the United States within the next few weeks will affect the relations between Cuba and the United States for a hundred years to come. It will prove an exceedingly sound and economical investment in the long run for the United States to gain in Cuba a reputation for being generous and appreciative. Furthermore, it will not cost the United States a dollar, because any sums required to pay off the Cuban soldiers and restore tranquillity throughout the island may very justly be charged up as the first items in a new Cuban public debt. Cuba could not make a better investment on her own account than to pay off her soldiers, and thus secure their return to civil life and the prompt transformation of the machete from an instrument of warfare to its ordinary use as a sugarcane cutter and an implement of general utility on the farm.

Cuba for the Cubans.

But when the Cuban soldiery is disposed of, it will belong to our statesmanship to convince itself that the Cuban people throughout the island—in every province, city, and local district—have their own trusted men, well qualified for all tasks of administration, and that no outsiders are nearly as well qualified as the Cubans themselves for the government of the island. The genuine Cubans for nearly a century have been very distinct from the Spaniards, who have virtually monopolized all offices and positions of authority; but it would be a great mistake to suppose that the office-holding Spaniards were superior to the Cubans, over whom they have lorded it. On the contrary, education, character, and ability have been virtually monopolized by the Cubans. There are hundreds upon hundreds of well-educated Cubans who have studied in the higher institutions of the United States, and hundreds besides who have been educated in Europe. These men trained in the United States have—more than any other element in Cuba—been the heart and brains of the movement for emancipation from Spain. They are business men, lawyers, doctors, engineers, and planters. It is no more true to regard the Spanish office-holding class in Cuba as superior to the Cuban people themselves than it would be to think of the carpet-bag office-holding class that overran the South after the Civil War as superior to the old element of the Southern population. The carpet-bag element in the South was made up almost entirely of individuals whose leaving their Northern communities was a decided gain to those communities, just as their coming was a scourge to those communities which they invaded.

*The Spaniards
as "Carpet-
Baggers" in
Cuba.*

Under different circumstances, which afford no precise parallel, it is true in a somewhat similar way that the Spanish office-holding class in Cuba were far from being favorable representatives of the very excellent people who compose the Spanish nation, and also that they were very inferior in education and in morals to the excellent Cuban people upon whom they were so offensively quartered. A large part of those people will, of course, remain in Cuba. It will be hard for them to abandon their pro-Spanish and anti-Cuban sentiments. So long as they conduct themselves correctly, indeed, their rights must be scrupulously protected. But they have had their innings for several generations, and it is now the turn of the Cuban people. It would be of considerable use to all United States army officers who may have any part to play in our temporary occupation of Cuba to learn something of the real history of the island, particularly since about the year 1825. The American officer who professes ostentatiously that he has no sympathy with the Cubans and considers them a mongrel lot, unworthy of their independence, unfit for self-government and only fit to be ruled arbitrarily by Spaniards or somebody else, may be a very good soldier; but his ignorance disqualifies him for helping to reconstruct the island of Cuba after four years of warfare.

*The Duty of
Sanitary
Reconstruction.*

There is one great duty that we have to perform in Cuba on behalf of our own people, no less than of those of the island itself. That task is the immediate sanitary reconstruction of the principal Cuban seaports. General Wood, in command at Santiago, has in a short time accomplished remarkable results for the health of the city; but if his temporary measures are not followed up by permanent ones in the line of sewerage, paving, etc., a great opportunity will have been lost. It is precisely under the autocratic régime of a highly competent man like General Wood that such works can best be carried through. Exactly the same thing can be said of Havana, where General Ludlow, now in charge of the city, is a distinguished engineer and qualified in the highest sense to carry out all the programme of public works suggested in the plans that Colonel Waring had elaborated at the moment of his death. The chief reward that the United States is in a position to obtain from interfering in the affairs of Cuba lies in taking direct control of such measures for sanitarian rehabilitation as will insure the United States against epidemics of Cuban origin. We have rendered Cuba a great service at the cost of many scores of millions of dollars,

and we need have no scruples whatever about proceeding to execute—with the utmost speed consistent with thoroughness—a series of sanitary undertakings, such as the construction of sewers, the filling up or draining of marshes, the dredging of foul harbors, the improvement of municipal water-supplies, and whatever else may be necessary in every part of the island to reduce to a minimum the danger of yellow fever and other epidemic diseases. The expense of such works may be justly charged in part to the general treasury of Cuba and in part to the provincial and municipal treasuries. Not a day ought to be lost in pushing all these reforms with the utmost energy. An incidental argument in favor of such prompt measures is to be found in the large amount of employment that would thus be afforded at a time when the people of Cuba are particularly in need of remunerative work. To make the Cuban cities thoroughly healthful in their appointments and general conditions will mean a great increase in their commercial prosperity and crowd them with winter guests.

*The New Type
of Carpet-
Bagger,
Who Grabs
Franchises.*

One of the chief dangers to which Cuba is now subjected in this period of reconstruction is the new type of carpet-bagger, who is not in personal quest of the political offices with a view to the direct plunder of the taxpayers, as in our South thirty years ago, but who is endeavoring to get his finger into the political pie for the sake of gaining control of municipal franchises and securing various public contracts, charters, and privileges. During the past few weeks there has been an immense struggle going on among rival promoters and franchise-grabbers for possession of the street-railroad system of Havana. And this is one instance among scores, affecting all the Cuban towns. If a firm hand could be exercised at this critical juncture, it would be entirely possible to make the prospectively lucrative franchises of the city of Havana pay in great part, if not altogether, for the costly sanitary improvements that will have to be made in the city and harbor. From ten millions to fifteen millions of dollars ought to be spent at once in improvements at Havana bearing some relation to the public health. If the street railroads and other lucrative privileges were managed in the interests of the community, it would be readily possible to make them pay the interest on the bonds that will have to be issued for sewers and sanitary improvements, and also to provide a fund for the ultimate redemption of those bonds. The syndicates and franchise-grabbers are exerting themselves powerfully at Washington, and their ways are full of subtlety. If the Govern-

ment is not very much on its guard, the honorable career that the United States ought to complete for itself in the emancipation of Cuba will be blighted to some extent through the malign counsels of men in high position who are acting at Washington as the political agents of the individuals and combinations that are greedy for the acquisition of railroad concessions, local transit franchises, water-works, fat contracts for sewer-building, and all sorts of money-making schemes that depend upon public privileges and governmental favor. The franchise carpet-baggers are knocking at the doors of the War Department, where they have somehow got the notion that everything yields to the political "pull."

A Good Beginning on the Whole.

We shall undoubtedly make some mistakes in reconstructing Cuba, but vigilance and firmness ought to succeed in avoiding such fundamental errors as we committed in our reconstruction policy in the South after the Civil War. General Ludlow at Havana and most of our high officers now in administrative control of Cuban districts or provinces are filling important offices with Cubans as fast as they can find well-qualified men. A serious mistake has been made by Secretary of War Alger in allowing the Spanish Bank of Havana—deservedly hated by the Cubans—to continue its old functions as tax-collector on a 5-per-cent. commission, instead of organizing a public fiscal office. But this can be remedied in the near future. It is a Washington mistake, not one due to our army officers in Cuba.

Reconstructing the Philippines.

Reconstruction in the Philippines offers a set of problems very different from those to be encountered in Cuba. After a very short time under the friendly auspices of the United States the Cubans will be in a condition to govern themselves successfully. It is to be hoped, certainly, that the people of the Philippines may also in due time be able to manage their own affairs. We have not yet found any one in the United States who does not express this wish. All the utterances of a metaphysical or speculative nature that have been put forth in protest against our enslaving the people of the Philippines by governing them against their wills, would have more pertinence if these protesting persons could produce any evidence that they themselves knew anything about the wills of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. "Government by the consent of the governed" is a general maxim that the people of the United States have never thought of abandoning; nor, on the other hand, have they ever thought of abandoning their ordinary common sense. The

principle of government by consent of the governed, when invoked for argumentative purposes rather than for practical use, carries the consistent followers of Tolstoi to the logical necessity of the denial of all right of governmental authority whatsoever. It is not in the least necessary to embarrass ourselves in the doing of practical work that we are well aware we are doing for the welfare of mankind at large, by pausing to listen to fallacies and sophistries based upon the misapplication of glittering generalizations detached from the *doctrinaire* reasonings of Voltaire, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Thomas Paine, and Thomas Jefferson. A condition, not a theory, confronts us.

The Practical Situation.

If it is true as a general principle that government should have the consent of those who are governed, it is also true that those who are governed should have a chance to give or withhold their consent under circumstances that would permit them to exercise an intelligent judgment. After several hundred years' experience of Spanish rule, the Filipinos were at least to such an extent dissatisfied that their dissatisfaction was a serious menace to the continuance of Spanish rule. Their immediate attack upon the Spaniards had, however, been overcome; and Spain was in fairly secure possession of the situation when, last spring, the United States made war upon Spain, and in the course of that war destroyed the fleets which alone made it possible for the Spaniards to maintain lasting authority over transmarine island possessions. The destruction of the Spanish fleet at Manila and the presence of the American fleet gave the Philippine insurgents an opportunity to begin afresh their attacks upon the Spanish soldiers and colonial government. Those long centuries of Spanish rule had established complicated interests in the Philippine Islands—interests of various races and nationalities, personal, proprietary, religious, commercial, and otherwise. And those interests had been subject to the authority of Spain. The United States chose to acquire such title as Spain could give. That title thus acquired by the treaty of Paris stands good for purposes of international responsibility. The Philippine Islands had never had a separate status among nations, and the United States would do those islands and their people no good, but infinite harm, if it should withdraw from them and abandon them. The mere suggestion that we should do anything of that sort illustrates the dangers into which all nations would be plunged if their practical policies were to be made for them by individuals who ignore all facts and base their judgments upon maxims, theories, or high-sounding phrases.

*The Consent
of the
Governed.*

The inhabitants of the Philippine Islands have never been engaged, except in the most rudimentary sense, in tasks of government. Time must be an element in the establishment there of autonomous institutions. The people of the United States would not be in the least true to the principles of the Declaration of Independence if they should abandon the Philippine Islands under circumstances which would make it certain that political freedom would not follow. On the other hand, the people of the United States will certainly not be guilty of violating the spirit of the Declaration of Independence if they remain in the Philippines for the purpose of training the people patiently up to the point of being able to govern themselves successfully. We believe in government by the consent of the governed, and yet we exercise oppressive dominion over school-children by depriving them of a measure of their liberty, and we exclude them from the sacred privilege of the elective franchise. We oppress all inmates of asylums and penal institutions by limiting their freedom and controlling and governing them without their consent. In short, we insist every day in practical affairs upon refusing to abdicate our common sense. The people of the United States in like manner will certainly refuse to abdicate their common sense when it comes to dealing with the question of

reconstructing the Philippines. The consent of the governed is a little maxim that has always heretofore been used with reference to peoples in a certain stage of political advancement, who themselves insist upon employing such maxims on their own behalf. "The greatest good of the greatest number" is another maxim that has a certain applicability. There are perhaps twelve million people in the Philippine Islands, and in so far as they are entitled to consideration it is fair to suppose that they desire order, security, and justice. There is no reason to believe that the people of the United States have any aims respecting the Philippines that would be in the least out of harmony with precisely what all decent people in those islands would declare that they desired, if it were at present possible to secure an expression of their wishes. On the other hand, it is true that Aguinaldo and his insurgents represent a considerable element of the population, and that every reasonable means should be taken to secure their good-will and coöperation. We should never for a moment think of ourselves as owners of the Philippines, but only as trustees charged with various duties, the most important of which must always be the promotion of the true welfare of the native peoples. If we deal soundly with the strictly contemporary phases of the situation, we shall be ready for the future phases in due time.



THE REAL EMANCIPATION OF THE FILIPINOS.

(This picture of Judge Day signing the treaty at Paris, with Professor Moore at his side, is from *Black and White*, London.)



Photo by Howes, Ithaca.

PRESIDENT JACOB G. SCHURMAN.

The Philippine Commission. The spirit in which President McKinley is disposed to deal with the Philippine question is prudent at all points and worthy of full confidence. His policy is not to be judged alone by his words or by those of any other men, but also by deeds. His treaty commissioners were not "imperialists" and had not the slightest disposition to grab distant territory. Senator Gray, the Democratic member of the commission, has, since his return from Paris, paid the highest tribute to President McKinley's position. And now another board of commissioners has been appointed for the purpose of proceeding to the Philippines, there to study the general situation and to act in an advisory capacity, their functions being very important for the reason that their opinions must almost inevitably shape our practical methods in carrying on the Philippine administration. The chairman of that commission is the president of Cornell University. President Schurman is not only a man of brilliant powers, but he stands on record in careful public addresses as extremely conservative touching our future in the Philippine archipelago. Another member of the commission is Prof. Dean C. Worcester, who has written a very valuable book, published last fall, entitled "The Philippine Islands and Their People," and who obtained his information through three or

four years of investigation, chiefly zoölogical, while a member of a scientific exploring party. He holds a zoölogical professorship in the University of Michigan. Professor Worcester's book shows him to be extremely well informed and of a discriminating quality of mind. Another member is Colonel Denby, for many years our minister to China, a man acknowledged by every one to be in the very first rank of those qualified to give advice upon the relations between the United States and the far East. The remaining two members of the commission are Admiral Dewey, commanding our navy in Philippine waters, and General Otis, commanding our army in those islands. The chief "anti-expansion" newspapers have been compelled in all candor to express their thorough approval of this commission. There are times when it is a good plan to give some respect to responsible public agents. Every one who is in a position to weigh well the facts, Republicans and Democrats alike without a single exception so far as we are aware, is unhesitating in the advice that the treaty of peace ought to be promptly ratified exactly as drafted at Paris.

A Distinguished Group.

President Schurman is one of the foremost of American educators. It is a sufficient evidence of his rare ability that although he first came to this country in 1886, having been called from Nova Scotia to the professorship of philosophy at Cornell University, he rose to the presidency of the institution only six years later. He is the author



Photo by Rockwood.

PROF. DEAN C. WORCESTER.



COL. CHARLES DENBY.



ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY.



GEN. ELWELL S. OTIS.

of books well known to philosophical scholars in the field of metaphysics and ethics, and is editor of the *Philosophical Review*. Mr. Worcester, as a student of ornithology and of animal life in general, visited the Philippines in 1887 and went there again in 1890 with Dr. Bourns, who had also been a member of the previous party. The last sojourn was extended through two or three years of scientific observation in different parts of the archipelago. The new interest that Dewey's exploit created gave Mr. Worcester the opportunity to publish the useful book about his Philippine trips and experiences to which we have referred. Dr. Bourns' knowledge of the Philippines was promptly used by the Government, and he has now been for some time with our army at Manila. Mr. Worcester will be able to supply a great deal of information about the various races and tribes that inhabit the different islands. Colonel Denby's extensive knowledge of diplomatic and general conditions in the far East gives strength to the commission at a desirable point. Of course Admiral Dewey and General Otis are already thoroughly saturated with every phase of the Philippine question. So far as one may judge from newspaper interviews and reports, President Schurman, Professor Worcester, and Colonel Denby are all of them now firmly of the opinion that the United States must exercise general authority over the Philippines, and that withdrawal is out of the question. Yet not one of the five commissioners is one of those dreaded persons known in Boston as "imperialists." All of the members of this commission well understand the diversity of races in the archipelago, and the impossibility for a long time to come of setting up a fully autonomous gov-

ernment where the people have so great a number of languages and dialects, and where the types range all the way from a fairly high degree of civilization down to the lowest savage race.

*Give the
Future Its
Own Chance.*

It is very hard to be patient with the type of man that insists upon settling a problem first and examining it afterward. Yet that is exactly the attitude of those members of the Senate who have been trying to amend the treaty with Spain by tacking on to it a declaration that we do not intend to stay permanently in the Philippines. Spain has simply given us a quit-claim deed. It was necessary for the best interests of every one that Spain should be eliminated from the Philippine situation. Spain having thus been eliminated by virtue of the agreement at Paris and by virtue further of the concrete fact of military evacuation, nothing could be much more ridiculous than for us to volunteer to make statements to Spain concerning our intentions for the future. We do not know enough at the present moment to declare to the world our permanent policy. We owe some duties to the next generation, and we have no right to declare permanent policies—in matters that must concern the Americans of the next century much more than they concern the men now living—without first having taken the trouble to know what we are about. There is present work to do; and the problems of the future cannot be settled until they are reached.

*Aguinaldo
and
His Men.*

Our war against the Spaniards in the Philippines had so engrossed their attention that it gave a great opportunity for the revival of an insurrection that had



Photo by Pach Bros.

HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.
(Senator-elect from New York.)

been fully suppressed two years ago. Certain of our consuls in Chinese ports, and others, both American and English, probably made a mistake of judgment in advising Admiral Dewey to take Aguinaldo back to the Philippines and in encouraging the insurgents to build up an army and set up the pretense of a civil government with Aguinaldo at its head. These insurgents represent the most highly civilized fraction of the complex Philippine population, but they by no means stand for any great numerical share of the inhabitants. It is desirable to conciliate them and to obtain their coöperation in developing the best possible *régime* of justice and order throughout the archipelago. It is to be feared that the personal ambitions of half a dozen men, and chiefly of Aguinaldo himself, have been standing in the way of the real interests of the islands. Nevertheless, we Americans must try to put ourselves in the places of the Philippine insurgents in order to understand something of their point of view. Aguinaldo has had a very remarkable career, as our character sketch of him, published elsewhere and written by one who

knows him personally, will suffice to show. If we should withdraw, Aguinaldo would find it absolutely impossible to establish and maintain an independent Philippine government. A great archipelago cannot be held together without ships. It will be the American policy, as a matter of course, to develop practical home rule in the Philippines just as fast as it can be instituted; and it is to be hoped that the natives of ability like Aguinaldo may see the advantage of doing what the leading Cubans are now doing—namely, giving their valuable services to the American military government in order the more quickly to render military rule unnecessary.

*Affairs
at Iloilo.*

The situation at Iloilo last month was an exceedingly anxious one. The insurgents had occupied the city when the Spaniards evacuated and were not disposed to allow their possession to be surrendered to the American naval and military expedition that General Otis and Admiral Dewey had sent down from Manila. It is to be borne in mind, however, that many of the alarmist dispatches that appeared in our newspapers had come by way of Madrid and other continental points and were entirely false. It is to be believed that the Philippine insurgents will at an early day accept the new order of things. Our Government has the strongest assurances from Berlin that there is no truth whatever in the reports that the insurgent attitude at Iloilo had been secretly encouraged by Germany.

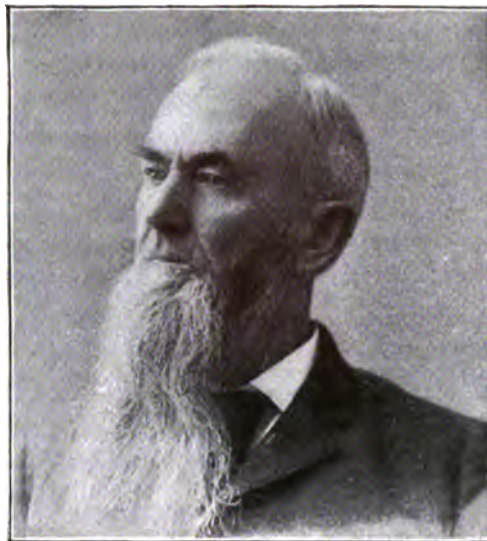


Photo by Bell.

HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE.
(Reflected Senator from Massachusetts.)



HON. JOHN KEAN.
(Senator-elect from New Jersey.)



JUDGE JONATHAN ROSS.
(The new Senator from Vermont.)

*Senatorial
Elections
in the East.*

The Senatorial elections have naturally been the most prominent feature of the month in the sense of domestic politics. In the State of New York Mr. Chauncey M. Depew received the unanimous vote of all the Republican members of both branches of the Legislature. His election has been pleasantly commented upon throughout the country—Mr. Depew having long been one of the most widely known members of his party, and remarkable for having made many friends and few enemies in his political career. His presence in the Senate will add a great deal to the oratorical resources of that body. In Pennsylvania Mr. Quay's determined struggle for reelection was deadlocked at the time of our going to press, with a fair prospect of his defeat. The New England vacancies included the seat of Senator Hale, of Maine; and his fellow-citizens, though not wholly approving of his course in opposing the President's foreign policy, have accorded him a reelection. The Republicans of Connecticut, where a keen preliminary contest was waged, finally concluded to give Senator Hawley another six years. There would have been no vacancy in Vermont but for the death of the venerable Senator Morrill. His place has been temporarily filled by the governor's designation of Jonathan Ross, chief justice of the Supreme Court of the State. In Massachusetts there was no attempt on the part of the Republican legislators at opposing the reelection of Mr. Lodge. New England owes much of her remarkable influence in national affairs to her practice of reflecting her Senators and Representatives. New Jersey, like New York, has

chosen a new Republican Senator to take the place vacated by a Democrat. The Jerseyman who will occupy Mr. Smith's seat is the Hon. John Kean, a name well known in his own State, though not as yet a household word throughout the country.

*The Rise
of Mr.
Beveridge.*

In the middle West the conspicuous Senatorial contest was that which took place in Indianapolis, where, among several able aspirants, the successful one was the Hon. Albert J. Beveridge, who will therefore replace Senator David Turpie, and thus add one more to the number of Democratic seats captured by Republicans. Mr. Beveridge, when he takes his seat, will be the youngest man in the Senate with the single exception of Senator Marion Butler, of North Carolina, who is a few months younger, Mr. Beveridge being already thirty-six, while Senator Butler will not be thirty-six until May. The new Indiana Senator has never before held office, and he comes into this high place in a manner that must please the young men of the country in some such way as Governor Roosevelt's election last November pleased them. Mr. Beveridge had no political machine behind him, nor had he any "barrel" to open for "the boys." The other candidates for the position were men of distinction and high qualifications. Mr. Beveridge was far from being a leading candidate at first, but as the balloting proceeded his strength grew until at length he carried off the honors. The story of his life is an interesting one. He began it on an Ohio farm, and he worked his way unaided through

De Pauw University and made a reputation as a college orator. He graduated in 1885, having that year won first honors in the State intercollegiate oratorical contest, and also having carried off first honors in the ensuing interstate contest. It is worth while to observe that these laurel-winners in the Mississippi Valley collegiate oratorical contests have been coming to the front in politics in a striking manner. It is enough to mention such men as Mr. La Follette, of Wisconsin, Mr. Dolliver, of Iowa, Mr. William J. Bryan, of Illinois and Nebraska, and now Mr. Beveridge, although a good many others might be named. Working his way through college and winning prizes was a little too heavy a strain; and Beveridge's health broke down soon after his graduation. But in his characteristic fashion of doing things thoroughly he proceeded to the far West, where he earned his living on a ranch, and soon regained his health in out-of-door pursuits. Since then he has made his way rapidly at the bar in Indianapolis, and his reputation



Photo by Bell.

HON. JULIUS C. BURROWS.

(Re-elected Senator from Michigan.)

has been steadily growing as a lawyer and an orator. What a pity that the Legislature of Pennsylvania could not shake off the humiliating shackles of a discredited boss and imitate Indiana! It has in its own membership a young man who has ability, sterling integrity, fine legal training, excellent debating power, and plenty of oratorical talent—Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff. He would make an excellent Senator and enhance the reputation of Pennsylvania. But the

Keystone State does not seem to be looking for Roosevelts or Beveridges.

Other Senatorships. The Hon. Julius Cæsar Burrows has been chosen as his own successor by the Legislature of Michigan, although Governor Pingree and his friends had organized a formidable opposition. In Minnesota Senator Cushman K. Davis was reelected without any



HON. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE.

(Senator-elect from Indiana.)

Republican antagonism. Senator Clark, of Wyoming, will also succeed himself. The Montana Senatorial situation was deadlocked and further complicated by bribery scandals as our pages were closed for the press. Contests were still pending also in Wisconsin, North Dakota, Nebraska, Utah, Nevada, California, and Washington. Senator Cockrell, of Missouri, was re-elected by his faithful Democratic admirers, and thus launched upon his fifth term. Mr. Cockrell is now, therefore, one of the three oldest members of the Senate in point of continuous service. Coming eastward on about that parallel, we find that Senator Bate has been reelected by the Democratic Legislature at Nashville, while in West Virginia and Delaware protracted contests were pending as our record closed. Such struggles as that of Addicks in Delaware and Quay in Pennsylvania for seats in the Senate give practical urgency to the arguments in favor of electing Senators by popular vote.



Photo by Bell.

HON. WILLIAM B. BATE.
(Re-elected Senator from Tennessee.)

Mr. Choate
for London.

Last month we published a portrait of Mr. Joseph H. Choate, the eminent New York lawyer, and announced as probable his appointment to be ambassador to Great Britain. The President's nomination of Mr. Choate to that high diplomatic post was actually sent to the Senate on January 11. Mr. Choate's selection was due to no other consideration whatever except the belief in his eminent fitness. It has become a very graceful American custom and tradition to send to London men who possess not only first-rate capacity for such diplomatic business as may have to be transacted, but who also represent what is best in American culture and character, along with the ability to make an after-dinner speech or a public address. Thus we have been sending such men in succession as Mr. Lowell, Mr. Phelps, Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Bayard, and Colonel Hay. Mr. Choate is a worthy successor of these distinguished Americans, and his selection has been highly complimented by the British press. Happily, he goes to London at a time when there are no embarrassing complications in the diplomatic relations of the two great English-speaking countries. There are always questions of some moment pending, and Mr. Choate will doubtless find work on his hands more serious than making after-dinner speeches; but he will be aided by the good disposition that exists alike in our State Department and in the British Foreign Office to maintain cordial relations and to find prompt and honorable solutions for all unsettled issues.

Some Appointments.

It was known when Mr. Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York, entered President McKinley's Cabinet as Secretary of the Interior that he took office reluctantly, and it was understood that he would seek a favorable opportunity to retire again to private life before the end of his term. He is to be replaced by Mr. Ethan Allen Hitchcock, of St. Louis, who gives up the post of ambassador to Russia in order to fill the Cabinet vacancy. The place at St. Petersburg in turn is to be filled by the transfer of Mr. Charlemagne Tower from Vienna. Our new representative at the Austrian court will be Mr. Addison C. Harris, a prominent and accomplished member of the Indianapolis bar, who is the President's own selection.

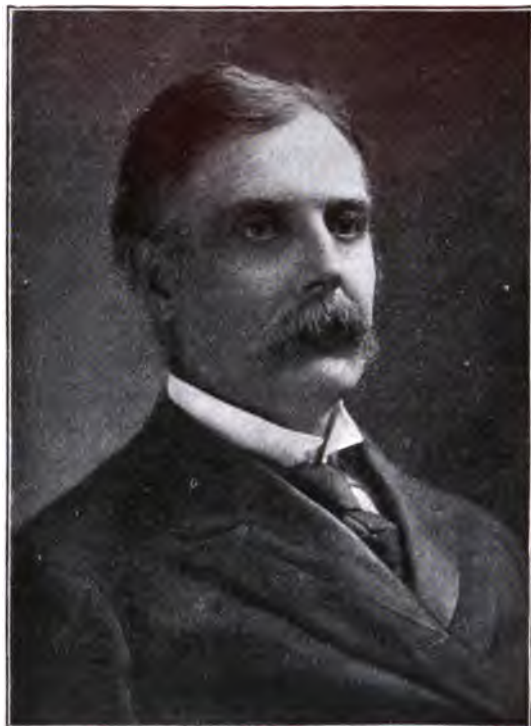
The Mormon Question Up to Date.

Utah has been a State for two years. Its admission would have been secured many years earlier but for the plain fact that the majority of the people were Mormons and that the Mormons preached and practiced polygamy. The people of the United States were determined to break up polygamy as an institution, and they were well aware that it would be a much more difficult thing to deal with a State than with a Territory. Stringent laws were made to stamp out the practice, the most draconian of these United States statutes being



HON. ETHAN ALLEN HITCHCOCK.
(New Secretary of the Interior.)

that which was commonly known as the Edmunds-Tucker law of 1887, which had been preceded by the Edmunds law of 1882, and which among other things disfranchised polygamists. At length, beginning about the year 1890, the Mormon Church adopted the policy of



HON. ADDISON C. HARRIS.
(Our new minister to Austria-Hungary.)

declaring full submission to the laws of the United States, and the voluntary abandonment of polygamy was widely heralded. This giving up of polygamy was accompanied by a complete change in the methods of Utah territorial politics. The Mormons no longer acted as a church party against the so-called gentiles or liberals, but rather ostentatiously enrolled themselves in the Republican and Democratic parties, their purpose apparently being to throw the weight of the future State into the balance of the party that would secure its admission to the Union. In December, 1891, the president and apostles of the Mormon Church drew up a petition to the President of the United States asking that amnesty should be granted to those who were under conviction for violation of the anti-polygamy laws, and explaining that the Mormons were all now ready to obey the statutes. This document declared that polygamy had been enjoined upon the Mormons by divine command, and therefore

had been practiced by them for the forty years from 1850 to 1890. Thus the Mormons had violated the laws of the land under the stress of religious duty. Their difficult situation had, however, been relieved by a very convenient revelation received by Mr. Wilfred Woodruff, the head of the Church. This is explained in the Mormon petition of December, 1891, as follows :

According to our creed, the head of the Church receives from time to time revelations for the religious guidance of his people. In September, 1890, the present head of the Church, in anguish and prayer, cried to God for help for his flock and received permission to advise the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints that the law commanding polygamy was henceforth suspended.

President Harrison did not accept these new Mormon professions on their face, but had them investigated by the board then existing known as the Utah Commissioners and also by the most prominent non-Mormon officials, judges, and private citizens of the Territory, all of whom, it



HON. CHARLEMAGNE TOWER.
(Our new ambassador to Russia.)

seems, advised the President to grant the amnesty. This was accordingly done by proclamation of January 4, 1893. In September, 1894, President Cleveland issued a further amnesty proclamation ; but both of these documents expressly enjoined the faithful observance of the

laws as a condition of amnesty, and it is now plausibly claimed that the courts might hold that the penalty of disfranchisement would still apply to those who could be shown to have violated the amnesty conditions.

*The Case of
Roberts.*

The enabling act passed by Congress required that the State constitution of Utah should forever prohibit polygamous or plural marriages, and that this provision should be irrevocable without the consent of the United States. This prohibition was accordingly inserted by the Utah Constitutional Convention, held in the spring of 1895. It was perfectly understood on all hands that the one condition of Utah's admission to the Union was the complete abandonment in all good faith of the institution and practice of polygamy. The question now comes to the front in a very concrete fashion. Mr. Brigham H. Roberts has been elected to Congress by the Utah voters. The fact that he has several wives is frankly admitted. Reliable observers declare that the practice of polygamy is now flourishing in Utah. The constitutional prohibition is an empty ornament, because it has never been duly supported by the necessary enactment of laws and penalties, while, furthermore, the practical impossibility of getting juries that would convict, even if the laws were stringent, is an added reason for the entire immunity of polygamists. It is said that there has been no attempt to prosecute anybody for polygamy since the admission of the State. The public sentiment of the country is rising very strongly against the admission of Roberts to his seat in Congress. The House has a right to pass upon the qualifications of its members, and there would seem to be some legal and constitutional basis for the argument that Roberts could be refused a seat on the ground of his being a polygamist. That question, however, is one for the House itself to decide in the light of the facts and the law. If Roberts should be excluded, he would be entitled to no sympathy whatever; nor would his constituents have suffered any wrong at the hands of the American people. Roberts himself was a member of the Utah Constitutional Convention, and he declared on its floor that the abandonment of polygamy was the express condition of Utah's admission as a State.

*Mormon
Activity.*

Mormonism was never so active in its missionary work as at the present time. It is said that more than two thousand Mormon missionaries are scattered throughout the United States and Europe, gathering recruits for the "Church of the Latter-Day Saints" through their well-known meth-

ods of reaching the ignorant and poor. Mormon colonization is spreading in other States and Territories of the West, particularly through Nevada, Idaho, Wyoming, New Mexico, and Arizona. The Mormon policy is no longer difficult to understand. The aim constantly and steadily pursued is to secure the balance of power as between political parties in as many of the young Western States as possible. If the Congressman-elect should succeed in taking and holding his seat, it is to be supposed that step by step polygamy would reassert itself throughout Utah. The steady missionary work is what keeps Mormonism alive and strong; and the absolutism of its leaders, who use the entire body of Mormon adherents under their control as fully for political as for religious purposes, explains the power that Mormonism continues to wield.

*Eagan, Army
Beef, and the
War
Department.*

The scandalous dissensions among higher officials of the War Department and prominent officers of the army have been rendered more conspicuous than ever by an outrageous occurrence at Washington on January 12. There had been much criticism touching the quality of a part of the beef that was furnished to the soldiers at Santiago. There is unlimited testimony of the most specific sort to the effect that the beef was not fit to eat. When General Miles had been summoned by the war inquiry commission to testify before it, he had admitted in reply to questions the notorious fact that these criticisms of the army beef had been brought to his notice, and that—in the line of his duty as commanding general of the army—he was having the matter investigated. It seems that Commissary-General Eagan regarded this testimony—which had taken an entirely proper form—as a personal reflection upon himself. He waited until it came his turn to appear before the war inquiry commission, and then took the floor and read a very long typewritten document, which consisted in large part of insults to General Miles, couched in the most violent and vulgar language, and which bore all the marks of having been elaborated with great care by a man whose mind would seem incapable of distinguishing between the pompous bravado that belongs to bar-rooms and gambling-dens and the courageous speech of a responsible man in a public office. It is reported that a copy of this diatribe was sent to the Secretary of War before it was read in the presence of the inquiry board. It is certainly true that the board permitted the document to be read in its entirety, although the reading must have occupied a considerable time, whereas a single word from any member of the board would have suf-

ficed to call Eagan to order and stop his performance. The unabridged document was allowed by the authorities to be given to all the news-



Photo by Prince.

BRIG.-GEN. CHARLES P. EAGAN,
Commissary-General U. S. A.

papers, with the result of bringing into contempt at home and abroad a great department of our national administration.

There has never been a time in the history of the United States when rightly or wrongly the War Department was so profoundly distrusted by the country as to-day. Yet Congress is asked to enact legislation which will virtually quadruple the size of our regular army; and there is to devolve upon our forces the very difficult and delicate business of occupying Cuba and the Philippines, while military governments are to be maintained in those islands under War Department direction. It is to be hoped that Congress will have the wisdom and firmness to thoroughly reorganize the War Department before increasing the army. The army of the United States should be commanded by its generals. Our navy is in fine order and enjoys unlimited confidence because it is not in politics. Our army management is in wretched shape because it is permeated with the spirit of political

*Reorganization
Needed.*

bureaucracy. It is in no manner pleasant to pass criticisms of this kind; and while the war was actively on our hands the system had to be borne with. But the country has been patient long enough, and the time for plain speech has fully arrived. It is not to be believed that Eagan or any other man in office in connection with supply bureaus was directly or indirectly trying to make a cent of money out of the war. We do not for a moment suppose that there is any corruption to be unearthed, either in Eagan's or in any other army bureau. But Eagan's outburst shows the spirit of hatred and jealousy, discord and essential insubordination that has existed among men exercising important military functions; and such a spirit, actively at work, is almost as demoralizing to the army as speculation or fraud. After a day or two of suspense it was announced that a court-martial would be convened in Eagan's case. General Miles meanwhile had added to his reputation by holding his tongue.

*Governor
Roosevelt
at Work.*

Governor Roosevelt, of New York, has begun his administration in a way that commends itself to all good citizens. His message to the Legislature was at once bold and prudent. It recommended the re-enactment of sound and constitutional civil-service laws; left the canal question for further treatment in a special message; advised the enlargement of the sphere of factory inspection and the enforcement of the labor laws; proposed a law requiring factories to take out licenses or



"WHAT DISCORD! WE'LL HAVE TO GET THAT INSTRUMENT TUNED OR GET ANOTHER PLAYER."—From the *Herald* (New York).

permits in order to break up the sweat-shop system; dealt ably and practically with matters affecting the National Guard and the Naval Militia; called attention to the evils of over-legislation and advocated biennial sessions; recommended the establishment of an unsalaried State municipal board to supervise the affairs of second and third class cities (these comprise all the large towns of the State excepting New York City and Buffalo), and made other useful suggestions. The governor's appointments have not been of a kind either to grieve the politicians or to arouse the especial enthusiasm of the more exacting type of reformers; but they have been absolutely unexceptionable appointments in so far as character and fitness



COL. JOHN N. PARTRIDGE.

(Appointed commissioner of public works by Governor Roosevelt.)

are involved, and if men of the highest order of talents have not been selected, the reason is simply that such men could not be had for such salaries as the State pays. More interest, naturally, was attached to the office of commissioner of public works, on account of the canal question, than to any other. Colonel Partridge, who was chief of police of Brooklyn when President Seth Low was mayor of that city, was finally chosen for the position. The place was offered to Gen. Francis V. Greene, but in vain. Maj. Avery D. Andrews, who was associated with Colonel Roosevelt as a member of Mayor Strong's police board, has been appointed adjutant-general by the governor.

*Recent
Economic
Changes.*

The year 1898, in spite of the interruption and diversion of war, was a marvelous one in the economic history of the United States. It witnessed an unprecedented expansion in the volume and variety of America's foreign trade. There was embarrassment in the money markets of Europe by reason of the unprecedented excess of America's exports of goods over her purchases in other lands—a state of affairs that means a heavy indebtedness to the United States that must be accounted for in money. The consequence of this trade balance

has been to make the American money market easy, and thus to encourage industrial undertakings of various sorts. One result of so much money being due to the people of the United States from foreign purchasers has been an appreciable tendency toward a change in the position of the United States from that of a debtor nation to that of a creditor nation. For a long time the United States has been the world's favorite field for investment. Thus a large part of the surplus products sent abroad from this country have been in lieu of interest payments on foreign capital invested in railroads and enterprises of all kinds in this country. Europe still holds vast volumes of American interest-bearing securities, but, relatively speaking, the home capital employed in American enterprises becomes greater and greater. It was reported earlier in the winter on apparently good authority that agents representing Russia had been making inquiries in financial circles in New York and Chicago, with a view to floating a Russian loan in this country. To put it in other words, it seemed to be seriously proposed in Europe to retain if possible on that side of the water a great part of the cash balance now due to people in the United States, and to convert it into a long time loan. Such an arrangement is not at all likely to be made at present. But its discussion is significant of the growth of the American money market, and also of the great field for capital that Russia and China are soon to afford.

*Our Manu-
facturing
Expansion.*

The export of staple American manufactures has been greater by far in the past year than ever before. Thus the balance of trade is not merely due to the demand for our foods and raw materials. The demand for American iron—whether manufactured into machinery, tools, and various finished products or otherwise—has reached proportions which make it certain that there must be rapid increase in the future. The reasons for this are obvious. The larger the demand for iron, the more cheaply it can be produced, provided the supplies of ore and fuel remain abundant and cheap. The United States has now permanently distanced England in the production of iron, and all the conditions of the iron business are such that for several years to come the relative gain of American iron over the European product must be more rapid than heretofore. The unrivaled position of America in the production of iron and the other manufactures which are making for the rapid expansion of American foreign commerce must tend to the reestablishment of shipbuilding as a great industry in this country, and, further, to the creation of an American

merchant marine. Senator Hanna has introduced a comprehensive bill providing for the subsidy of steamship lines, the payment of bonuses to deep-sea fishermen, and the joint promotion of a merchant marine and an auxiliary navy.

Industrial Progress and Protective Tariffs. In a number of lines, at least, the industry of the United States is quite outgrowing the necessity for protection by means of discriminating tariffs. It seems to be admitted on all hands that the United States must not for a moment consider the imposition of any tariff arrangements in the Philippine Islands that would extend the American system of protection so far away from home. The assumption of American political guardianship over the Philippines cannot properly carry with it any such thing as economic consolidation with the United States. It will be the manifest duty of this country to maintain in the Philippines what is known in England as the "open door"—that is to say, the commerce of the world must have full and equal privileges in trading with the people of the Philippine Islands. It will be absolutely necessary for us to adopt this economic policy in extending our political protection to the Philippines, in order to be prepared the more successfully to demand that all European powers, in so far as they extend their political protection over parts of the crumbling Chinese empire, shall abstain from the policy of creating exclusive commercial monopolies, and shall allow merchants of all nations to come and go and to buy and sell on equal terms. This is the policy that England maintains in India, and it is of the utmost importance, in view of the large and growing commerce of the United States with China, that we should add our influence to that of the British for the maintenance and extension of commercial privileges in all parts of the far East. The future of the tariff question at home is uncertain, but it is reasonable to suppose that within a few years there may be considerable modifications of the existing system without so much party strife and agitation as in times past. The destiny of Cuba would appear to be something like absorption into the economic system of the United States, whether or not there should be political union. American capital is showing great eagerness to assist in the rehabilitation of an island whose resources are known to be of extraordinary richness.

Recent Growth of the "Trusts." The rapid expansion of our foreign trade is by no means the only striking thing in the economic history of the United States for the year 1898. The tendency toward great combinations of capital with a view

to substituting monopoly for competition has proceeded at a more rapid pace than in any preceding year. The great trusts like the Standard Oil and Sugar have been growing more powerful, while others have been extending their operations and new ones have been forming. Among the latest combinations is the Tin Plate trust, which controls almost the entire output of the numerous tin-plate mills that have come into existence since the McKinley tariff act of 1890. Before that year, although the United States was a greater consumer of tin plate by far than any other nation, we were entirely dependent upon foreign manufacturers. Now the American mills supply a great deal more than half the home demand. The creation of the Tin Plate trust will certainly lead to a vigorous demand for the withdrawal of the protection upon which the trust will rely for its opportunity to maintain prices and earn profits. Several weeks ago it was reported that the great flour mills of the country were about to form a gigantic combination; but in the middle of December the Minneapolis millers made public their final decision against the plan of a trust, on the ground that the multiplicity of small mills throughout the country would at present make it virtually impossible to establish an effective monopoly of the flour-making business. In New York City there has been quiet but rapid progress in the direction of a consolidation of street-railroad interests, and Mr. Croker, who is at present the real government of the city, has been won over to a plan under which it is proposed that the much-desired municipal underground trunk line shall be constructed by private capital. It is of course understood that this underground system would thus fall into the hands of the same powerful syndicate that has gradually monopolized nearly all of the surface lines.

Street-Transit Monopoly in New York and Chicago. It has, indeed, greatly improved the surface transit by introducing electricity as the motive force, with an underground trolley system. But while it is true that the people of New York are deriving benefit from the substitution of electricity for horses, it is still more true that the private syndicate is piling up almost measureless wealth by virtue of its possession of public franchises of enormous earning power, for which it pays nothing or next to nothing to the community. This situation in New York, however, although the process of franchise-grabbing has been steadily going on in one way or another, is due in the main to the mistakes and follies of earlier years when perpetual franchises were distributed with no thought of their prospective value. In Chicago the situation has been and is a very different one. The people

of that city have been the victims of about the most villainous street-railroad monopolies that ever bribed a board of aldermen or escaped condign punishment for innumerable crimes. Fortunately, the street-railroad franchises in Chicago were not granted in perpetuity; they expire in the very near future. It has been the policy of the street-railroad monopolists—a policy deliberately conceived a good many years ago—to try to get these franchises renewed for a period of fifty years. The plan of operations was first to get a permissive enactment through the Legislature at Springfield by the use of a vast corruption fund, and then at the favorable moment to concentrate all their efforts upon the municipal government of Chicago, and carry their point with one tremendous onslaught. To that end they gave the most careful attention to the election of the present board of aldermen, and when their opportune time had arrived they undertook to pass the ordinance that would have given them a renewed control of franchises prospectively worth scores of millions of dollars. At first they had seemingly purchased the support of a considerable majority of the board of aldermen. The firm opposition of Mayor Carter Harrison, however, made it necessary for them to make sure of enough votes to pass their franchise-extension ordinance over the mayor's veto. It looked for a short time as if they were going to be able to command the requisite number of votes. Whereupon there arose in Chicago a manifestation of public opinion that frightened the aldermen, and that saved the situation.

The Blackest Criminals in America.

It was an uprising of rich and poor alike. Conservative citizens talked about lynching like so many anarchists. Lynching is a bad business, and it is not to be justified under any circumstances. If, however, there is one crime blacker than another in a country of popular institutions like ours, it is the crime that rich men commit when, for the purpose of adding to their unholy gains, they deliberately conspire to put their own tools into public offices of trust in order that these creatures may betray the community and turn over to their principals the public property of which for the time being they have the custody. The aldermen of Chicago in the case of this last great conspiracy were not the principals in the huge robbery that was planned, but the paid agents of the chief criminals. It happens that the cities of England in the past year have made remarkable strides in the way of municipal ownership and operation of street-railroad systems. Our American cities are very conservative in such directions, but this last experience in Chicago

points to only one really hopeful alternative. On no conceivable terms ought the franchises of the existing street-railroad companies of Chicago to be renewed. The very existence of those particular companies in Chicago is a constant menace to the welfare of the community; for they are the chief source of the corruption that makes municipal progress almost impossible. There are many grave objections, doubtless, to municipal operation of transit systems, but the comprehensive answer to those objections would seem to be—in Chicago at least—that public ownership at its worst could not be so bad a thing for the community as the present state of affairs.

Politics in France.

It takes strong faith in these days to believe that the French republic can weather the storm that still shows no sign of abatement. A fresh sensational incident last month was the ostentatious retirement of M. Quesnay de Beaurepaire from the Court of Cassation, on the ground of his disapproval of the evident determination of the majority of that court to bring out the truth in the Dreyfus case, and thus to release the victim of a hideous conspiracy. But Beaurepaire is not a man whose presence in the Court of Cassation has added anything to its standing, and he has always been essentially a politician. His criticisms upon his colleagues of the court were of the pettiest and most trivial nature, and consisted principally in the recital of minor courtesies shown to Colonel Picquart, the most conspicuously decent officer in the French army, whose offense has consisted in the discovery of the innocence of Captain Dreyfus. It is believed that Beaurepaire has joined the Bonapartist conspiracy. Monarchical reaction is evidently very much in the air. Of the two claimants, it seems to be agreed that it is the Bonaparte rather than the Orleans who appeals the more strongly to the present revolutionary whim. Some foreign millionaires (an American among them) are reputed to be furnishing the financial backing to the Bonapartist conspiracy, which thus far, like most of the plots of European pretenders, has its headquarters in Brussels. It is said that since the world at large has come to accept the fact of the innocence of Dreyfus, his military prisoners have added to the rigors of his confinement on Devil's Island, and that his hardships and mental anxiety are rapidly bringing him toward the end for which the army clique in Paris is wishing above all things. In the midst of the clamor, Premier Dupuy and his cabinet are standing firmly for the maintenance of the civil authority; and there are still plenty of Americans, though not many Englishmen, who continue to believe that the



THE TWO PRETENDERS TO THE FRENCH THRONE.

From *Black and White* (London).

Third Republic will live through this wretched Dreyfus episode, even as it has survived many other dangerous ordeals.

*Russia
Building
Railroads.*

The Czar and his peace proposals still form a great topic of international discussion abroad. Meanwhile the new Russian budget calls for enormous outlays in railroad-building—that branch of expenditure far overshadowing the appropriations for the army and the navy. Nothing could be more genuine than the wish of the Russians to be relieved from the necessity of keeping up so big a standing army at so heavy an expense. The Czar and his ministers desire above all else to develop the resources of their vast empire; and they grudge the money and the men that are exacted by the present conditions of the great armed peace of Europe.

*German
Affairs.*

Germany continues to exert her energies in every possible way toward the southeast. Her railroad-building in Asia Minor is progressing at a stupendous rate, while by various methods the government is encouraging commercial growth in southeastern Europe and the Turkish empire. There is just a shade of ghouliness in the cool calculations that Germany is making upon the probable break-up of the Austrian empire after the death

of the Kaiser's venerable ally, Francis Joseph. The present policy at Berlin seems to be to make the largest possible number of limited alliances. Thus Germany has come to an agreement with England touching affairs in Africa, and—apart from the standing conditions and purposes of the alliances with Austria and Italy—there is little doubt of the existence of agreements with Russia touching particular matters, while the arrangements with the Sultan of Turkey would seem to be peculiarly intimate, and negotiations are reported to be on foot for an arrangement with France and Russia to offset English pretensions in China. Outsiders continue to look on with amazement at the spectacle of an educated nation like Germany enduring the outrageous restrictions now existing upon the liberty of discussion. Nothing could be more shocking than the prosecution of Professor Delbrück, of the University of Berlin, the eminent political and historical writer, for the crime of having criticised the policy of expelling the Danes from Schleswig-Holstein. French license is better than German tyranny.

*Austria
and
Hungary.*

The constitutional situation in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy does not grow less serious. Nothing keeps the agglomeration together except the dread of the international uncertainties that might follow

a break-up. Austria and Hungary are separate countries, with distinct Parliaments, which have their chief nominal connection in the fact of a common monarch—the Emperor of Austria being the King of Hungary. The common expenses—military, naval, diplomatic, etc.—that pertain to



PROFESSOR DELBRÜCK.

the union have been paid by the two parties to the agreement on the basis of a fixed ratio. The period of that agreement expired last year, and because of differences of opinion about the relative proportions the attempt to renew it did not succeed. It was arbitrarily extended by personal prerogative of the Emperor for six months, but that period ended with the be-

ginning of the present year, and the deadlock continues. If the Emperor should die under existing circumstances, there is much likelihood that the severance would be complete. There has been unwonted turmoil in the Hungarian Diet, or Parliament (there is always turmoil in the one at Vienna), and the Premier of Hungary,



BARON BANFFY, HUNGARIAN PREMIER.

Baron Banffy, has adopted the very bad expedient of fighting duels with his enemies. Parliamentary government, until the last few years, has worked with a remarkable dignity and efficiency at Budapest. It is to be regretted that representative institutions in Hungary, like those in almost every other country on the continent of Europe, should now exhibit such unhappy tendencies as the century nears its end.

Some Concerns of English-Speaking Men. England and America have been acting together energetically in China through Mr. Conger and Sir Claude MacDonald, their respective ministers at Peking, to secure the reversal of a grant to the French at Shanghai. This grant would seem to

endanger the interesting arrangements by which the English and Americans have for a long time carried on jointly an admirable sort of municipal government for their contiguous colonies. In Samoa, also, where the Germans have been trying to run things in their own interest, the English and American consuls and the American chief justice have worked together, and both English-speaking countries are now sending ships to Apia. (For the Samoan news in more detail see our "Record of Current Events.") The Canadian-American Commission has not yet finished its work, but a considerable degree of success is now assured. Our Canadian friends, who have long enjoyed the two-cent postal union with the United States, have now at length inaugurated their two-cent rate to Great Britain. This so-called "imperial penny postage" is destined to be followed in the near future by a two-cent rate between the United States and Great Britain, although nobody would have thought such a thing very likely one year ago. In English politics the leading subject continues to be the leaderless condition of the Liberal party. Lord Rosebery seems to be destined to come to the front again. The Irish people will be absorbed, naturally, with the new experiment of electing county councils and setting in motion



A NEW YEAR'S GREETING—PENNY POSTAGE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE COLONIES.—From *Punch* (London).



THE NEW CANADIAN STAMP.



THE NEW CRETAN STAMP.

the untried machinery of local self-government. England's protectorate over the Soudan in conjunction with Egypt has been announced as a formal fact, and the pacification of the country is proceeding rapidly.

*The Late
Senator
Morrill.*

Two New England statesmen of long service and great public usefulness have died in the harness. Senator Morrill, of Vermont, was the Nestor at Washington, having almost completed his eighty-ninth year. While still a young man, Mr. Morrill acquired a competence as a country merchant in Vermont, and then retired to a farm, where he spent some years in a quiet, studious fashion, fitting himself for public service. He was elected to Congress in 1854, and served in the House of Representatives for twelve years, when, in 1867, he took his seat in the Senate—a seat which he continued without interruption to fill until his death. He became prominent while a member of the Ways and Means Committee in 1860 as the principal author of the so-called Morrill tariff, which initiated the series of Republican high protective tariffs that have dominated the country's commercial policy for nearly forty years. Mr. Morrill was never regarded as a very brilliant or a very great statesman; nevertheless, he was a constructive legislator, whose name will certainly endure in connection with policies of far-reaching importance. For example, he was the chief projector of the measure which created the State agricultural colleges of the country by giving them public-land endowments. The wisdom of that enactment will grow more apparent from year to year. Senator Morrill's opposition to the annexation of San Domingo in 1871 may possibly be said to have turned the scale against President Grant's favorite scheme. To his persistence through a score of years is due, more than to the labors of any other man, the legislation which has resulted in the great Congressional Library building. These are only a few of the important matters with which Mr. Morrill's name has been identified in the course of his long public career.

*Mr. Dingley's
Death.*

Another New England statesman, possessing the same sterling traits of character that made Mr. Morrill so universally respected, was the late chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, Mr. Nelson Dingley, who died of pneumonia on January 12. He had almost completed sixty-seven years. Like Mr. Morrill, his early life was that of the farm and the country store. Mr. Dingley, however, went to college and graduated at Dartmouth in 1855. After a year of law study he purchased a weekly newspaper at Lew-

iston, Maine, which in the Civil War times was developed into a daily. Mr. Dingley continued in control of this newspaper up to the time of his death, a period of more than forty years. He was identified with the Republican party from its foundation, and although a much younger man than Senator Morrill, his public life began at so much earlier an age that it covered almost as long a period. Senator Morrill had been in public life some forty-five years, while Mr. Dingley—if four or five years of active editorial work and public speaking from 1856 to 1861 are included—had really covered quite as long a period of public service. He went to the Maine Legislature in 1861, and was reelected a number of times, though not consecutively, up to 1873, when he was made governor, a position which he filled for two terms. He was elected to Congress in 1881, and had served in the House of Representatives ever since that time. All questions relating to banking, currency, the tariff, shipping interests, and what may be called business policies engaged Mr. Dingley's close study and attention through all his public life; and in the treatment of these matters his usefulness in Congress was universally recognized. As chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the Fifty-fourth Congress, Mr. Dingley identified his name with the tariff law which is now in force. He was also reputed to be the chief author of the war revenue bill of last year. He was serving at the time of his death as a member of the Quebec Joint Commission.

*Obituary
Notes.*

Our obituary record this month contains the names of an unusually large number of Americans of eminence. Besides Senator Morrill and Mr. Dingley, the world of affairs at Washington has lost one of its most familiar figures in the person of Señor Romero, the Mexican ambassador, who had served in that place so long as to have become in the best sense a citizen of two countries, honored and loved in both. Mr. John Russell Young, the librarian of Congress—distinguished as a journalist and as a former American minister in China, and as the chronicler, also, of General Grant's trip around the world—passed away on January 17. Dr. John B. Hamilton, formerly the surgeon-general of the United States Marine Hospital Service, and more lately active in medical practice, medical journalism and education, and the medical direction of public institutions at Chicago, died late in December at the age of fifty-one. Prof. Jonathan B. Turner, founder of the University of Illinois and one of the builders of that commonwealth, had attained the great age of ninety-three.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From December 21, 1898, to January 20, 1899.)

THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN—PROCEEDINGS CONNECTED WITH THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF CUBA, PORTO RICO, AND THE PHILIPPINES.

December 21.—Cuba having been freed from Spanish rule, the Cuban Junta in the United States is dissolved....The Fourth Virginia Regiment arrives in Havana.

December 23.—At a joint session of the American and Spanish commissioners in Havana the details are arranged for the formal transfer of the control of that city and for the government of Spanish troops unable to leave the island for lack of transportation facilities....Orders are sent from Washington to General Otis, in command of the United States troops at Manila, to send a force to Iloilo, capital of Panay, P. I., where the Spanish troops are besieged by the insurgents....Commander Taussig, of the *Bennington*, is ordered to take possession, in the name of the United States, of Wake Island for use as a cable station in connecting the Philippines, Hawaii, and the United States.

December 24.—Iloilo, on the island of Panay, is evacuated by the Spanish General Rios.

December 26.—The Philippine insurgents take possession of Iloilo before the arrival of a detachment of United States troops under General Carpenter sent by General Otis from Manila.



THE LATE REPRESENTATIVE DINGLEY, OF MAINE.

December 27.—As a result of street disorders in Havana 3 persons are killed and 29 wounded; the civil governor issues an order forbidding the shooting of firearms or exploding of firecrackers....Instructions from President McKinley regarding the American

policy in the Philippines are transmitted to General Otis for promulgation at Manila.

December 29.—President McKinley issues an order regulating the Cuban currency system....General Lawton is ordered to duty in the Philippines as second in command to General Otis.



Photo by Bell.

THE LATE SENATOR MORRILL, OF VERMONT.

December 30.—United States troops to the number of about 3,000 sail for Cuba from Charleston, S. C., the force including the Sixth Ohio and Twelfth New York Volunteers and the First Infantry, with Generals Bates and Sanger.

December 31.—Orders are issued creating four new military departments in Cuba—namely, Pinar del Rio, Matanzas, Santa Clara, and Puerto Principe; Brig.-Gen. George W. Davis is assigned to the command of Pinar del Rio, Maj.-Gen. James H. Wilson to Matanzas, Maj.-Gen. J. C. Bates to Santa Clara, and Brig.-Gen. L. H. Carpenter to Puerto Principe.

January 1.—Formal cession of Spanish sovereignty in Cuba to the United States is made at Havana.

January 2.—Orders are issued for the speedy sailing

of the six regiments of infantry designated for service in the Philippines.

January 7.—Aguinaldo, leader of the Philippine insurgents, issues a proclamation in Manila protesting against the American occupation of the Philippines, alleging that American promises of independence have been violated, denouncing President McKinley's instructions to General Otis, and calling on the Filipinos to continue the struggle for liberty....The gunboats *Princeton* and *Yorktown* are ordered to Manila.

January 10.—Representatives of the United States and of the Philippine insurgents, respectively, hold an important conference in Manila on questions of policy in the islands.

January 11.—Prominent Cubans are appointed to office in Havana by General Ludlow; Perfecto Lacoste is named as mayor.

January 13.—The mayor and city council of San Juan, Porto Rico, resign office because of inability to raise funds under the present tariffs and dissatisfaction with the action of the American military government.

January 14.—Capt. Richard P. Leary, U. S. N., is assigned to duty as military governor of the island of Guam and commander of the United States naval station to be established there.

January 16.—General Brooke announces the appointment of Domingo Mendez Capote, Pablo Desvernine, José Antonio Gonzales Lanuza, and Adolfo Saenz Yanez as advisers to the Cuban administration; General Ludlow appoints E. W. Conant, Leopold Causio, S. M. Jarvis, M. Villanova, J. N. Casanova, and George W. Hyatt on a commission to inquire into the finances of Havana....President Schurman, of Cornell University, accepts an appointment on President McKinley's commission to visit the Philippines; it is announced that the other members of the commission will be Admiral Dewey, General Otis, Prof. Dean C. Worcester, and Col. Charles Denby.

January 19.—The United States transport *Grant*, with the Fourth Infantry and a battalion of the Seventeenth Infantry, sails from New York for Manila.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS.

January 4.—Both branches reassemble after the holiday recess....In the Senate the treaty of peace with Spain is received from President McKinley and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations....The House considers a new code of laws for Alaska....Both branches adjourn out of respect for the memory of the late Senator Morrill, of Vermont.

January 5.—The House continues debate on the Alaska code.

January 6.—The Senate adopts a resolution offered by Mr. Hoar (Rep., Mass.), asking the President for the instructions given to the peace commissioners....The House, in committee of the whole, by a vote of 67 to 61, strikes out of the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill the appropriation for the Civil Service Commission salaries.

January 7.—The Senate passes the District of Columbia appropriation bill....The House resumes consideration of the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill.

January 9.—Mr. Hoar (Rep., Mass.) speaks against expansion and the ratification of the treaty with Spain; a reply is made by Mr. Platt (Rep., Conn.).

January 11.—In the Senate the treaty with Spain is favorably reported by the Foreign Relations Committee; the question of extending American sovereignty over the Philippines is debated....The House passes the codification of criminal laws for Alaska, with an amendment providing a high-license system, with a kind of local option.

January 12.—The Senate begins debate of peace treaty in executive session....The House passes the diplomatic and consular appropriation bill (\$1,705,533).

January 13.—The House begins consideration of the naval personnel bill.

January 14.—Both branches adopt resolutions of sorrow for the death of Representative Dingley and adjourn as a mark of respect for his memory....In the Senate Mr. Hoar (Rep., Mass.) offers a resolution declaring that the people of the Philippine Islands of right ought to be free and independent.

January 16.—In the Senate Mr. Ross (Rep., Vt.) is sworn in as the successor to the late Senator Morrill....In the House funeral services over the body of Representative Dingley are held.

January 17.—The Senate, by a vote of 9 to 38, rejects an amendment to the Nicaragua Canal bill providing that the United States shall have absolute control of the canal for military or naval purposes, with power to dictate its use during war; a provision is inserted that not more than \$5,000,000 shall be paid to the Maritime



THE LATE SEÑOR DON MATIAS ROMERO.
(Mexican ambassador to the United States.)

Canal Company....The House passes the naval personnel bill, with amendments.

January 18.—The Senate, by a vote of 32 to 22, lays on the table the substitute offered by Mr. Caffery (Dem., La.) for the Nicaragua Canal bill, providing for the construction and ownership of the canal by the United States, and defeats, by a vote of 15 to 32, the substitute

offered by Mr. Gear (Rep., Iowa) authorizing the purchase of necessary territory and appropriating \$140,000,000 for the construction of the canal.

January 19.—The Senate confirms the nomination of Joseph H. Choate to be ambassador to Great Britain....The House considers the post-office appropriation bill.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

December 21.—President McKinley appoints Ethan Allen Hitchcock, now serving as ambassador to Russia, Secretary of the Interior, to succeed Cornelius N. Bliss, resigned....Preliminary orders are issued for the mustering out of 50,000 United States volunteers within a month.

January 2.—Governor Roosevelt, of New York, is inaugurated....Legislatures meet in California, Montana, and Tennessee.

January 3.—The Democrats in the Tennessee Legislature unanimously renominate United States Senator Bate....Legislatures meet in Delaware, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, and Pennsylvania....The national committee of the Democratic party decides that the issue of free silver at 16 to 1 must be upheld in the campaign of 1900.

January 4.—One-third of the Republican members of the Pennsylvania Legislature refuse to enter the caucus which renominates Senator Quay....Legislatures meet in Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island.

January 5.—Legislatures meet in Idaho and Indiana.

January 9.—Legislatures meet in Arkansas, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, and Washington.

January 10.—The Republican members of the Indiana Legislature nominate Albert J. Beveridge for United States Senator on the eleventh ballot....The Republican members of the Massachusetts Legislature renominate Senator Lodge....John Kean is nominated for United States Senator by the Republicans of the New Jersey Legislature....The California Legislature begins balloting for Senator....Serious charges of bribery are made in the Montana Legislature in connection with the contest between Marcus Daly and William A. Clark for the United States Senatorship....Legislatures meet in Kansas, New Jersey, South Carolina, and Wyoming.

January 11.—The West Virginia Legislature meets....Governor Smith, of Vermont, appoints Chief Judge Jonathan Ross (Rep.) to fill out the unexpired term of the late Senator Morrill....The Republicans of the Connecticut Legislature renominate Senator Hawley after a protracted fight.

January 12.—The New York Republican legislative caucus unanimously nominates Chauncey M. Depew for United States Senator....Governor Roosevelt, of New York, nominates Col. John N. Partridge for superintendent of public works....Commissary-General Eagan, testifying before the commission investigating the conduct of the war, denies the charge that bad beef was furnished to the army and makes a bitter personal attack on General Miles.

January 16.—The War Department investigating commission having declined to receive Commissary-General Eagan's testimony as first presented, General Eagan returns his statement to the commission with the abusive language stricken out.

January 17.—Chauncey M. Depew (Rep.) in New York and Albert J. Beveridge (Rep.) in Indiana are formally elected United States Senators; Senators Hawley (Rep., Conn.), Hale (Rep., Maine), Lodge (Rep., Mass.), Davis (Rep., Minn.), and Cockrell (Dem., Mo.) are chosen as their own successors; ballots are taken without choice



THE LATE JOHN RUSSELL YOUNG.
(Librarian of Congress.)

in the Legislatures of West Virginia, Nebraska, California, Washington, Montana, North Dakota, and Utah....President McKinley orders the court-martial for Commissary-General Eagan.

January 18.—Senator Burrows (Rep., Mich.) is chosen to succeed himself....On the first ballot for United States Senator in the Pennsylvania Legislature Senator Quay receives 112 votes—13 less than the number necessary to elect....The Democrats of the West Virginia Legislature nominate John T. McGraw for United States Senator....Commissary-General Eagan is relieved from duty; a detail of officers for the court-martial to try him for conduct unbecoming an officer in his attack on General Miles is announced.

January 19.—The Republicans of the West Virginia Legislature nominate Commissioner of Internal Revenue N. B. Scott for United States Senator....A "field caucus" of Republican members of the North Dakota Legislature nominate P. J. McCumber for United States Senator....After nineteen ballots the caucus of Republican members of the Wisconsin Legislature fails to make a nomination for United States Senator.



Photo by Hollinger.

REV. DR. NEWELL DWIGHT HILLIS.

(Called from the pastorate of Central Church, Chicago, to succeed the Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott as pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn.)

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

December 21.—The anti-anarchist conference in Rome closes its sessions.... The French Government asks the Chamber of Deputies for a supplementary grant of 12,200,000 francs to be expended on the colonies.

December 22.—The French Government decides to hand the Dreyfus secret *dossier* to the Court of Cassation; street disorders occur in Toulouse between the pro-Dreyfus and anti-Dreyfus factions.

December 23.—The Cape Parliament is prorogued till March 3, 1899.

December 25.—Penny postage is in effect throughout the British empire, with the exceptions of Australasia and Cape Colony.

December 27.—The Dreyfus secret *dossier* is communicated to the Court of Cassation.

December 29.—King Humbert (of Italy) signs a decree of partial amnesty for prisoners condemned both by civil and military tribunals.

December 31.—The Austro-Hungarian *Ausgleich* is renewed for six months by imperial rescript.

January 2.—King Charles of Portugal opens the legislative chambers.

January 6.—Baron Curzon assumes the viceroyalty of India at Calcutta.

January 10.—A socialist editor is sentenced at Magde-

burg, Germany, to forty-nine months' imprisonment on a charge of *lèse majesté*.

January 12.—The German army bill is introduced in the Reichstag.... A vote of confidence in the government is passed by the French Chamber of Deputies (423 to 124).

January 16.—The French Chamber of Deputies postpones for a month (by a vote of 423 to 74) the Dreyfus-Picquart discussion.

January 17.—An election riot in the county of Arad, Hungary, results in the death of 16 rioters and 10 soldiers.... In the Irish elections the labor party is unusually successful.

January 18.—Plans are proposed in the Swedish Parliament for increasing the national defenses.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

December 21.—Prince George of Greece arrives in Crete as high commissioner, escorted by the flagships of the four powers.

December 22.—United States Minister Conger, at Peking, China, protests against the extension of French jurisdiction at Shanghai.

December 26.—The Ameer of Afghanistan complains to the Indian government of native raids into Afghan territory.... The squadrons of the powers are withdrawn from Crete.

December 29.—Conditions in the Transvaal are reported as disquieting.

December 30.—The extradition treaty between the United States and Brazil is ratified by the Brazilian Parliament.

December 31.—Chief Justice Chambers, of the Samoan Supreme Court, decides in favor of the claims of Malietoa Tanus to the kingship, declaring that Mataafa is barred by the treaty of Berlin.

January 1.—Followers of Mataafa, claimant to the Samoan kingship, ambush and defeat the followers of Malietoa Tanus and Tamasese and burn the town of Upolu; no foreigners are injured; the defeated chiefs and Chief Justice Chambers, with his family, seek refuge on the British warship *Porpoise*; the American, English, and German consuls later recognize a provisional government set up by Mataafa, with President Raffel, of the municipal council, as head, pending the receipt of instructions from the powers; Raffel and the German consul then close the Supreme Court and claim all powers vested in them; the American and British consuls protest and appeal to the captain of the *Porpoise*, who lands a force of blue-jackets, and under their protection Chief Justice Chambers takes his seat; Mataafa holds aloof during these developments.

January 3.—A treaty of alliance between Russia and Afghanistan is reported as signed.

January 5.—The Canadian-American commission resumes its sessions in Washington.

January 6.—Correspondence relating to French attacks on British trade in Madagascar is made public.... United States Minister Conger notifies his government that the Chinese Government refuses French demands for extension of jurisdiction at Shanghai.

January 10.—President McKinley nominates Charlemagne Tower, of Pennsylvania, to be ambassador to Russia, and Addison C. Harris, of Indiana, to be minister to Austria-Hungary.

January 11.—Joseph H. Choate, of New York, is nominated to be ambassador to Great Britain.

January 13.—The German Government makes official denial that it is aiding the Filipinos.

January 19.—The United States cruiser *Philadelphia* is ordered to Samoa for the protection of American interests there....A convention between Great Britain and Egypt as to the government of the reconquered provinces of the Soudan is signed at Cairo.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

December 24.—It is announced that a contract for 80,000 tons of steel rails for the Eastern Chinese Railroad has been awarded to American bidders.

December 27.—Dr. Becquerel announces to the French Academy of Sciences the discovery of a new chemical element, having a close affinity to barium and named "radium" by its discoverers, M^{rs}. Curie and Bremona.

December 28.—The fall of a part of a mountain partially buries the village of Airolo, Switzerland.

December 31.—The Assabet Manufacturing Company of Boston, one of the largest woolen manufacturing concerns in the United States, makes an assignment....Funeral services over the body of Senator Morrill are held in the Senate chamber at Washington.

January 1.—Emperor William of Germany confers the order of the Black Eagle upon Herr Adolph Menzel, the artist.

January 5.—In a collision between British and French steamers in the English Channel 12 lives are lost.

January 6.—The explosion of a boiler in a shipbuilding establishment at Barking, near London, Eng., causes the loss of many lives....The corner-stone of the Gordon Memorial College at Khartoum is laid by Lord Cromer....The Rev. Dr. Lucien Lee Kinsolving is consecrated, in New York, as the first Protestant Episcopal bishop of Brazil.

January 9.—It is announced that the American Steel and Wire Company has obtained control of the Washburn & Moen Company, with a capital of \$4,000,000, thus practically securing a monopoly of the wire business in the United States....The carbon-manufacturing concerns of the United States are consolidated in one company with a capital stock of \$10,000,000....In a collision on the Lehigh Valley Railroad in New Jersey 16 persons are killed and about 20 injured.

January 14.—The New York Auto-Truck Company and the International Air-Power Company are incorporated in New Jersey with a combined capital of \$17,000,000....The White Star Line steamer *Oceanic*, the largest ship ever built, is launched at Belfast.

January 15.—The Central Labor Union and the Central Labor Federation, of New York, are dissolved and a new organization, the General Federated Union, said to represent nearly 100,000 men, is formed.

January 16.—The Rev. Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis, of Chicago, is called to the pastorate of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., to succeed Dr. Lyman Abbott.

OBITUARY.

December 22.—Sebastian Bach Mills, the composer and pianist, 60.

December 23.—Edward F. Lawrence, a prominent Chicago capitalist, 63.

December 24.—Dr. John B. Hamilton, formerly surgeon-general of the United States Marine Hospital Service, 51....Ronald T. McDonald, a Fort Wayne (Ind.) capitalist, 50....Ex-Congressman Ithamar C. Sloan, of Wisconsin, 76....Most Rev. Thomas Nulty, D.D., Roman Catholic bishop of Meath, Ireland, 79....Stephen A. Morse, American inventor of mechanical tools, 72....Maj. Frederick H. Smith, noted engineer and bridge builder, 60.

December 26.—Serenio E. Todd, author of the "Young Farmers' Manual" and contributor to agricultural journals, 78.

December 27.—Robert R. McBurney, an active promoter of the Y. M. C. A., 61....Mrs. Isabel A. Mallon ("Ruth Ashmore"), a well-known writer for young women, 36....Ex-Gov. John P. Cochran, of Delaware, 90....Dr. Isaac Lewis Peet, of the New York Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, 74....Recorder Henry Bezou, of New Orleans, La., 73.

December 28.—Senator Justin Smith Morrill, of Vermont, 89....Judge Howard J. Reeder, of Easton, Pa., 55.

December 29.—Ex-Judge Frederick Carroll Brewster, of Philadelphia, 75....Rev. Bartholomew Price, master of Pembroke College, Oxford, 80.

December 30.—Matias Romero, Mexican ambassador to the United States, 62....George Ingram Barnett, one of the pioneer architects of St. Louis, Mo., 84.

January 1.—Ex-Gov. William H. Smith, of Alabama, 72....Judge William Paterson, of New Jersey, 81....Dr. Charles F. Guillon, a retired surgeon of the United States navy, 88.

January 4.—M. Aimé Marie Edouard Hervé, editor of the *Soleil*, of Paris, 64.

January 5.—Prof. Ezra Otis Kendall, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania, a distinguished mathematician, 82....Haine Isermann, the sculptor, of Chicago, 70....J. L. Bardwell, one of the pioneers of California, 67.

January 6.—Rev. Dr. Moses Drury Hoge, of Richmond, Va., 80.

January 8.—Ex-Congressman Thomas Ringland Stockdale, of Mississippi, 71.

January 10.—Prof. Jonathan B. Turner, founder of the University of Illinois, 93....Ex-Congressman William A. Russell, of Massachusetts, 68.

January 12.—Count Jules von Falkenhayn, formerly Austrian minister of agriculture, 70....Richard Gowing, English journalist and secretary of the Cobden Club, 68.

January 13.—Nelson Dingley, of Maine, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and leader of the Republican members of the House of Representatives, 67.

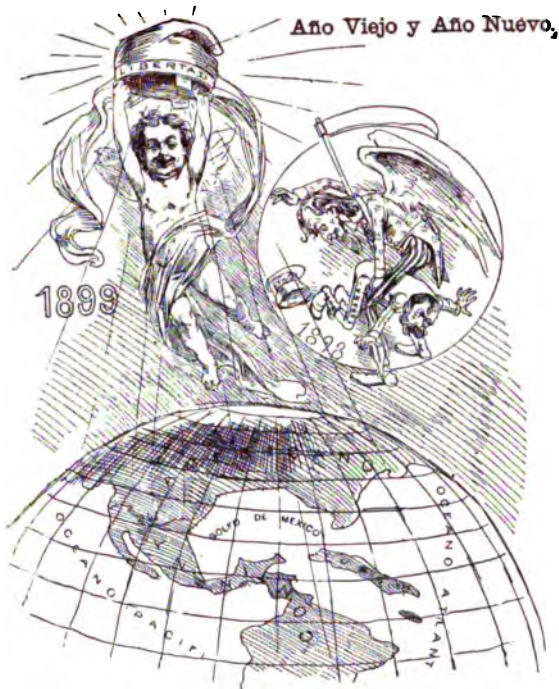
January 14.—Nubar Pacha, former president of the Egyptian Council of Ministers.

January 16.—Rev. Dr. Charles Chiniquy, a noted convert from the Roman Catholic Church to Protestantism, 90.

January 17.—John Russell Young, librarian of Congress, 57....Maj. Jed. Hotchkiss, "Stonewall" Jackson's chief of staff of engineers, 71.

January 19.—Prof. Henry A. Nicholson, of the University of Aberdeen, 54.

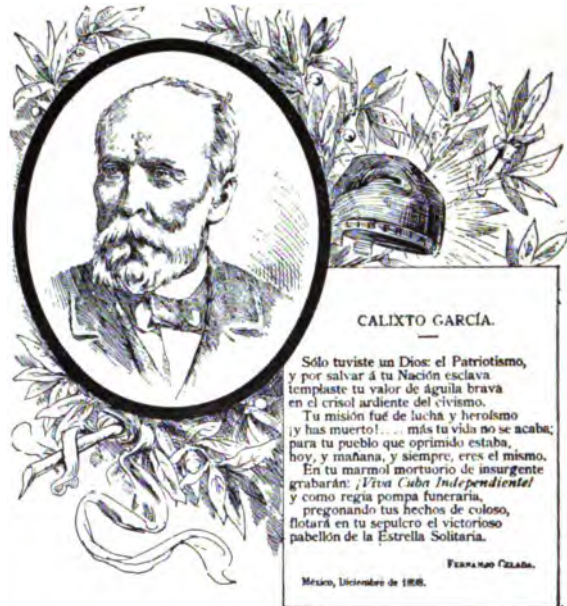
CURRENT HISTORY IN CARTOONS.



THE OLD YEAR AND THE NEW.
From *El Hijo del Ahutzote* (Mexico).

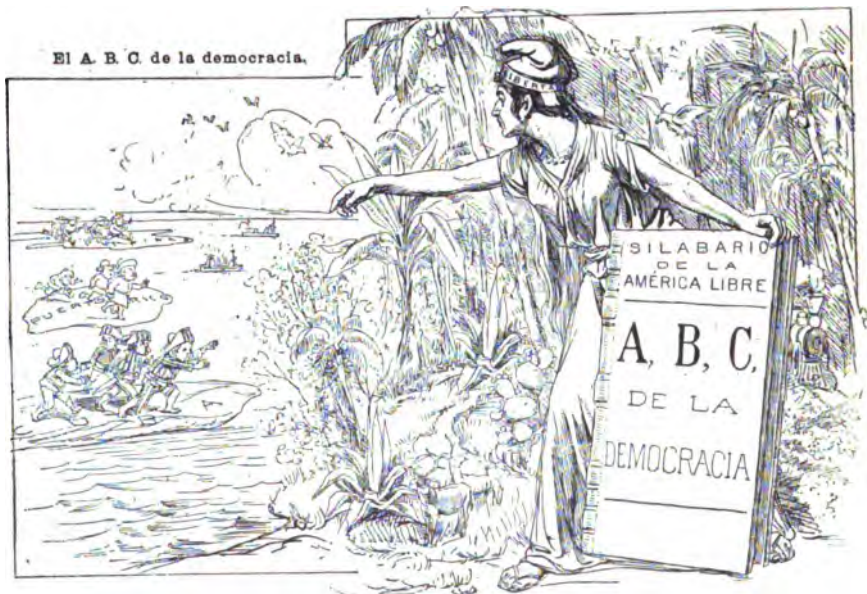
CALIXTO GARCÍA

Muerto en Wampover el día 11 de Diciembre de 1900.



A TRIBUTE TO GARCÍA.
From *El Hijo del Ahutzote* (Mexico).

OF all the journals published in this or any other country, none has shown a finer appreciation of the nature and motives of our war against Spain than has that most Mexican of all Mexican papers, *El Hijo del Ahutzote*. The three drawings on this page, all reproduced from late copies of that paper, are self-explanatory. The year 1899 marks the full advent of liberty throughout the Western world, and the personified figure of liberty offers the elements of democracy to the islands of the sea. A deserved tribute is paid to the late General García as one of the heroes of American freedom.



AMERICA'S NEW PRIMARY SCHOOL IN DEMOCRACY.—From *El Hijo del Ahutzote* (Mexico).

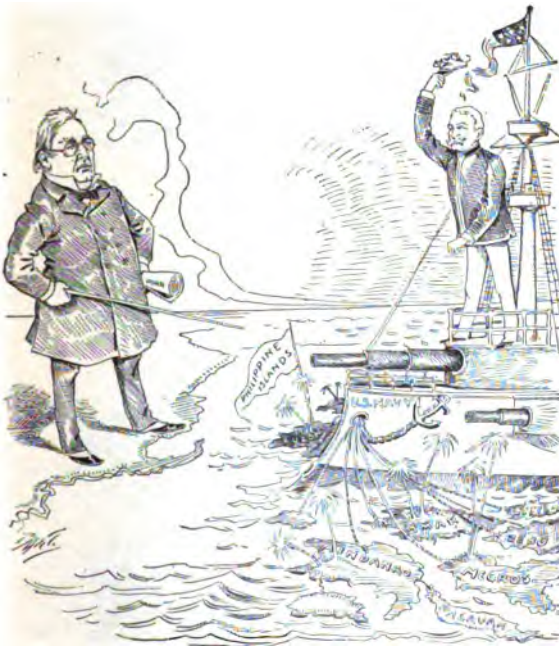


AND SHE KNOWS.

"LIL" to "AGGY": "Say, chile, if my fren' Grover was jus' President you'd hab a cinch."

From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

The anti-expansionists, so called, do not get much comfort from the cartoonists. "Bart," in the *Minneapolis Journal*, has been particularly satirical, as witness three cartoons on this page. Mr. Davenport, of the *New York Journal*, also views Uncle Sam's position in the Philippines with entire calmness.



DONE GONE EXPANDED.

GEORGE WASHINGTON DEWEY TO GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR: "I cannot tell a lie, gran'ther. I took them with my little cruiser. We've already got them. The question is, What are we going to do with them? Don't think you mentioned that."—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED.

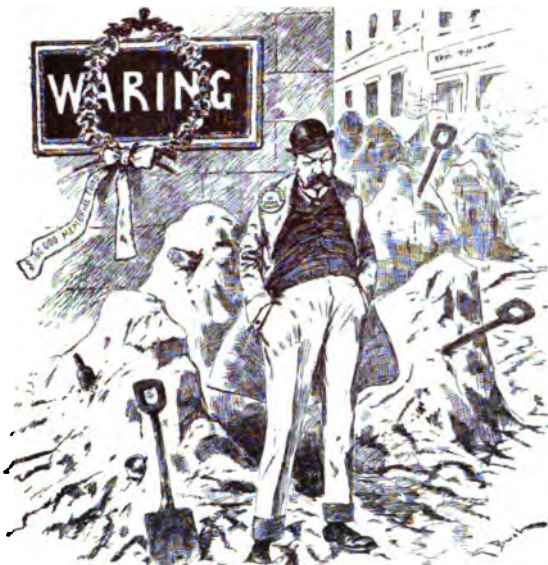
SMALL BOY: "Hold on, here, mamma! That's unconstitutional and opposed to that vital principle of the Declaration of Independence that spankers derive their just power from the consent of the spanked."

From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



HOW SHARPER THAN A SERPENT'S TOOTH TO HAVE A THANKLESS CHILD.

AGUINALDO: "Get out, you old stiff. I won this war myself."—From the *Journal* (New York).



NEW YORK'S "ANIMUS."—From the *World* (New York).



"ENOUGH OF THIS! DROP THOSE KNIVES!"
From the *World* (New York).



UNCLE SAM TO AGUINALDO: "Now, Aggy, stop your noise, and be a nice boy and play with your little sisters."

From the *Journal* (New York).



THE PASSING OF SPAIN, 1492-1898.
From the *World* (New York).

New Yorkers, who have had a winter of slushy streets, have raised a Waring memorial fund of a hundred thousand dollars. But the best tribute to Colonel Waring will be the complete sanitary reconstruction of Havana. Uncle Sam has stood between Cuban and Spaniard in the trying days of evacuation—an idea well expressed by Mr. Bush, of the *World*. Our Mexican cartoonist gives a striking picture of the delivery of Havana by Spain to America, and Mr. Bush, in a well-conceived cartoon, represents the last homeward voyage of Spain from the western hemisphere.



JANUARY 1, 1898—THE TRANSFER OF HAVANA.—From *El Hijo del Ahutzote* (Mexico).



AN AMERICAN BULL-FIGHTER.

Commissary-General Eagan would brand Miles' bad beef charges as a lie.—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

The Eagan-Miles-Alger-War Department wrangle has, of course, given the American cartoonists as much of an opportunity for the moment as the French army scandals have given European cartoonists for more than a year past. Mr. Nelan, of the *Herald*, in a clever little cartoon, presents the Frenchman as shocked when reading about the American army scandal, while Uncle Sam shows pious horror as he reads of the Dreyfus case. Bush, Nelan, Davenport, and "Bart" on this page have each indulged in a fling on the recent performance of the commissary-general.



"HOW SHOCKING!"—From the *Herald* (New York).



ALGER: "How did it taste?"

SHAFTER: "Finest beef I ever ate."

General Eagan, in his statement to the war board, said that General Shafter frequently expressed himself thus.

From the *Journal* (New York).



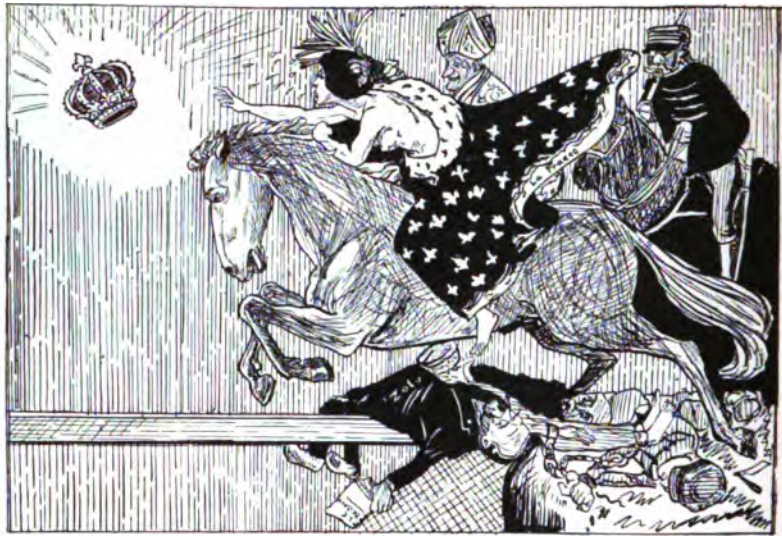
"YOU DIRTY BOY!"—From the *World* (New York).



A USEFUL PRESIDENTIAL PREROGATIVE.

From the *Herald* (New York).

The uneasiness of French politics continues to be a leading theme of the European cartoonists, many of whom are pointing to the prospect of a monarchical revolution. The varied nature of such cartoons is well illustrated on the present page, where a German artist represents the French republic as engaged in a mad race for a crown, while one French artist depicts the revision of the Dreyfus case as an explosive bomb, and another attempts to make it out that the present régime imposes upon the plain man at the plow a three-fold greater burden than that which he bore before the Revolution of 1789.



THE RACE OF THE REPUBLIC FOR THE CROWN.—From *Der Wahre Jacob* (Stuttgart).

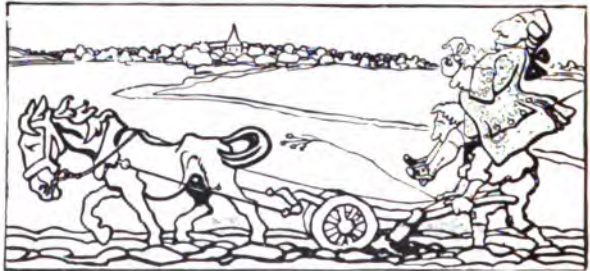


FIRE!—From *Psst* (Paris).

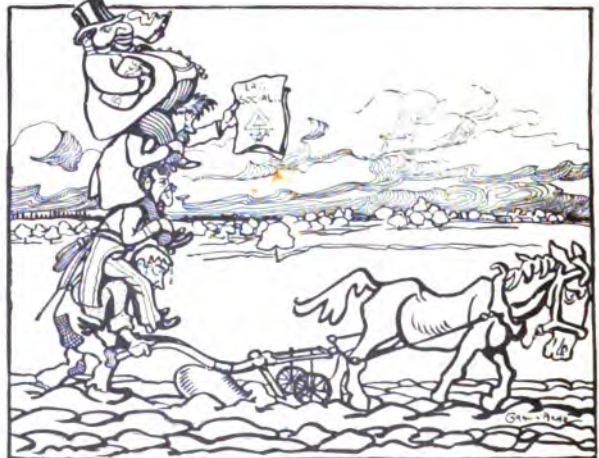


THE FRENCH CROMWELL.—From *Moonshine* (London).

THE WAR DEPARTMENT: "Take away that bauble."



AS IT WAS IN FRANCE BEFORE 1789.



AS IT IS IN FRANCE TO-DAY.—From *Psst* (Paris).



THE DECLARATION OF WAR.

"Kindly excuse me. Does the King reside here? The declaration of war should be delivered him here."

"I am very sorry, but you must come again at some other time. We can't go in for any war to-day; the King is away on his holidays."—From *Simplicissimus* (Berlin).

living by perpetrating such mild ironies on public characters. German manufactures may indeed be in a very prosperous condition at present; but Germany will not be a pleasant country to live in so long as serious journalists and writers, like Professor Delbrück, are sent to prison for arguing against such bad policies as the expulsion of the Danes.



THE MODERN CRUSADER.

GERMAN EMPEROR: "Are you sure the way is quite safe?"
SULTAN: "You're quite safe with me. Have you forgotten the Armenian massacres?"—From *Fun* (London).



WILLIAM THE SILENT.

"Just look up what that is—No. 1545."

"That is William the Silent."

"Nonsense! That he couldn't be."—From *Simplicissimus*.



PALESTINA.

GODFREY DE BOUILLON: "Don't laugh so much, Barba-rossa. Our crusades, too, were really purposeless."
From *Simplicissimus*.

AGUINALDO: A CHARACTER SKETCH.

WHEN any man holding a high position is praised on the one side and abused on the other he generally is a person of more than average ability. When the praise and the abuse divide the reading public of a dozen civilized countries, he may be justly regarded as a character of considerable historical importance. The personages who have passed through this ordeal in the present century include Napoleon Bonaparte, Disraeli, Gladstone, Louis Napoleon, and—greatest of all—Bismarck. To this list may now be added the name of the great Filipino insurgent Aguinaldo.

If it is difficult for one to form a just judgment upon a character belonging to another nation, it is much more difficult to form one upon a

roughly one must understand the Philippines thoroughly. To do this with existing information is exceedingly difficult. It is therefore more difficult to make a correct and complete analysis of the man.

The intricate conditions are visible in his appearance. His complexion is about half way between the reddish-brown of the Malay and the olive of the Spaniard. There is a yellowish tinge about it which, taken in connection with his forehead, would lead one to infer that a modicum of Chinese blood flowed in his veins, and that in his pedigree was some individual of Igorrote-Chinese or of Tagalo-Chinese characteristics. Upon this point it will be difficult, if not impossible, ever to learn the exact truth. So deep has been the moral mire of the Philippines under Spanish rule, so universal the immorality of the dominant race, that neither the civil nor religious authorities have ever cared to keep any record of the alliances and misalliances, the births legitimate and illegitimate, the wives, concubines, and mistresses, slaves and abducted women who have filled the long years of Spanish rule. It is only of late years that the Tagals, both pure and half bred, have been permitted to use Castilian names, and then, as though the spirit of grim Gothic humor had permeated the official mind at Manila, the brown men and the brown-white men were allowed to take the best names in Spanish history and literature. No bureaucrat and no parish priest saw the sardonic irony of a half-breed calling himself Aguinaldo, Cervantes, De Vega, Agramonte, Calderon, Legaspi, De Leon, and De Soto. For humor the practice surpassed that which prevailed in our own country before the war, when every plantation saw in living bronze Julius Cæsar, Pompey, Scipio Africanus, Cleopatra, and Epaminondas.

In his features, face, and skull Aguinaldo looks more like a European than a Malay. He is what would be called a handsome man, and might be compared with many young men in the province of Andalusia, Spain. If there be truth in phrenology he is a man above the common. The zone of the skull, which indicates mentality, is well developed for a European—abnormally large for a Malay. The moral zone is of medium development, and the animal or cerebellar zone is comparatively small, with the exception of the reach over the ears, indicating destructiveness and cruelty.

The phrenologist would be borne out by the



AGUINALDO AS HE APPEARED SOME YEARS AGO WHEN SERVING IN THE CHINESE NAVY.

character belonging to another race. The mere fact that Aguinaldo is a *demisang* of Hispanio-Tagal ancestry would be enough to complicate any opinion. But to this must be added that he belongs to a community which for more than three hundred years has undergone a political, civil, and ecclesiastical tyranny of the most pronounced type. To understand Aguinaldo thor-

consensus of those who know him. Friends and enemies agree that he is intelligent, ambitious, far-sighted, brave, self-controlled, honest, moral, vindictive, and at times cruel. He possesses the quality which friends call wisdom and enemies call craft. According to those who like him he is courteous, polished, thoughtful, and dignified; according to those who dislike him he is insincere, pretentious, vain, and arrogant. Both admit him to be genial, generous, self-sacrificing, popular, and capable in the administration of affairs. If the opinion of his foes be accepted he is one of the greatest Malays on the page of history. If the opinion of his friends be taken as the criterion he is one of the great men of history irrespective of race.

Like all great men he has had a very checkered career. The facts which are known to all residents of the Philippines are altogether out of the usual run, and in addition to these myth and rumor have already begun to weave strange tissues about his figure. He claims to have been born in the province of Cavite, and at any rate it was in this province that he was first known as a little boy. His friends say that he was the son of a Spanish general; his enemies in Manila that he was the offspring of a dissolute but learned Jesuit. At the age of four he was a house-boy in the home of a Jesuit priest in Cavite. A house-boy in the Philippines, as in China, plays the part of a house-dog rather than that of a domestic servant. If the head of the house is cruel he is kicked and cuffed by everybody and lives on short commons; if his master is kind and affectionate he enjoys about the same attention as one of the children of the family. The only work which he does is to run from one part of the house to the other or from the house to any part of the grounds within the compound or space inclosed by the walls around the entire establishment. He helps the table-boy to clean the silver, to scour the knives, and to set and unset the table. Aguinaldo's master was a very kind man and took a deep interest in the welfare of his little *protégé*. He dressed him well, so much so as to excite the notice and even the wrath of some neighbors. More important still, he gave the boy an education, which, though unequal to what every child receives in the United States, was a hundredfold better than what is bestowed upon the little Tagals of Luzon.

The policy of Spain for years, if not for the entire period of its dominion in the Philippines, has been to keep the people in comparative ignorance and to preserve the semi-savage, dissociated tribal system which prevailed at the time of the conquest by Legaspi. Not 3 per cent. of the population can read or write. Books are almost

as scarce as diamonds, and the few that are found in a little town are chiefly lives of the saints and stories of the miracles wrought in the many islands of the archipelago. Aguinaldo was an apt scholar. He was precocious like the Malay, am-



EMILIO AGUINALDO.

(From a recent photograph taken at Yokohama.)

bitious like the Caucasian, and he had a memory like that of the Chinaman—the greatest memory possessed by man. At the age of seven he was the equal of most half-breed boys of twelve, and at ten he was mentally the superior of most of the Tagals and half-breeds of the district.

When he was fourteen or fifteen he was enrolled in the medical department of the Pontifical University of Manila, under Professors Nalda and Buitrago. He was a bright student, but nothing is known of his college career. Shortly after this time he committed what is an unpardonable sin, both secular and religious, in the Philippines by joining the Masonic Order. Masonry was a prohibited thing in the Philippines under Spanish rule, and any man joining the organization might under an ancient law be tortured and executed. About this time (in 1888) he had some trouble with the authorities and went to Hong Kong, where there was a fair-sized colony of Philippine exiles and also of Filipinos who had crossed the China Sea in business

enterprises. Here he obtained his first knowledge of the great world outside of the narrow Spanish civilization in which he had been brought up. He attended the drills and parades of the British garrisons, frequented the gunshops on Queen's Road, purchased firearms for his own use, and in every way tried to increase his fund of practical knowledge. According to report he crossed over into Kowloon and served a short time in the Chinese army, and there finding that nothing more could be learned from the corrupt mandarins who officered the troops, but never drilled them, he obtained his discharge and joined the crew of a Chinese warship which had some European instructors. He met the late Captain McGiffin and is said to have served under him several months. Whether these rumors be true or not, one thing is clear: during his stay in Hong Kong and that neighborhood he gained a wide knowledge of warfare, both military and naval, and read many works upon strategy and the campaigns of Bonaparte, Wellington, Von Moltke, and Grant; and there are numerous photographs in existence in that city of him in both soldier and sailor uniforms. During the past year he has surprised many new acquaintances with his knowledge and accurate opinions

foes say that he has a parrot-like knowledge of the tongues which he pretends to speak. At any rate, he speaks and writes admirable Spanish, French, Tagal, Visaya, and some Igorrote—the three most important native tongues in Luzon and the middle island of the archipelago.

At the breaking out of the great insurrection in 1896 Aguinaldo appears to have been holding some political position under a native politician in a provincial town. He was very popular in his own jurisdiction and treated his troops and the people of his district with great tact and consideration. He enjoyed the esteem of his superiors and was on good terms with the Spanish officials and with the Jesuits who served as schoolmasters and doctors. He was not on good terms with the Franciscans or Dominicans. One of the former order laid an information against him for being a Mason, and a member of the latter threatened to have him removed as being opposed to the interests of the Church in that part of the province. Here again Dame Rumor steps in (and with plausibility) with a story that Aguinaldo blocked both proceedings by the judicious payment of money to the officials at the capital.

With the outbreak of the revolution, which was intensified by the infamous murder of Dr. José Rizal at Manila, Aguinaldo leaped into prominence. The position which he took at the first and the rapid progress he made show strongly that he must have been an active worker in the conspiracy of which the revolution was the result. He was either a colonel or a general at the very start; and to him as to a superior the chiefs reported from other districts. Of this revolt but little has been published in the Western world. It was the result of a conspiracy, but the conspiracy itself was the result of an ever more crushing tyranny on the part of the Church and state. In the latter part of the 80s there had been a deficiency in the revenues, and to make this good an old law was put into operation and extended whereby any person failing to pay his taxes would be put to forced labor by the government. No defense was permitted by the statute—neither poverty, sickness, flood, nor typhoon. It enabled the government to put many poor wretches into the control of contractors and also to extort heavier taxes from those already impoverished by government impost. So lucrative proved the practice that the Church soon desired to have its share of the plunder. A law was accordingly passed whereby the government, upon application of the Church, could donate to it so many days of forced labor on the part of non-taxpayers.

The result can be easily seen. Every grasping



THE KA-TIPUN AN.

(A rebel secret society apron captured by the Spanish during the rebellion which ended in January, 1898.)

upon the famous battles and generals of Europe and America during the present century.

Nor was his learning confined to the science of war: either at Hong Kong or in Luzon he picked up at least a smattering of Latin, French, English, and Chinese. Upon this point friends and foes clash with considerable vehemence. His friends pronounce him a fine linguist, while his

religious official immediately made requisition for forced labor. All that he was compelled to give the laborer was enough to eat and drink and sufficient shelter to protect him from the dew and the rain. The nourishment consisted of rice and vegetables at a cost of about 4 cents a day per head. As the tax and costs amounted to anywhere from \$5 to \$20 and the rate of wages 10 cents a day, the consequence was that the natives were put into a slavery more terrible than anything known in slave countries for a period ranging from two to six months. Against this abuse as well as against others Dr. Rizal wrote and spoke. His denunciation of forced labor employed by the state was pronounced treason and of forced labor employed by the Church as blasphemy; and when it was found that his pamphlet was being circulated among the people and that his doctrines were being

obtained vague rumors of the fact which they were unable to either confirm or disprove. Echaluze, one of the secretaries, a man whose high linguistic attainments made him more familiar with the Tagals than any other member of the *junta*, said that he did not believe there was one native regiment which could be trusted as a whole. Alvarez Solis, who had special charge of the southern peoples of the archipelago, declared that the people there had recovered from the defeat administered to them by General Arolas and were liable to start a new insurrection in case that in Luzon made any progress. Similar advice came from Bishop Alcocer in Cebu and from Secretary Olivares in Panay. It was therefore determined to try chicanery and bribery rather than to resort to arms. Emissaries were sent to the insurgent leaders and a proposition was made that if the revolutionaries would lay down their arms and return to their homes and the leaders leave the country the government would pay all the expenses of the proceeding, the wages of all the troops, would agree to prosecute no one involved in the uprising, and would put through all the reforms which Rizal had demanded.

Among these reforms were the abolition of forced labor by either Church or state; the taking away from the friars of the right to arrest, torture, try, imprison, and execute citizens; the reduction of the taxes upon the peasant farmers and the registration of the estates which were taxed by the state as belonging to the occupants and claimed by the Church as an owner entitled to rent from the occupants; the simplification of legal processes and the recognition of the right to immediate hearing and trial after arrest; a reduction of the power of the *gobernadorcillos*, or district governors, and of the autocratic powers held by parish priests in the rôle of political agents. Hardly one of these reforms has any meaning in the civilized countries of the present day. They are directed at feudal and ecclesiastical customs and laws which were abolished one and even two centuries ago in Europe, but which have been intact in the Philippines. The propositions of the Manila government were received by the revolutionary generals and discussed at great length. Some were in favor of accepting them; others, of a more fiery temper, advocated rejecting them and driving the Spaniards into the sea.

A third group, headed by Aguinaldo, urged their acceptance upon the condition that the Spanish Government should give some more



VICTORIA COLLEGE, HONG KONG, WHERE AGUINALDO STUDIED.

carried from district to district, he was taken out into the public square as an example and shot like a common murderer. It is worthy of notice that the revolution broke out in those districts where the abuses complained of by Dr. Rizal had reached their maximum.

The first to feel the torch and sword were the spies and those friars who had taken advantage of the law. Several who had kept men at work whose families starved in the meantime were burned alive or cut to pieces. Others had a less tragic fate, but every one who had benefited directly or indirectly by human suffering was put to death wherever the rebels could lay hands upon them. So wide was the revolution that the Spanish forces were unable to cope with it. Besides the revolution another danger and a greater one confronted the authorities at Manila. The native troops, who formed the bulk of the army, had become more or less disaffected, and the members of the *Junta de Autoridades* had

tangible guarantee than a mere oral promise or a vague and indefinite agreement in writing. The dissensions among the generals were reported to the Manila authorities, who brought all their influence to bear upon the fighting group and the Aguinaldo or diplomatic group. They employed bribery, cajolery, and every other form of persuasion, and at last prevailed.

The peace party won the day, and the agreement was entered into between the government and the rebels. The insurgents behaved very manfully and kept their agreement to the letter. They disbanded and laid down what few arms they had. The leaders left the country and went to Hong Kong and a few to Singapore. The Manila authorities violated their word in almost every respect. Instead of paying the amount of money agreed upon—over \$1,000,000, which they raised partly from the budget and partly from special taxes—they gave a small fraction to Aguinaldo in Hong Kong and put the rest in their own pockets. There was an ulterior meaning in this dishonesty, as they published the report that the entire sum had been paid over and thus induced many credulous natives to believe that Aguinaldo, Agoncillo, and other generals had been guilty of the Spanish practice of robbing the state of its funds. There was bitter quarreling in Hong Kong, and charges of embezzlement and fraud were freely made in the revolutionary councils.

The Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, one of the largest and most upright banking corporations in the world, helped to disentangle the confusion by showing that the money admitted to have been received by the Aguinaldo group was all which had been remitted by the treasurer of the Spanish executive council or *junta* at Manila. The amount claimed to have been paid by the Spanish politicians was over \$1,000,000, and the amount actually paid was in the neighborhood of \$300,000. In regard to the reforms the Spanish Government did nothing. The old abuses were kept up and if possible were made more intolerable by ultra Spanish officials and ecclesiastics. In one instance three native priests were arrested by the superior of a convent, a Spaniard, upon the charge of conspiring against the state and were tortured and maimed almost beyond recognition. When the matter was brought before the executive council it was dismissed, upon the ground that it was a case covered by the ecclesiastical charters and could not be inquired into by the civil authorities. In the disaffected districts searching-parties went from house to house looking for arms, insulting women, beating, torturing, and killing men. All who had held any official position in the insurgent



AGUINALDO IN DISGUISE DURING THE INSURRECTION OF 1896.

ranks—the writer can bear witness—were notified that their continued presence in the Philippines would be regarded as sedition, if not treason. Things went from bad to worse, and late in the autumn of 1897 Aguinaldo and his colleagues had determined to resort to arms again. The task was a difficult one on account of the disparity in naval and military strength and more especially on account of international law, which as administered to-day is a tremendous engine for continuing all political conditions in *statu quo*.

As Hong Kong is a place where human liberty is sacred and where property, no matter who the owner, is guarded with that rigorous honesty for which Great Britain is famous, it is utilized by the Spaniard as well as by the Filipino. While it was the headquarters of the insurgents on the one side it was also the headquarters of the Dominican Procuration, a powerful business corporation which directs the commercial phase of the Dominican friars in the Philippines. The Procuration is a large establishment, owns much real estate, and carries on a heavy business with the banks and with the Spanish merchants in that part of the world. It was started by the far-seeing leaders of the order for just such an event as has occurred. Long ago they perceived that their unholy rule was becoming more and more insecure, and that in the event of a successful uprising their possessions would be confiscated or destroyed. They anticipated the rainy day by establishing the Procuration under the British flag rather than under their own, which they freely admitted in Hong Kong they did not trust.

They transferred their money and credits from Manila, Iloilo, and Cebu to Hong Kong.

As the trade of the Philippines consists chiefly in the export of hemp, tobacco, and sugar, it was a simple matter to have the exchanges which came to them settled in Hong Kong rather than in Manila. At the same time it saved them the commissions, percentages, and squeezes which the Spanish officials charged the Church as they did everybody else. Thus the insurgents in Hong Kong were all the time under the surveillance of spies employed by the Spanish consul and the emissaries of the Procuration. Nevertheless, they bought rifles from the gunshop, from foreign adventurers, and from thrifty Chinese traders. They did it upon a small scale so as to escape suspicion and detection and shipped them by junks, fishing boats, and other unregistered craft.

The action of the United States in January, 1898, produced as much excitement and discussion in Hong Kong as in New York, London, or Madrid. It was a cloud very large and very dark upon the horizon, and it portended disaster and retribution to Spain. Probably no one in Washington at that time thought of the Philippine end of the question. The American ear had heard the cry of "*Cuba Libre*" so long that it was deaf to the cry of "*Filipinos Libres*" on the other side of the world. The Spaniards them-



A VIEW IN THE PHILIPPINES.

(A rustic bridge near Silangtown, Cavite Province. It was in such mountain glens as this that the rebels held their own against Spanish troops practically from time immemorial.)



SOME OF AGUINALDO'S SAVAGE FOLLOWERS.

(The photograph was given to the author of this article by Aguinaldo himself.)

selves do not seem to have perceived the possible outcome of a struggle between the two powers. Even as late as March no Spanish commander appeared to have given any attention to the defense of Luzon and the other islands against an American fleet. Aguinaldo showed remarkable foresight from the beginning. He told his colleagues and followers that the opportunity had come. He made contracts with adventurers to deliver arms in the Philippines, and he displayed extraordinary activity in personally visiting American naval officers, consular representatives, merchants, sea-captains, and private citizens. The man's whole soul was in the work, and he set an example which may be regarded with considerable admiration. He also called upon the leading English papers there and tried in every way to arouse sympathy for his people and his cause. In this work he displayed a patriotism unminged with selfishness. To one of the American naval officers in Hong Kong he said: "There will be war between your country and Spain, and in that war you can do the greatest deed in history by putting an end to Castilian tyranny in my native land. We are not ferocious savages. On the contrary, we are unspeakably

patient and docile. That we have risen from time to time is no sign of bloodthirstiness on our part, but merely of manhood resenting wrongs which it is no longer able to endure. You Americans revolted for nothing at all compared with what we have suffered. Mexico and the Spanish republics rose in rebellion and swept the Spaniard into the sea, and all their sufferings together would not equal that which occurs every day in the Philippines. We are supposed to be living under the laws and civilization of the nineteenth century, but we are really living under the practices of the Middle Ages.

"A man can be arrested in Manila, plunged into jail, and kept there twenty years without ever having a hearing or even knowing the complaint upon which he was arrested. There is no means in the legal system there of having a prompt hearing or of finding out what the charge is. The right to obtain evidence by torture is exercised by military, civil, and ecclesiastical tribunals. To this right there is no limitation, nor is the luckless witness or defendant permitted to have a surgeon, a counsel, a friend, or even a bystander to be present during the operation. As administered in the Philippines one man in every ten dies under the torture, and nothing is ever heard of him again. Everything is taxed

so that it is impossible for the thriftiest peasant farmer or shopkeeper to ever get ahead in life. The Spanish policy is to keep all trade in the hands of Spanish merchants, who come out here from the peninsula and return with a fortune. The government budget for education is no larger than the sum paid by the Hong Kong authorities for the support of Victoria College here. What little education is had in the Philippines is obtained from the good Jesuits, who, in spite of their being forbidden to practice their priestly calling in Luzon, nevertheless devote their lives to teaching their fellow-countrymen. They carry the same principle into the Church, and no matter how devout, able, or learned a Filipino or even a half-breed may be, he is not permitted to enter a religious order or ever to be more than an acolyte, sexton, or an insignificant assistant priest. The state taxes the people for the lands which it says they own, and which as a matter of fact they have owned from time immemorial, and the Church collects rent for the same land upon the pretext that it belongs to them under an ancient charter of which there is no record. Neither life nor limb, liberty, nor property have any security whatever under the Spanish administration."

Nearly all the conversations reported show.



THE "PACIFICATION" OF THE PHILIPPINES.

(Departure of Aguinaldo and his staff from Blac-na-bato, on the Bulacon River, for Hong Kong via Manila, after accepting Gen. Primo de Rivera's terms. Aguinaldo is in the center of the group and wears a helmet.)



THE "PACIFICATION" OF THE PHILIPPINES.

(Rebel chiefs in railroad car on the road to Manila to leave the country "forever," in January, 1898. Aguinaldo appears in the middle window.)

similar state of mind on the part of Aguinaldo. As war became an assured fact Aguinaldo and Consul Wildman, of Hong Kong, grew more and more intimate. It would not be fair to sit in judgment at the present time upon either of the two men; nevertheless, it is certain that either one or both made serious mistakes, if not positive blunders. Aguinaldo, Agoncillo, and the other Philippine leaders declare that Wildman promised independence to the islanders and claimed to have authority from Washington to make this promise. Wildman, on the other hand, denies the promise, and states that he merely endeavored to gain the assistance of the revolutionists against the Spaniards in the campaign that was then to come. In Hong Kong itself the understanding, according to the foreign consuls and the local press, was that an agreement had been made between the two with full knowledge or authority from the American Government. At any rate, immediately after the victory of Admiral Dewey at Manila Aguinaldo, followed in a short time by his colleagues, crossed

over to Luzon and organized the insurrection upon the biggest scale ever seen in the archipelago.

In this labor he displayed extraordinary ability marked by a personal magnetism of a very high character. In nearly every one of the twenty-six provinces of Luzon he soon had the fires of rebellion under fierce headway. In each district he picked out a leader, and for the capture of each Spanish force and garrison he outlined a rough plan of campaign. During this work he suggested the character of Napoleon Bonaparte more than of any other general of modern times. Like Bonaparte, he seemed to exert a strange fascination upon his people. Wherever he went he was followed by troops of admirers, and while other generals suffered at times he and his camp were always supplied with the choicest supplies and comforts. Nor was the feeling of more than admiration confined to the Tagals, stolid Igorotes, and half-naked Negritos. Cunning and skeptical half-breeds, and even Spaniards themselves, seemed to share in this odd hero-worship.

It was this strong personal following that enabled him to perform many extraordinary feats, such as sending messages by runners who covered a hundred miles in two days, transporting experienced native soldiers forty and fifty miles within thirty-six hours so as to assail Spanish garrisons and obtain their rifles, and finding out the treasures concealed by officials and friars. None of these things could have been done by an ordinary commander. To accomplish them demanded that intense emotion which accompanies either patriotism or strong personal loyalty.

From the time he landed up to almost 1899 he waged an incessant warfare against the Spaniard. He was of incalculable advantage to the American forces, because he did for them the detailed work which might have cost months of time and thousands of deaths by disease and privation. He must have captured 15,000 of the Spanish forces and have driven between 1,000 and 3,000 from the Camarines, Tayabas, Batangas, and Laguna to Mindoro, Panay, and Cebu. While carrying on the campaign against the Spaniards he was engaged in much diplomatic sparring with the United States officers and with political

work among his own people. In diplomacy he was superior to many of our best officers and inferior only to Merritt and to Dewey. Early in June he organized a quasi-government, selecting the officers from his own military staff, his relatives and intimate friends. On June 23, 1898, this body met and confirmed him as *generalissimo* of the Philippines and president of the revolutionary government.

The man's shrewdness is seen in the fact that although he had the power, he did not have himself appointed president or dictator of either the islands, the people, or Luzon itself. He was simply the president of the revolutionary government, and the revolutionary government consisted of the commanding officers of the revolutionary army. Practically he gave his army a civil and political phase and called it the government. Twelve days afterward—on July 5—he issued his now celebrated proclamation. In this he appointed Baldomero Aguinaldo, his cousin, secretary of war and public works; Leandro Ibarra secretary of the interior; and Mariana Trias secretary of the treasury.

The constitution of this cabinet was a radical



MILITARY CARNIVAL, JANUARY, 1898, ON THE PASEO AT MANILA.

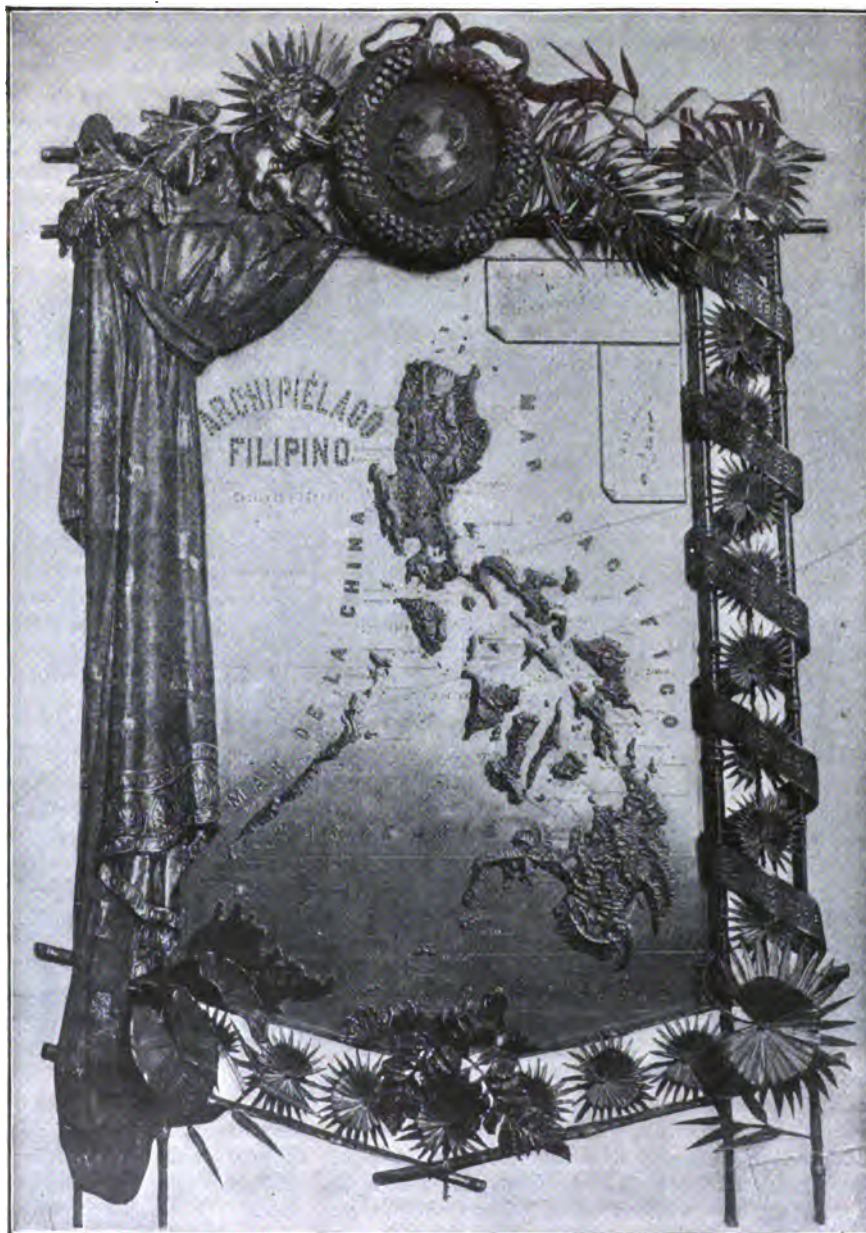
(In honor of the suppression of the rebellion and pacification of the archipelago. In the center is Gen. Primo de Rivera, who "pacified" the country and returned to Spain. The Philippines were ablaze from end to end by the time he arrived home.)

departure from the Spanish system and seems to have been an imitation of the American cabinet, with such modifications as were made necessary by local conditions. He continued the tribal system in the provinces and villages, laid down a rough code of official etiquette, and closed the state paper with directions as to insignia of office.

In this he prescribed for himself a collar of gold, a triangle badge of gold, a whistle of gold, and a cane with head and tassels of gold. This barbaric style of ornamentation may seem funny to the American reader, but it is very quiet when compared with some of the official court dresses abroad. A simple uniform would have but little meaning to an Eastern mind. The addition of silver and gold, of collars, badges, whistles, and tassels, would satisfy the artistic or barbaric instinct. For this reason the proclamation may be regarded as well adapted to the existing circumstances and to show Aguinaldo to possess a good knowledge of human nature.

On December 29 he formed his second cabinet, which displays an advance upon the first so far as the functions of government are concerned. It included the following: President of the cabinet and minister of foreign affairs, Mabini; minister of the interior, Teodoro Sandico; minister of war, Gen. Baldo-

merio Aguinaldo; minister of finance, Mariana Trias; and minister of public works, Gregorico Gonzaga. All of these cabinet officers took an active part in the revolution 1896-97 and the war with Spain. As to the personality of the cabinet officers and the other generals of the Filipinos, it is yet too early to give a full opinion. The heat of battle has



SOLID GOLD TABLET PRESENTED TO SEÑORA CANOVAS.

(When the Spanish prime minister, Canovas del Castillo, was assassinated in 1897, the Filipinos gave this tablet, costing ten thousand dollars, to his widow.)

not yet subsided and the passions and prejudices engendered by conflict still obscure the vision of those best situated to form a judgment. The secretary of war, Gen. Baldomero Aguinaldo, is a cousin of the president and bears the reputation of being a brave but stupid soldier. He was a peasant farmer and afterward a teacher, although he now claims the title of professor. In his intercourse with foreigners he has shown himself to be egotistic, arrogant, and selfish.

Dr. Sandico is probably the ablest and certainly the best-educated of the officials. He was educated in Manila, Hong Kong, Belgium, and England and is a good civil engineer, lawyer, chemist, physician, and soldier. He is also a fluent writer and speaker, and received the high compliment on several occasions of having his writings condemned by the Spanish authorities. Mariana Trias is a fine-looking, genial Malay, with marked gift for story-telling and good-fellowship. He is exceedingly popular and is pronounced absolutely honest by the Spanish politicians. Leandro Ibarra is a lawyer, clever, scheming, energetic, and, what is rare among Philippine lawyers, very truthful and upright. Filipe Agoncillo, who is now stationed at Washington, is a very fine type of the intellectual Manilaman. He is well educated, suave, slow of speech, and remarkably tactful. His tact comes close to being diplomacy. He is a lawyer by profession and is also a strong and convincing writer.

Gen. Pio del Pilar represents the objectionable half-breed who inherits the evil tendencies of both races. He is clever and unscrupulous, attractive and treacherous, brave and dishonest, specious and insincere. He comes close to the villain of a cheap melodrama, and in the last century would have made a capital pirate. The best linguist among the insurgents is Adjutant-General Escamilla. He is familiar with at least ten of the Philippine languages and with five or six European tongues. Gen. Riego de Dios is a soldier, brave, ignorant, blunt, but courteous, a strict commander, and a good-hearted man. Colonel Montenegro may be regarded as an inferior edition of Escamilla. General Gonzaga is a man with a career. He has been lawyer, office-holder, attorney-general, Freemason, conspirator, exile, soldier, merchant, and commander. Of some ability, commercial, literary, and military, is Gen. Pantelon Garcia. He showed considerable skill in his campaigns to the north of Manila, having driven the Spaniards from Pampanga to Manila or else to Zambales, where they were finally captured on Grand Island in Subig Bay.

Up to the present time Aguinaldo has shown rare shrewdness. Despite predictions from every hand that he would give us trouble (some of

these having been made as early as July 1, 1898), everything thus far has gone off with comparative smoothness. He has raised large sums of money from patriotic Filipinos, the contributions in the beginning of the war ranging as high as \$200,000 a month—more than enough to pay the running expenses of his soldiery. In the development of his power he has not made the mistake of raising a larger force than he could feed and arm. If possible, his command is smaller to-day than it was last July, when he was driving the Spaniards out of Luzon. What with capture and purchase, he has succeeded in arming wholly or partially more than 25,000 men, and has in addition a few cannon taken from the Spanish army or from Spanish gunboats. The Spaniards assert that the contributions have been obtained by blackmail, but as no Filipino has as yet made a complaint to the American commanders there is probably no justification for the charge.

He has not yet disclosed his programme for the future. That he has given it careful study has been shown repeatedly. He told General Anderson that he knew the American Constitution by heart, and that it contained no provision for either colonization or annexation. He told Consul Williams that he realized the extreme difficulty of making a government which would suit all the peoples of the Philippines. That he is opposed to military rule or to government by any foreign nation is obvious from every one of his speeches. That he realizes his own power and popularity is evident from the slightest study of the man's career. In all probability Aguinaldo is as much at sea as is that fountain of pure wisdom, the United States Senate.

He knows his country and his people and the enormous difficulty of formulating any system which will rest evenly upon all classes of the community. The people of his type do not number 100,000. Below them are the half-breeds of the white, yellow, and brown races. They are intelligent, but uneducated; active, but not over-industrious. They love excitement, military display, and the bustle and the pomp of government. They may number 500,000. Below these are the millions who are hewers of wood and drawers of water who care little or nothing for what form of government may be imposed upon them. All that they desire is the liberty to till their fields, to tend to their flocks and perform the simple duties of village and country life. They will rise when overtaxed; they will revolt when treated with harsh injustice. They may be led into insurrection by their love and worship of those whom they regard as their natural leaders.

And then below these are still lower types, half savage or entirely savage, to whom government has no meaning and law and order are empty terms. They are like the nomad Indians of the Western plains, excepting that they are not fearless, ferocious, and merciless like the redskins. Aguinaldo's difficulties are increased by the jealousy of ambitious colleagues and by the greed of the unscrupulous and grasping. Despite his power, he knows that he may be put away to-morrow by a combination of enemies and rivals.

Neither is his problem cleared by the attitude of the United States. He keeps himself well informed upon the government proceedings at Washington, and sees himself denounced by a Senator one day and glorified by another Senator

the next. He reads propositions to annex, to form a protectorate, to cede to other powers, to give back to Spain, to establish a native republic. If the average American is puzzled by the superb imbecility of some of his Congressmen, how much more is not a poor Filipino whose ideas of government have been derived from the contemplation of Spanish rule, of which the mainsprings are falsehood and fraud, corruption and extortion. That Aguinaldo has not done as well as might have been possibly done may be admitted; but he has done as well as he could. He has done better than any one possibly believed a year ago, and he has shown the world that the Filipino is capable of that self-control upon which all good government must be based.



AGUINALDO AND A GROUP OF HIS CHIEF ASSOCIATES IN THE TAGAL REBELLION WHICH WAS CRUSHED LAST YEAR.
AGUINALDO IS SEATED, THE CENTRAL FIGURE.

THE CHARACTER OF THE CUBANS.

BY CRITTENDEN MARRIOTT.

(Recently correspondent of the Associated Press in Cuba and Porto Rico.)

SINCE the close of the war, and particularly in recent days, the old controversy as to the character of the Cubans, which lay dormant during the stress of arms and was supposed to be settled, has been reopened. Once more the papers are filled with denunciations of the Cubans generally and particularly of the rebels. The fact that a Cuban had the pluck to go out and fight for his liberty is nowadays supposed to brand him as an adventurer, if not a bandit, drawn from the riff-raff of the population. "The insurgents are half naked, half civilized, half educated; they can never govern themselves; Gomez is a mere mercenary; for their own good we must continue to control them; to leave them to themselves would be to invite anarchy; they are only waiting a chance to pillage and murder."

Such talk, too common nowadays, is nearly identical with much that was heard before the war. Drowned by the mighty rhythm of battle, it now again makes itself heard in the same arguments, urged in the same tones, and by the same persons that stood so firmly for Spain last winter and spring. Only now it professes to be based on our own experiences in Cuba.

The discussion has waxed hot, and the country has almost been persuaded by the mere iteration of these sentiments to believe that the Cuban rebellion was unreasonable and was based only on the chronic discontent with existing conditions that everywhere obtains in Latin-American countries. Ever since the protocol was signed the papers have been filled with sensational predictions of trouble in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. "The rebels actually objected to having us rule their country and refused to lay down their arms; they were about to commit all sorts of atrocities on the peaceful, well-behaved Spanish; Gomez was again raising his army and would soon go to war with us." True, none of these terrible things ever occurred or were ever really anticipated by any one who knew the people and the country, but that did not prevent fresh predictions on similar lines from being put forth a few days later.

All this talk is slowly but surely resolving itself into what it really is—a mere phantom arising from the yet smoking slaughter-heaps left from the Spanish domination in Cuba and exaggerated by sensational correspondents.

As an abstract proposition no one will maintain that men who have been hunted like wild beasts, without food, without clothing, without family, for three long years, should be judged as are other men. Yet this has been done, and not only this. The rebels have also been held to account for the condition to which they have been reduced by the Spanish, as if they themselves were responsible for this. In proof it needs only to see the different ways in which the critics speak of the Cubans and of the Porto Ricans. The latter, fat, happy, and well clothed, are extolled far above the former, who were so recently starving, naked, and miserable as a result of three years of as gallant fighting against hopeless odds as the world ever saw. Yet in times of peace no one can detect a hair's breadth of difference between the two peoples, and even now the only real, innate distinction is that the Cubans had the pluck to rebel and the Porto Ricans did not.

Before the war Cuba was as fair as Porto Rico and her inhabitants were as well clothed as those of the smaller island. But now their nakedness is held against them. Repeatedly I have seen apparently intelligent officers of our army and navy turn in disgust from a body of black Cuban soldiers—soldiers whom the eye could not distinguish from our own negro troops if similarly dressed—and observe: "So these ragged, half-starved niggers are what we are fighting for!" The gibe has not lost its force since the days of 1861, when it was thrown in the teeth of the Northern soldiers as they marched south to preserve the Union and free the slaves.

Most people class the Cubans with other Spanish-American peoples and expect them to act like them. They forget that there is an important ethnological difference between the people of the mainland and those of the islands, resulting from the total extermination of the Indians in the latter. Elsewhere the so-called Spanish-Americans are a compound of Spanish, negro, and Indian blood. The Spaniard fights well in resistance, but does not excel in attack. History does not record a single great charge by Spanish troops. The negro is a splendid fighter when well led, but is naturally peaceable. Of the three the Indian alone is savage, warlike, and intractable. I have traveled extensively in South America, and

I am sure that both there and in Central America scarcely 20 per cent. of the population is without Indian blood.

In Cuba no such condition exists. The Indians were so thoroughly exterminated there that a sentimental interest attaches to their blood as it does here to that of Pocahontas. Hence the element of fierceness imparted by it elsewhere did not exist in Cuba.

The peasantry of the island are either negroes or are of pure Spanish descent enfeebled by generations of existence in a soft, easy tropical climate. Further, most of them are descendants of the peasants who had lived under the feudal system and have servitude in their blood. For them to rebel would be a rising of hereditary bondsmen rather than a revolt of the people. The Cuban peasantry submitted to their Spanish masters just as their fathers had done to their feudal lords. Naturally this attitude invited oppression. A race that will not fight for its liberties will always lose them and will deserve to lose them.

The result of this difference and this spirit was that the peasantry did not join and never has joined in any of the many rebellions that have occurred in Cuba. Again and again revolts have failed on account of this apathy. As a matter of fact, scarcely 10 per cent. of the rebel armies was drawn from the peasants.

Who, then, were the rebels? In the east they were chiefly negroes; in the center and west they were chiefly the sons of the wealthy planters, the small farmers, the gay youths of the cities—the best blood in all Cuba. From personal and direct knowledge of the western rebels I know this to be the case.

In short, the *personnel* of the rebels compares favorably with the "embattled plowboys" of our own Revolution. It must not be forgotten that so careful a historian as Sabine has placed the number of Tories in that war at one-third the entire population of the country; that he asserts that nearly all the wealth, the intelligence, education, and social position of the country were with the Tories; and that over 2,000 persons, including 700 leading citizens and 140 graduates of Harvard whose names are on record, left this country from Boston alone after the war, despairing of the future of this country under American rule.

Let us consider seriatim the various heads of the criticism directed against the Cubans. They are charged with laziness, cowardice, theft, and barbarity—a formidable catalogue enough. Let us see whether these charges are justified, and in order to do so fairly let us first consider the circumstances under which they were originated.

The beginning was at Santiago. During that memorable campaign our men, from the highest to the lowest, were, to put it mildly, decidedly uncomfortable. They were in the mood to criticise everybody, and they did criticise everybody. War had not turned out to be the pleasure excursion that many had anticipated. Instead it was horribly grim and deadly, as it must always be. Disease and death had not been confined to "the other fellows" from whom every soldier unconsciously excepts himself when he admits that it must come to many of his comrades, but was pervasive. Everybody was more or less ill and suffering. Death was a very real and present thing at Santiago—not a far-away bugaboo which could be contemplated with equanimity. It is not wonderful that our men began to question whether the Cubans were worth the sacrifices made for them. The wonder would have been had no such idea been entertained. It is a notorious historical fact that allies always quarrel and that a relieving army nearly always says unpleasant things about that which it relieves. That is what the elegant and well-groomed French said about our ragged Revolutionary soldiers, and that is human nature.

The charge that the Cubans were cowardly and that they would not fight is absolutely incredible. The men so charged had been fighting for three years against tremendous odds in an army where rank was awarded not for skill in tactics, but for bravery in battle. They had lost more than half their number in this incessant combat. Truly it seems too late to doubt their courage.

It may be granted that they are not such soldiers as are our men, that they do not possess the Anglo-Saxon grit that enables men of our race to stand fast after hope is gone and that more than once has snatched victory from the jaws of defeat. It may be granted that like the Spanish, their ancestors, they prefer to waste their ammunition in long-range fighting rather than to come to close quarters; that they prefer to fight from cover rather than in the open; but the assertion that they are cowards is simply unbelievable. Their reckless gallantry at Guantanamo and their heavy death-roll all through the war, especially at El Poso, where it exceeded the percentage of any American regiment in the campaign, should give the lie to this cruel slander.

Probably the thing that caused more bitter resentment than anything else was the stealing of our soldiers' blanket rolls while they were at the front fighting. The loss of blankets was a matter of life and death to many of our men, and the severest punishment should have been meted out to the thieves. But in default of the detec-

tion and capture of these there is little justice in charging the crime upon the Cubans. It was committed by Cubans, of course, if by Cubans is understood residents of the island of Cuba. But that it was done by members of the Cuban army has never been proved, even inferentially.

It is well known that early in the fighting some 20,000 non-combatants fled from Santiago and took refuge in our lines. These consisted of women, children, and men who either sympathized with Spain or did not have pluck enough to fight for the other side. Few of them had any shelter or any food for even the current day. Within a week they were literally starving. Is it surprising that they should steal, with little regard to the fact that they were thereby robbing the men who were battling for Cuba? It was contemptible, infamous—what you will—but it was not surprising. And it is unjust to charge the Cubans with the offenses of people who, if not hostile to their cause, were at least lukewarm in their adherence.

Those who express surprise that the Cuban soldiery should ask that their own country be allowed to pay them for their services should read their histories and see how much money and ammunition and food France sent to Washington in order to enable him to pay and feed his troops. And they should remember that the great Congress of the United States was forced to flee from Philadelphia because that city would not protect it from the mobs of unpaid soldiers that threatened it.

There remains the alleged savagery. The Cubans are charged with looting towns and especially with shooting at the Spaniards after they had surrendered and were trying to swim ashore from the burning ships of Cervera's squadron. There is considerable doubt whether more than half a dozen maddened men were engaged in this last, and even if there were, they were merely following the example set them by Spain. I confess I cannot see why our critics pass over the well-known practice of the Spaniards of murdering doctors, nurses, and wounded in rebel hospitals, of shooting or transporting all the prisoners they took, and in refusing all quarter to the Cubans on the battlefield, and yet show such horror when the rebels in their turn refuse to grant quarter. Right, barren and unavailing, had been on the Cuban side for three years. Is it wonderful that they should for once transgress when might was joined to them? I, as an American, cannot find it difficult to excuse their refusal to grant quarter to men who, in their war with us, destroyed their property after surrendering it, who sent sharpshooters to pick off our physicians and our wounded, heedless of the sheltering folds of the

Red Cross, and who hoisted flags of truce in order to decoy our ships under the fire of their guns.

The assumption that the Cubans desired to enter towns and to celebrate their victories in order to obtain an opportunity for pillage is entirely gratuitous. There has been absolutely nothing in their record to justify it, and a recent incident shows the contrary. When Sancti Spiritus and Tunas, both large towns, were evacuated by the Spanish, the only American there was Captain Barker, of the United States army. Entirely alone, he took charge of the cities, issued his orders, and saw them loyally obeyed for three days before any American troops appeared. During that time Captain Barker states that there was not a single case of outrage or injustice.

As a general proposition the Cubans have conducted themselves far better than the Spanish, who pillaged both Santiago and Havana before surrendering them, or even than our own men, who have been guilty of many acts of pillage both at home and abroad.

And, by the way, what would our Revolutionary sires have said to a proposition to return to the Tories their forfeited estates and to permit them to at once exercise the full rights of citizenship equally with those who had fought in the patriot army? Nay, to come to our own times, what did the North say to President Johnson's contention that the South could resume its full political rights whenever it might wish to do so? Yet the administration, unless belied by its deeds, is now resolved that every one in Cuba, be they Spaniards, loyalists, or Cubans, shall have equal power in the establishment of a new government. The rebels who have fought so long and suffered so much, and who have lost everything by the war, are to be put on the same plane with those who fought against them and us. Neither pay nor place nor compensation for losses is to be theirs.

The war with Spain has cost us something less than \$200,000,000 and less than 2,000 lives by battle and disease, and it has brought us great glory and rich territory. The Cuban rebellion has cost the patriots all that they had in the world; it cost them a ruined country and nearly 500,000 lives, and it has brought them—what? An independent government (perhaps) which their enemies control equally with themselves—nothing more. Yet to-day the pro-Spanish bondholding clique that favors annexation in defiance of our solemn pledges, in order to make sure the interest on their bonds, is striving tooth and nail to rob the men who fought so gallantly for *Cuba Libre* of the glory of their achievements and to brand them as thieves, cowards, and savages.

JAVA AS AN EXAMPLE—HOW THE DUTCH MANAGE TROPICAL ISLANDS.

BY SYLVESTER BAXTER.

TO the many political problems which the American people have to deal with there has suddenly been added a new one of vital importance—that of the administration of colonial possessions. The United States has all at once risen to the rank of one of the world's first colonial powers. Whatever the disadvantages that may result from this step, there are certain consequences that should be beneficial to our national character: A broader outlook upon the world, a sense of interdependence and of identity of interests with the rest of civilization, a heightened political responsibility, an abandonment of policies of exclusion and isolation, a more thorough organization of administrative functions, and a growth from provincialism into cosmopolitanism. The compulsion laid upon us either to deal intelligently and uprightly with the complex problems that must face us or to fail disastrously should react beneficially upon home affairs. We must, for instance, have a thoroughly organized colonial service, and we must use tact and justice in our relations with the more or less uncivilized peoples of our tropical dependencies. This should mean an assurance of a permanent reform of the civil service in this country and the adoption of wise methods in dealing with the Indians in place of the discreditable procedures that have so long attended our treatment of the aborigines. If it does not mean these things, then neither our colonial empire nor even our national existence can be of long duration, and we shall rapidly go the way of Spain.

The experiences of other powers in colonial management have therefore great value to us, and we cannot too closely study their teachings. Since the discovery of the New World there have been seven colonial powers in Europe: Spain, Portugal, France, England, Holland, Denmark, and Germany. Denmark has only a few small islands in the West Indies, together with arctic Iceland and Greenland, and hardly counts as an example; Germany's experience is too recent to be of much consequence for us; France has pursued an exploitation policy and has achieved little; while the value of Spain and Portugal as examples is purely negative. This leaves only England and Holland, and

these furnish the two great instances of successful colonial polities. That of England will naturally be closely studied. There is danger, however, that the lessons afforded by Holland will be neglected. They deserve most careful attention, for they have a special bearing upon our own East India problems. The development of Holland's colonial empire in the East, the Netherlands Indies, is the most brilliant and successful example of wise dealing with a tropical population that the world has seen, and has a particular interest for ourselves, since its scene is in the neighborhood of the Philippines and has to do with races of the same stock—the Malays.

In the Netherlands Indies, covering the greater part of the Malay Archipelago, the colonial empire of Holland in the Orient stands second only to that of Great Britain. The most complete examples of the policy pursued by the Dutch Government are presented in the great islands of Java and Celebes. Excellent accounts of what has been accomplished in these islands may be found in "The Malay Archipelago," by Alfred Russel Wallace; "Java, the Garden of the East," a fascinating book by Miss Eliza R. Scidmore; and in Money's "Java: Or, How to Manage a Colony."

Java is called the finest and most interesting tropical island in the world. It is practically one vast garden from one end to another, traversed by perfect roads that pass through scenes of exquisite beauty. Its prosperity is indicated by its dense population—something like 24,000,000, or nearly a third that of the United States. In 1826 the population of Java was 5,500,000. In 1850 the "culture system," which lay at the root of the prosperity of the island, had been in operation for twenty-four years, and the population had grown to over 9,500,000—an increase of 73 per cent. In 1865 the population was 14,168,416, an increase of nearly 50 per cent. in fifteen years.

In expressing his hearty concurrence in the main facts and conclusions contained in Money's study of Java, Alfred Russel Wallace says: "I believe that the Dutch system is the very best that can be adopted when a European nation conquers or otherwise acquires possession of a country inhabited by an industrious but semi-

barbarous people." Coming from such a source this is significant, for Wallace is radically democratic in his views and the Dutch system is the reverse either of free trade or "the open door."

As Wallace concisely states it, the mode of government in Java is to retain the whole series of native rulers, from the village chief up to princes, who, under the name of regents, are the heads of districts about the size of a small English county.

With each regent is placed a Dutch resident, or assistant resident, who is considered to be his "elder brother" and whose "orders" take the form of "recommendations," which are, however, implicitly obeyed. Along with each assistant resident is a controller, a kind of inspector of all the lower native rulers, who periodically visits every village in the district, examines the proceedings of the native courts, hears complaints against the head men or other native chiefs, and superintends the government plantations.

In short, the Dutch have sagaciously considered the social conditions of the natives, have not attempted to reconstruct or reform them, but have scrupulously respected their traditions and their religious institutions. The adoption of a reverse procedure is accountable for some admitted failures of missionary efforts among such peoples—a procedure that attempts to impose upon them the mere externals of European civilization and so-called Christianity; inducing them, with the introduction of "diseases, accomplishments, and sins," to adopt customs entirely unfitted for their environment. They are taught the mere dogmas of Christianity while they are not given the slightest comprehension of its true principles. The testimony of unprejudiced observers is almost universally to the effect that the natives in such countries have not been improved under such policies. Wallace himself remarks: "With people in this low state of civilization religion is almost wholly ceremonial; neither are the doctrines of Christianity comprehended nor its moral precepts obeyed."

Prefatory to a discussion of the "culture system" in Java Wallace sketches the common results of free European trade with uncivilized peoples. He says:

Natives of tropical climates have few wants, and when these are supplied are disinclined to work for superfluities without some strong incitement. With such a people the introduction of any new or systematic cultivation is almost impossible, except by the despotic orders of chiefs whom they have been accustomed to obey as children obey their parents. The free competition of European traders, however, introduces two powerful stimulants to exertion. Spirits or opium is a temptation too strong for most savages to resist, and to obtain these he will sell whatever he has and will work to get more. Another temptation he cannot resist is

goods on credit. . . . He has not sufficient forethought to take only a moderate quantity and not enough energy to work early and late in order to get out of debt; and the consequence is that he accumulates debt upon debt, and often remains for years or for life a debtor and almost a slave. This is a state of things which occurs very largely in every part of the world in which men of a superior race freely trade with men of a lower race. It extends trade, no doubt, for a time, but it demoralizes the native, checks true civilization, and does not lead to any permanent increase in the wealth of the country; so that the European government of such a country must be carried on at a loss.

Under the "culture system" the people, through their chiefs, were induced to give a portion of their time to the cultivation of coffee, sugar, and other valuable products. A fixed rate of wages was paid to the laborers. The produce was sold to the government at a low fixed price. Out of the net profit a percentage went to the chiefs and the remainder went to the workmen. This system was the work of the great statesman, General Van den Bosch, of whom Money says: "It pleased God, in mercy to a suffering people, to inspire the King of Holland with confidence in apparently the wildest schemer of his realm."

In northern Celebes a similar system was established among a people in a very different state of civilization. Down to 1822, when the coffee plant was introduced, the people were true savages, living in small communities at war with all around them. The village chiefs were induced to undertake the cultivation of coffee.

Seed and native instructors were sent from Java; food was supplied to the laborers engaged in clearing and planting; a fixed price was established at which all coffee brought to the government collectors was to be paid for, and the village chiefs, who now received the titles of "majors," were to receive 5 per cent. of the produce. After a time roads were made from the port of Menado up to the plateau, and smaller paths were cleared from village to village; missionaries settled in the more populous districts and opened schools, and Chinese traders penetrated to the interior and supplied clothing and other luxuries in exchange for the money which the sale of the coffee had produced. At the same time the country was divided into districts, and the system of "*controlleurs*," which had worked so well in Java, was introduced. The "*controlleur*" was a European or a native of European blood who was the general superintendent of the cultivation of the district, the adviser of the chiefs, the protector of the people, and the means of communication between both and the European government.

Wallace describes enthusiastically the beauty and cultivation of this country and the progress of the natives under the system:

These plantations were all formed by the government and are cultivated by the villagers under the direction of their chief. Certain days are appointed for weeding or gathering, and the whole working population are summoned by sound of gong. An account is

kept of the number of hours' work done by each family, and at the year's end the produce of the sale is divided among them proportionately. The coffee is taken to government stores established at central places over the whole country and is paid for at a low fixed price. Out of this a certain percentage goes to the chiefs and majors, and the remainder is divided among the inhabitants. This system works very well, and I believe is at present far better for the people than free trade would be.

Wallace has a hearty word in praise of the work of the missionaries in this part of Celebes—a word that is significant from the fact that his judgment of the results of missionary efforts in general among the Pacific islands agrees with that of so many unprejudiced observers to the effect that it has not been altogether beneficial to native character. He says that the missionaries have much to be proud of in this country :

They have assisted the government in changing a savage into a civilized community in a wonderfully short space of time. Forty years ago the country was a wilderness, the people naked savages, garnishing their rude houses with human heads. Now it is a garden, worthy of its sweet native name of "Minahasa." Good roads and paths traverse it in every direction ; some of the finest coffee plantations in the world surround the villages, interspersed with extensive rice-fields more than sufficient for the support of the population. The people are now the most industrious, peaceable, and civilized in the whole archipelago. They are the best-clothed, the best-housed, the best-fed, and the best-educated, and they have made some progress toward a higher social state.

Wallace believes that there is no example elsewhere of such striking results being produced in so short a time—results which are entirely due to the system of government adopted by the Dutch in their Eastern possessions. This system, though a "paternal despotism," he regards as the best for dealing with such races, as it is best for dealing with children.

There is not merely an analogy—there is in many respects an identity of relation between master and pupil or parent and child on the one hand and an uncivilized race and its civilized rulers on the other. We know (or think we know) that the education and industry and the common usages of civilized man are superior to those of savage life ; and as he becomes acquainted with them the savage himself admits this. He admires the superior acquirements of the civilized man, and it is with pride that he will adopt such usages as do not interfere too much with his sloth, his passions, or his prejudices. But as the willful child or the idle school-boy who was never taught obedience and never made to do anything which of his own free will he was not inclined to do would in most cases obtain neither education nor manners, so it is much more unlikely that the savage, with all the confirmed habits of manhood and the traditional prejudices of race, should ever do more than copy a few of the least beneficial customs of civilization, without some stronger stimulus than precept very imperfectly backed by example.

The following words apply very appropriately to the new responsibilities that our country has assumed :

If we are satisfied that we are right in assuming the government over a savage race and occupying their country, and if we further consider it our duty to do what we can to improve our rude subjects and raise them up toward our own level, we must not be too much afraid of the cry of "despotism" and "slavery," but must use the authority we possess to induce them to do work which they may not altogether like, but which we know to be an indispensable step in their moral and physical advancement. The Dutch have shown much good policy in the means by which they have done this. They have in most cases upheld and strengthened the authority of the native chiefs, to whom the people have been accustomed to render a voluntary obedience ; and by acting on the intelligence and self-interest of these chiefs, have brought about changes in the manners and customs of the people which would have excited ill-feeling and perhaps revolt had they been directly enforced by foreigners.

We are reminded, however, that in carrying out such a system much depends upon the character of the people. The system which succeeds admirably in one place could only be very partially worked out in another. The Dutch appear to have very successfully studied the individuality of different races to this end, shaping their policy in the Celebes, for instance, along different lines from those followed in Java.

Of the system he thus sketches Wallace says that it is to a certain extent despotic and interferes with free trade, free labor, and free communication.

This example of Dutch success in the management of colonies is not put forward with any idea that it is something to be copied by ourselves. If we are to succeed it must be not by imitating what some other nation has done, but by judiciously adapting our methods to the circumstances, just as the Dutch have done. Quite different systems will probably be demanded in the East and the West Indies respectively, and again in Hawaii. In Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines we have to deal with peoples where a European power has been in control for three and four centuries, while in Hawaii American influences have long been dominant. In the Philippines we have to do chiefly with a Malay population, naturally docile, and in the West Indies the problem is made more difficult by the large negro element, notoriously turbulent, unruly, and ignorant. The Dutch themselves have failed with the West India negro where they have succeeded with the East India Malay. Again, in the Philippines the Mohammedan population of Mindanao and the other southerly islands will demand a quite different

treatment from the nominally Christianized natives of Luzon.

One important aspect of the Dutch policy deserves comment. That is the remarkable success of the government in carrying out the work on the basis of a colossal industrial and mercantile undertaking—establishing and operating numerous great plantations, purchasing native products and marketing a considerable variety of articles with entire success. This is probably the greatest example of a vast and extensively ramified business enterprise carried on directly by a national government that the world has seen, and the results would seem to go far to justify the claims of state socialism. But little, indeed, appears to be lacking to make the system purely socialistic. The Dutch Government, as we have seen, has drawn enormous profits from its colonial possessions, and these have been devoted to the benefit of the home kingdom. As Wallace points out, the government is entitled to ample remuneration for the great investments it has made and the work it has carried out with such excellent organization. The native population, moreover, has profited greatly by this policy. But had the government been content with a moderate remuneration, equivalent, say, to a liberal interest on the outlay made, looking to the increase of trade as its chief reward, and had it then expended the balance of the profits upon the development of the colonies from which they were derived, the system would have been still better and the increased prosperity of the islands would doubtless have been something marvelous.

Much stress has been laid upon the desirability of an imperialistic policy for the sake of increased trade. This is very well if regarded simply as an incidental benefit. But the policy is foredoomed to failure unless its chief regard is for the welfare of the peoples of our new dependencies. Otherwise we shall add but another disastrous record to the world's list of exploitative colonial policies. This brings us to the wise observations with which Wallace concludes his important work—observations suggested by his contemplation of savage life. They are particularly applicable to the present situation.

We most of us believe that we, the higher races, have progressed and are progressing. If so, there must be some state of perfection, some ultimate goal, which we may never reach, but to which all true progress must bring us nearer. What is this ideally perfect social state toward which mankind ever has been and still is tending? Our best thinkers maintain that it is a state of individual freedom and self-government, rendered possible by the equal development and just balance of the intellectual, moral, and physical parts of our nature—a state in which we shall each be so perfectly fitted for a social existence by knowing what is right and at

the same time feeling an irresistible impulse to do what we know to be right that all laws and all punishments shall be unnecessary. In such a state every man would have a sufficiently well-balanced intellectual organization to understand the moral law in all its details, and would require no other motive but the free impulses of his own nature to obey that law.

Now, it is very remarkable that among people in a very low stage of civilization we find some approach to such a perfect social state. I have lived with communities of savages in South America and in the East who have no laws or law courts but the public opinion of the village freely expressed. Each man scrupulously respects the rights of his fellow, and any infraction of those rights rarely or never takes place. In such a community all are nearly equal. There is none of those wide distinctions of education and ignorance, wealth and poverty, master and servant which are the product of our civilization; there is none of that widespread division of labor which, while it increases wealth, produces also conflicting interests; there is not that severe competition and struggle for existence or for wealth which the dense population of civilized countries inevitably creates. All incitements to great crimes are thus wanting and petty ones are repressed, partly by the influence of public opinion, but chiefly by that natural sense of justice and of his neighbor's right which seems to be, in some degree, inherent in every race of man.

Now, although we have progressed vastly beyond the savage state in intellectual achievements, we have not advanced equally in morals. It is true that among those classes who have no wants that cannot be easily supplied and among whom public opinion has great influence the rights of others are fully respected. It is true, also, that we have vastly extended the sphere of those rights and include within them all the brotherhood of man. But it is not too much to say that the mass of our populations have not at all advanced beyond the savage code of morals and have in many cases sunk below it.

The author then proceeds to consider the rapid growth of population and vast increase of wealth made possible by recent inventions.

Compared with our wondrous progress in physical science and its practical applications, our system of government, of administering justice, of national education, and our whole social and moral organization remains in a state of barbarism. . . . Until there is a more general recognition of this failure of our civilization—resulting mainly from our neglect to train and develop more thoroughly the sympathetic feelings and moral faculties of our nature and to allow them a larger share of influence in our legislation, our commerce, and our whole social organization—we shall never, as regards the whole community, attain to any real or important superiority over the better class of savages.

This is the lesson that Wallace was taught by his observations of uncivilized man. And upon the threshold of our entrance into the domains where man's normal state is one of nature, we should take good heed lest our activities there should not only not elevate the savage, but really debase ourselves.

THE SIGNAL CORPS OF THE ARMY IN THE WAR.

BY HENRY MACFARLAND.

NO branch of the army made a more brilliant and gallant record in the Spanish war than the smallest of all, the Signal Corps, which managed the military telegraphs, telephones, and balloons, besides the flag-signaling. It has not received the credit it deserves in the reports of commanding officers, and its work has not been sufficiently known to command due appreciation from the country, but Gen. A. W. Greely, its official head, with the title of chief signal officer, in his annual report has done full justice to its splendid service. *Magna pars quorum fui* might well have been written by General Greely at the end of his stirring story: for everybody who knows about it realizes that it was not only his inspiration, but his ingenuity and his intelligent and indefatigable industry that made it all possible. His modesty will prevent readers of his report from learning all that he did, but even they will see that he began his preparations for the war earlier than any of the other departmental chiefs, that he was ready before all the others and long before most of them, and that, stripped of his assistants by the necessities of the field and burdened with manifold duties after organizing his corps, enlarged twenty-fold, while the army increased but ten-fold, he worked harder and longer every day and night during the war than most of his associates and with almost unvarying success.

With his Civil War experience as a fighting youth in a fighting Massachusetts regiment, his long service all over the United States as a subaltern after the Civil War, and his famous adventures and achievements within the arctic circle, ending in his heroic care of his perishing expedition until its survivors were rescued by Schley—with all this behind him General Greely met his new opportunity as though it was his first and embraced it as though he were unknown to fame. Since he was made brigadier-general of the Signal Corps in recognition of his arctic services he had been scientist and scholar rather than administrator, although he had carried on the affairs of the Signal Corps and of the Weather Bureau, until that was transferred to the Agricultural Department, successfully.

A social "lion," always in demand, he had to give much time to society, and a public-spirited citizen, he conscientiously expended much effort in civic and philanthropic undertakings, while he

wrote and lectured occasionally, so that his life was a very busy one. But when he saw the war storm coming in February, 1897, he became busier than ever, only concentrating his great energy and activity upon the preparations for the indispensable work which he knew his corps would have to do if war came. He had stimulated and encouraged his sixty officers and men to a high order of effort, showing inventiveness and versatility, but he saw that this corps must



GEN. ADOLPHUS W. GREELY,
Chief Signal Officer, U. S. A.

be enlarged, as it was later, to thirteen hundred officers and men, and that although it was, among other things, operating nine hundred miles of military telegraph lines along the Mexican frontier and throughout the West, it must be provided with large quantities of new telegraph and telephone material and also with war balloons and other modern devices for observing and reporting military operations.

It seems incredible that one of his first preparations had to be the establishment of electrical

intercommunication between neighboring fortifications, especially in the harbors of New York, Boston, and San Francisco, so that, as General Greely said, "the entire system of defense could be controlled by one mind." But for six years, as he says, he "had unavailingly urged on Congress the absolute necessity of perfecting its costly system of coast defenses" by this last touch. At the same time General Greely prepared "electrical installations" for the control of the fire of the shore batteries in our coast defenses, which had not been provided before and which General Greely regards as "an absolutely necessary adjunct of disappearing guns." Under this system he says "the range officer, located a long distance from the batteries, determines every minute or less the position of the enemy's ships and communicates this information to the officer who controls the fire. The control officer plots the positions, and at a suitable instant causes through the firing officers the mortars to be discharged or one or all the guns to rise, deliver their fire, and then disappear in the pit."

When General Greely began his preparations such efforts were not popular in the War Department, and although General Greely does not say so in his report, it is known that it was difficult for him to get the permission or the money necessary for what he felt ought to be done. Congress through oversight did not provide for the organization of the volunteer Signal Corps until nearly a month after the war began, and it was not until June 2 that recruiting for it began, so that all the preparatory work, including the instruction to the men at first detailed for signal service from the regular army, had to be accomplished with the small peace force. General Greely, however, had been in the life-long habit of overcoming difficulties with courage, persistence, and Yankee ingenuity, and with the assistance of his officers, whom he praises so highly, he had his regular corps on a war footing with all necessary equipments, even though some of them were makeshifts, when the war broke out. And although Congress kept him waiting for the volunteer Signal Corps, he had it ready in thirty days to take part in the work of the army before Santiago—thanks largely to Col. H. H. C. Dunwoody, who carried out General Greely's plans for the volunteers, General Greely says, "with such a degree of intelligence, skill, and energy as insured from the very outset a successful organization."

As far as possible regular Signal Corps officers were put in command of the volunteers, and non-commissioned Signal Corps regulars, highly educated and trained, with regular line officers, West Pointers, and National Guard Signal Corps men,

filled most of the other officerships, which General Greely was careful to keep from the politicians, and every effort was made to get skilled electricians and good business men. They were the very flower of the volunteer army, so that General Greely is able to say that they were "highly trained officers in the prime of life, thoroughly skilled in the specialties of the corps, not only admirably fitted for administrative duties, but also capable of arduous campaigning. Not one of these officers was either invalided or obliged to quit his duties during the war, though they served at Santiago, in Porto Rico, and at Manila." General Greely had induced Congress to provide that two-thirds of the officers and men should be skilled electricians or telegraphers, thus providing a bulwark against the anticipated assaults of the politicians. The enlisted men could challenge, General Greely says, "any other corps or branch of the army to produce their equal for ability, intelligence, and amenability to discipline. Their service was uniformly marked by cheer-



COL. H. H. C. DUNWOODY.
(Signal Corps, U. S. A.)

fulness, zeal, and good conduct and was characterized by that resourcefulness which is an especial characteristic of the typical American soldier."

"The successful interest of the officers in caring for their men," he says, "and the self-reliance of the men themselves are strikingly illustrated by the fact that with a force of thirteen hundred men both the volunteer and regular corps, up to the date of the orders for the mus-

ter-out of the first company, lost only five men, a death-rate unequalled, it is believed, by any corps of the army which operated in every great camp in the country and in every campaign abroad from the Philippines to Porto Rico."

With such a general, such officers, and such men it is not strange that the Signal Corps did such remarkable work during the war.



FILLING THE WAR BALLOON.

In General Greely's office at the War Department is a small telegraphic switch-board which looks like any other switch-board, but which Lieut.-Col. Samuel Reber, Signal Corps, made with his own hands out of a brass sugar-kettle that he found in a workshop at Ponce when he wanted to replace a destroyed switch-board, and thousands of messages were sent over it from army headquarters. This is a small illustration of the way in which these men met their obstacles everywhere.

In this spirit the corps used for war ascensions a patched-up old home-made balloon that would have been regarded as too dangerous for use in time of peace; it established land telegraph and telephone lines without poles or other supports and without suitable tools; it cut cables from a chartered steamer manned by an unwilling captain and crew of Norwegians, who, when they realized that they were working under Spanish guns, refused to remain.

General Greely is able to say that besides all that was done for the forts and camps in this country, no army in the Philippines, Cuba, or Porto Rico had to wait a day for its telegraph or telephone, and that his officers and men showed the same courage under fire as the men with the guns, performing most of their duties in the very front of the armies.

In the Manila campaign the corps gained great praise under Lieut.-Col. Richard E. Thompson, and when the final assault on Manila came General Greely says: "One company of the Signal Corps ran the field telegraph line up to the open

beach and established an advanced station under fire of the enemy's second line. Another party, led by Captain McKenna, marched up the beach with the firing line, their signal flags displayed so that the fire of the navy should fall in advance of the army, and, displaying these flags as the first emblems of the United States in the enemy's fort, established an advanced telegraph station under the fire of the enemy's second line and maintained communication with both wings of the army until the enemy's positions were carried."

General Miles has testified to the fine work which was done by the corps in the Porto Rican campaign under command of Col. James Allen, Lieut.-Col. Samuel Reber, and Lieut.-Col. W. A. Glassford, who established a military telegraph system about one hundred and seventy miles long covering nearly one-half of the island, doing much of their work under the fire of the enemy.

But it was in connection with the Santiago campaign that the Signal Corps did its greatest work. The very conception of the Santiago campaign, the turning-point of the war, is due,



COL. JAMES ALLEN.

(Signal Corps, U. S. A.)

General Greely says, to the Signal Corps, because "the location of Cervera's squadron at Santiago was first made by Col. James Allen and later verified independently by Lieut.-Col. Joseph E. Maxfield, both officers of the Signal Corps." On May 19 Admiral Cervera entered the harbor of Santiago with his squadron. That very day Colonel Allen, who was in charge of the military censorship of the Havana cable at Key West and



LANCE WAGON OF THE SIGNAL CORPS, U. S. A.

was receiving reports from secret agents in Cuba, telegraphed in cipher to General Greely: "Five Spanish vessels arrived at Santiago de Cuba. Have notified admiral commanding [Sampson]. The Spanish flagship arrived Santiago de Cuba. The admiral [Cervera] hastily wired Madrid."

General Greely took this and a later dispatch from Colonel Allen personally to President McKinley, who sent him with it to Secretary Long, and being assured by General Greely that the report was entirely trustworthy, Secretary Long, with the President's approval, immediately gave the orders to Admiral Sampson which produced the blockade of Santiago and the ultimate destruction of Cervera's fleet and led to the sending of General Shafter's army corps to make the land attack. Colonel Allen then furnished almost daily reports of valuable information about Cervera's fleet from Santiago sources. But as the navy had not been able to verify the statement that Cervera was in Santiago harbor, General Greely was told that the whole campaign was being conducted upon his representations and that it was desirable to confirm Colonel Allen's information independently, and under his directions Lieutenant-Colonel Maxfield, then in charge of the telegraphic censorship in New York, was able in twenty-four hours to obtain independent proof of the fact. "It is an interesting anti-climax," said General Greely, "that when Cervera's squadron was destroyed on July 3 Colonel Allen, the same officer who originally reported the arrival of the fleet on the very day it reached Santiago, likewise first reported by telegraph the fact that the entire fleet had been destroyed, conveying the information to the President and the country fourteen hours in advance of any other official advice."

Colonel Allen was perhaps the most conspicuous figure in the field work of the corps. General Greely,

with the assistance of the Mexican Telegraph Company and the Western Union Telegraph Company, chartered the Norwegian ship *Adria* at New York and fitted her up with the cable gear of the Mexican Telegraph Company, the only available set in the United States, and forty-five miles of ocean cable quietly manufactured so as not to attract general attention, together with specially insulated wire for use on the ground, telegraphic and telephonic instruments, including the corps' peculiar device for receiving and sending which it still guards from the public, and other supplies. This expedition was placed under the command of Colonel Allen at Key West, who overcame the refusal of the captain and crew to sail and the desertion of thirteen out of the sixteen skilled cable repairers, and with what unskilled assistants he could hastily gather left on May 29 secretly to cut the cables off Santiago and arrange for cable communication with the United States. "The physical obstacles to success were extraordinary," said General Greely, "it being a coral coast washed by a sea that deepens with a rapidity almost unknown elsewhere, the water attaining a depth of seven thousand feet within a marine league of the shore. Besides, the irregularity of the coral bottom is so extraordinary as to make dredging with ordinary cable gear extremely difficult and ineffective."

Nevertheless, in one week's work, within range of the Spanish batteries, Colonel Allen cut one cable twice before his work was interrupted by the navy's bombardment, and a Spanish shell passing directly over the *Adria* made her captain deaf to all appeals to remain longer in the danger which he had not until then realized. The other cable out of Santiago was, therefore, never cut, and in spite of reports to the contrary, Captain-General Blanco and the other Spanish commanders had constant cable communication with Madrid until Santiago was surrendered,



BATTERY, WIRE, REEL, AND LANCE WAGONS AND CART OF THE SIGNAL CORPS, U. S. A.

except for the two days that the English cable operators left Santiago for the American lines. Colonel Allen then went to Guantanamo and perfected an independent cable communication, which was an excellent preparation for the land wires afterward laid for the army and afforded means of directly reaching Washington. General Greely recommended Colonel Allen for brevet brigadier-general "for his conspicuous gallantry and persistent efforts within range of the enemy's batteries, in an unarmed ship, which resulted in the destruction of one of the enemy's cables."

General Shafter refused to allow Lieut.-Col. Frank Greene, chief signal officer of the Fifth



LIEUT. GRANT SQUIRES.
(Signal Corps, U. S. A.)

Army Corps, to take with the Santiago expedition the very complete field telegraphic train which General Greely had provided at Tampa, and persisted in the refusal even when General Greely urged him to take it, telling him through Lieutenant-Colonel Greene that he would find it to be absolutely necessary. In the same manner General Shafter refused to take the two new balloons, with their equipment, which General Greely had hurriedly imported from Paris, grudgingly permitting the signal officers to take an old makeshift balloon, rudely made of poor materials, which had been brought down before the French balloons arrived. Fortunately General Greely had crowded the *Adria* with all the wire and other material for telegraph and telephone lines that the available space permitted, and this Colonel Allen turned over to Lieutenant-Colonel

Greene upon the arrival of the Shafter expedition, and with it Maj. G. W. S. Stevens, under the directions of Lieutenant-Colonel Greene, gradually constructed a telegraph and telephone line that ran with the army to the front, and then a line for the thirteen miles of army front. General Shafter, who soon realized the necessity for telegraph and telephone communication, had added to the natural difficulties of the dense chaparral, the daily deluge of rain, and the character of the ground by depriving the Signal Corps of the telegraph tools and equipment left at Tampa, so that, as Major Stevens says, "the party had but their hands and one pair of pliers."

But they were very fortunate in having the land cables which General Greely had provided, six steel wires around one of copper, with unusual insulation of nearly pure thick rubber, light, flexible, and of great tensile strength. Lieutenant-Colonel Greene said of it: "Happily provided by the forethought of General Greely, the value of this wire cannot be overestimated. Having no poles and the chaparral being too light to sustain the weight of the wire, the perfect insulation of the wire furnished enabled it to be laid upon the brush as far back from the trail or road as possible, or on the ground itself where no other course was open."

"From early morning of June 30," General Greely says, "Major Stevens was able to inform the headquarters of the Fifth Army Corps in the field that through the cables it was connected by wire with America." Moreover, the Signal Corps kept General Shafter in direct communication by telephone with his subordinate commanders, and these lines, says General Greely, "were uninterruptedly maintained under the fire and during the progress of battle" up to within four hundred yards of the enemy and twenty-four hours in the day; besides communicating with Admiral Sampson through a telephone stationed near Aguadores. General Shafter in twenty minutes could get a message to President McKinley or a reply from him, and in twenty seconds could communicate with his right, center, and left.

"It may be insisted," said General Greely, "that apart from the value and effect of potent words of inspiring confidence which passed from Washington over these wires in the gloomy hours of the siege, these lines were worth more to the nation in the single month of July than has been the cost of the Signal Corps of the army from its inception since 1859 to the present day. No one can say how long our success would have been delayed at Santiago, with the Spanish fully equipped with telegraphic and telephonic communication, had the commanders of the American army been unable to communicate with each

other, with their supply depots, or with the co-operating fleet save by the medium of their few mounted men, when hours instead of minutes must have elapsed before important orders could have been given or answered. In addition, it is not pleasant to surmise what might have been the fate of the fever-stricken army near Santiago had its fortunes and movements been debated by mail instead of by wire."

General Shafter had not allowed the Signal Corps to land until five days after the main body of the troops, and it was not until the following day—June 28—that he permitted Lieutenant-Colonel Maxfield to bring the balloon ashore, and then he would not let him bring with it the gas generator, but compelled him to use the reserve gas stored in steel tubes, so that only one inflation of the balloon was possible instead of a dozen. The balloon was poor and old and had been damaged by the extreme heat and the conditions on the transport so that it would have been considered unsafe to use in time of peace, but Lieutenant-Colonel Maxfield, having had it repaired, went up in it himself on the afternoon of June 30, when three ascensions were made, which revealed the details of Cervera's fleet and gave glimpses of the fortifications and valuable information as to the roads and streams in front of the army. All this so pleased General Shafter that he determined to use the balloon in battle the next day, and his chief engineer, Col. George McC. Derby, who ascended with Lieutenant-Colonel Maxfield on the morning of July 1, compelled Lieutenant-Colonel Maxfield to bring the balloon just over the skirmish line, against Lieutenant-Colonel Maxfield's advice that the balloon should be kept in the rear. The balloon drew the fire of the Spanish and not only was badly hurt, but was the cause of damage to the troops beneath it, including the Signal Corps detachment which was managing it, and this fact

seemed to obscure in the reports of the commanding officers the valuable information which the balloon secured, and it was retired from further active service.

In addition to all his other duties, General Greely had to direct the military telegraphic censorship, which, he wishes it distinctly understood, was not a press censorship, since he ignored, he says, "all suggestions looking to interference with the free and untrammelled publication of press matter, even by the most sensational and unpatriotic of journals." "The Associated Press, the Sun Press Association, and many of the leading journals in a most patriotic spirit," continued General Greely, "expressed freely and frequently not only their willingness, but also their desire, to refrain from the publication of any information that would embarrass the administration or be detrimental to the success of military operations. These offers were not Pickwickian, for in more than one instance information of the highest interest to the public has never been published to this day, being held secret by press associations, newspaper correspondents, and editors, as calculated if given publicity to injure the national cause." The censorship was of all matter which passed over the six separate cable systems from the United States to any foreign country, the cables communicating with Cuba and Porto Rico, and the land lines of Florida, and General Greely, having taken military occupation under the law of these cables and lines, was able, with the hearty coöperation of all the great cable and telegraph companies, to carry on the censorship with the least interference to private business and the greatest results to the Government ever known in such work. Lieut. Grant Squires served longest as censor of telegraphs at New York, which, General Greely says, was "the real center of telegraphic information."



FIELD OR WAGON TRAIN, SIGNAL CORPS, U. S. A.

SOME VOLUNTEER WAR RELIEF ASSOCIATIONS.

BY WILLIAM HOWE TOLMAN.

IN an emergency demanding relief on a large scale the service rendered by the smallest group who were working for any phase of relief is of value, but there were certain organizations which stand out in bold relief on account of their representative character and because they were able to accomplish larger results through the larger sum of money placed at their disposal. It is of interest and value to inquire what were the reasons for this larger measure of usefulness and to study the administrative methods which lead to definite results. It will be found that apart from the mere money given for relief, the most effective results were based on personal service, which vitalized the dollars, transmitting them into tactful sympathy and the immediate relief of distress. The unselfishness and the patriotism of many a group of workers were shown by the readiness with which they sought coöperation and affiliation with any other group which was working along similar lines, for the sake of making the service as wide as possible.

Very early in January, 1898, the proprietor of the *Christian Herald* felt that something should be done at once whereby the sympathy of America for the physical suffering in Cuba could be translated into actual relief. The columns of the paper were offered as a kind of collection agency for the raising of money and supplies. The State Department at Washington and Assistant Secretary Adeo accepted the general plan, but widened its scope by the appointment of a National Relief Committee of three, namely: Stephen E. Barton, of the American Red Cross, chairman; Hon. Charles A. Schieren, New York Chamber of Commerce, secretary and treasurer; and Dr. Louis Klopsch, proprietor of the *Christian Herald*.

All contributions were publicly acknowledged, and by the end of January two shipments each week were being made. By February many relief committees were organized to cooperate with the National. For special needs special provisions were made. Thus General Lee early in February needed nurses; through the fund raised by the *Christian Herald* 25 nurses were sent and their payment guaranteed. February 4 word was received from Clara Barton that she would go to Cuba to take up the direction of the establishment of hospitals and the administration of relief work; the same paper guaranteed her \$10,000 a month for immediate relief.

In March a division of the work was made, the Red Cross doing the hospital and asylum and kindred work, while the feeding of the destitute was undertaken by the others. Special work for the orphaned children was undertaken through the opening of the Lee Orphanage, which cared for about 70 children at one time. The "Silent Sufferers' Fund" was also planned for those particularly distressing cases that preferred to suffer in silence rather than make their needs known.

As introductory to the relief organizations during the actual progress of the war, mention should be made of the response of the King's Daughters and Sons to the sentiments of pity and the need to do something to relieve the starvation, nakedness, and distress of the Cubans. The National Relief Committee responded to the need for food, but the contribution of the King's Daughters, under the direction of the secretary of the order, Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, was a supply of clothing forwarded each week to Cuba through the proprietor of the *Christian Herald*, of New York, as he was a member of the National Relief Committee. The Executive Committee of the King's Daughters then became a Cuban Relief Committee and appealed for material to be made into garments for the needy Cuban women, the various local circles of the order in different parts of the country working in their home community and sending the results to the Central Committee in New York. Supplies of cloth were received in such large quantity that a sewing-room was opened in Astor Place, New York, where those women needing work were employed to do the sewing, thus relieving somewhat their own necessities, while the final result of their labors went to alleviate the distress in Cuba. The shipments of garments were forwarded each week till the ports were closed, the last lot of 5,000 having been sent by the *Texas*.

March 22 a call was sent out by Mrs. Ellen Hardin Walworth for some movement on the part of the women of the country to aid in war relief work. Previous to that she had written to the Secretaries of War and the Navy to see if the plan she had in mind would receive their sanction if carried out, because she realized that the most effective work could be accomplished through close coöperation with the governmental authorities. They replied affirmatively and the work

was begun, resulting in the Women's National War Relief Association, incorporated at Albany May 31, 1898. Its president was Mrs. Gen. U. S. Grant, its director-general Mrs. Ellen Hardin Walworth, and its assistant director-general Hellen Miller Gould. The board of vice-presidents comprised Mrs. Attorney-General John W. Griggs, Washington, D. C., and the wives of the governors of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Illinois, Virginia, Wyoming, Colorado, Connecticut, Ohio, North Dakota, Kentucky, Alabama, Oklahoma, Georgia, Idaho, Washington, New Mexico, Oregon, Montana, Arkansas, South Dakota, West Virginia, Maine, and Pennsylvania, with Mrs. Fitz Hugh Lee, Mrs. John Sherwood, Mrs. J. S. T. Stranahan, Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, Mrs. John A. Logan, and Mrs. William W. Teall.

May 9 the constitution was adopted, which stated its object in three sections: "Section 1. To give expression in a practical way to the patriotic sentiment of the women of the nation by finding means to supplement with material aid the sacrifices of time, strength, and life made by the men of the nation in the present war. Section 2. To keep in remembrance the cause of humanity and the preservation of liberty which made this war necessary, and to cultivate a sensitive regard for the honor of the nation and the flag. Section 3. To collect money and have it applied to the promotion of the health and comfort of officers, soldiers, and sailors in the army and navy, according to the approval of the President of the United States, the Secretaries of War and the Navy, and the surgeon-general."

The association was incorporated under the control of a national and executive committee and a board of directors. A certain amount of autonomy was given each local branch, but the policy was shaped by the central body. Auxiliaries or local committees were formed in cities, towns, and villages, among organizations and churches, or wherever a sufficient number of persons could combine to do efficient work. Reports were made individually or in groups to the Executive Committee. Each auxiliary was free as to the details of its work, which must conform to the direct purposes of the association. The officers were a secretary, to keep a full record of names and payments, and a treasurer, to receive funds and to forward them in sums of not less than five dollars to the treasurer of the Executive Committee. Members of all committees were *ex-officio* members of the National Committee. The machinery was somewhat ponderous, but in view of the speed necessary and the emergent demands it was as useful as could be expected.

The call was so urgent for money and supplies that their collection was pushed in New York, because the association could not take the time to perfect the administrative machinery for auxiliary collections, although large numbers responded on their own initiative.

The first money was used in fitting out the ship *Relief* with a carbonating plant, electric fans, canvas awnings, food, and medical supplies. After a personal visit to Fortress Monroe it was found that there was a special need for care for the convalescents, particularly in the cooking of their food. With the coöperation of the authorities ten *chefs*, with an equal number of assistants, were at once sent to Fortress Monroe. On behalf of the Woman's War Relief Association Mrs. Walworth was at Fortress Monroe when the first sick came in from Santiago on the transports, and was able to respond to their immediate needs with food and clothing. By the consent of Surgeon-General Sternberg and the coöperation of the Daughters of the American Revolution Hospital Corps, 9 nurses were kept at Fortress Monroe from July 9 to October 10. In addition to the 18 cooks that were sent the association contributed \$100 a week for the convalescent table. Three thousand dollars was distributed through official channels to aid in the equipment of the ambulance ships *Relief*, of the War Department, and *Solace*, of the Navy Department. Hospital supplies and flannel bands were sent to the Marine Corps at Santiago.

In addition to this work, after the close of the war \$2,500 worth of supplies were sent to Santiago, and also a steam launch, at a cost of \$1,600, was supplied for the yellow-fever hospital about two miles from Santiago. The launch took the place of a row-boat which had been used by the nurses. When the sick and convalescents began to be sent home the association placed nearly 2,000 men in different country hospitals and in homes, and in each case official returns regarding each soldier were sent to the war authorities, so that to the last the government officials were formally notified.

The treasurer of the association is Mrs. C. H. Raymond, who reported on November 10: Total receipts from May 16, \$53,014.59; expenditures, \$46,479.58; credit balance, \$6,535.01.

August 10 Mrs. Walworth visited Montauk Point, and was there when the convalescent troops were received and remained until September. From the fact that she was on the ground she was able to send home intelligently for just what supplies were needed, chiefly food-stuffs and medicines for the camp. The association sent women nurses to Montauk, and the two men nurses whom they previously provided were

then detailed to care for the dead. There was the closest and most cordial coöperation with all the other relief agencies at Camp Wikoff.

As the sick and wounded were being sent home the problem of their reception and care in homes was a pressing one. That was followed by the need of care for convalescents.

Shortly after the court of inquiry made its report the National Society of New England Women, under the presidency of Mrs. William Gerry Slade, determined that they must do their share toward the relief of the men who had gone to the front. In looking about where to render the most effective service, they found that certain corners of the field were already occupied. June 1 it was decided that the particular work of this society would concern the families of the soldiers until they should receive their pay and be able to care for themselves. A committee of five conferred with the New York Soldiers' and Sailors' Families' Protective Association, to see how the wisest coöperation could be effected, with the result that the New England Women were to be represented on the board of the latter society by six members. The women were to care for the personal wants of the soldiers, providing what money they could, and the rest would be supplied by the other society. June 13 headquarters were opened. The executive staff, among other officers, included two investigators, who personally examined those who were reported to them, so that the wisest help might be extended in the most helpful way. The society preferred to use its own investigators, who had the relief, so that the recipients might be spared the humiliation of receiving public or private charity. One hundred and seventy-five families were being cared for, the men's society paying the rentals.

One sub-committee of the women interested the children under ten years of age as they met them during the summer. A sum of money was raised by them, besides garments. A summer cottage was maintained at Lake Mohegan, where wives and families needing an outing were sent. Each member of the Executive Committee of twenty-five received 20 families to whom she was to give personal care. Some women were sent to the hospitals; others needing a brief period of rest were sent to the country home.

May 12, under the presidency of Maj. John Byrne, the New York Soldiers' and Sailors' Protective Association was organized, but not incorporated. Major Byrne and those interested with him knew what the Civil War meant to the families of those at the front, so the object of the association was to assist the families of men in the city of New York who had volunteered in the

army or navy or were serving in any capacity in the defense of our country. Membership in the association depended on the payment of one dollar a year. The government was in the hands of an Executive Board of thirty members and composed as follows: the general officers of the association, the chairmen of all the general committees, and sixteen members, the latter to be nominated by the president and approved by the association.

The Finance Committee appointed all the canvassers and determined the form of subscription papers. All the expenditures were supervised by a Committee on Disbursements and the accounts audited by them; they were especially charged with seeing that the liabilities did not exceed the available assets of the association. A Committee on Entertainments supervised their character and controlled in general all meetings ordered by the board. The Committee on Investigation and Relief was a very important one, as 943 families came under their care through their own investigators, although the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor and the Charity Organization Society were used in some instances. Emergent aid was based on careful investigation. The chairman wrote a personal letter to each soldier whose family applied for relief, asking him to keep away from the canteen, for the sake of sending home just as much money as possible.

The Committee on Auxiliary Societies was charged with the duty of securing the aid and support of other organizations, so that all organizations in New York which were working with a kindred object might become a part of this organization, thereby making the work more efficient and avoiding a duplication of assistance. In response to this, affiliation was made by the Women's Patriotic League and the Women's War Relief Commission. The National Society of New England Women cared for a large number of the families that were given to them.

The association is now working to secure the discharge of all soldiers whose families are in need and who are entitled to such discharge. The War Department has usually acted on their recommendations, and an attempt is now making to get the War Department to pay a certain proportion of the soldier's wages directly to his family.

During the summer Mr. Emerson McMillin, first vice-president, assisted in the maintenance of a summer home on Lake Mohegan, where wives and families needing the outing were sent. The North American Trust Company also coöperated by subscribing for \$500 worth of war bonds for each family, which they carried until able to

dispose of them at a profit of \$24, which profit was paid over to the families.

The total receipts to September 30, including cash in hand, were \$30,692.76. The disbursements were as follows :

General outdoor relief.....	\$17,672.80
Clerical, telegrams, and post.....	585.72
Rent.....	26.00
Wages and labor, chiefly in making up garments.....	2,975.67
Provisions.....	99.85
Clothing.....	898.34
Total.....	\$22,258.38

The receipts from an entertainment amounted to \$8,972.50, from general subscriptions to \$19,985.89, and from members' dues to \$1,734.37. All accounts were audited monthly by the chairman of the Disbursement Committee. The treasurer was the Hon. Thomas L. James.

The International Brotherhood League, which is the department for practical work of the Universal Brotherhood organization, founded in 1897 by Mrs. Katherine A. Tingley, its president, has for its seventh object the relief of "human suffering resulting from flood, famine, war, and other calamities, and generally to extend aid, help, and comfort to suffering humanity throughout the world." In pursuance of this object a "war relief call" was sent early in August to the members of the league asking for contributions in money, supplies, and provisions for the sick, specifying the necessary articles. The appeal met with an immediate response from members of the different branches throughout the country. Provisions and contributions were received to a small extent from the public through the activity of the members of the league, but practically all the aid in money and service came from the members of the organization.

Through the courtesy of General Wheeler three large hospital tents were sent from the

commissary department, and these, with several others, were put up along the road leading to Camp Wikoff, close to the depot. Members of the league volunteered their services, and the work was continued at the camp three weeks. During that time about 60 soldiers were occupants of the hospital beds, and probably several thousand sick soldiers received outdoor medical treatment and delicacies. About 75 were sent from these and from the general hospital to two other hospitals of the league. A two-horse conveyance was used exclusively for carrying sick, weak, and tired soldiers between camps and the depot. By this means also the various regiments were visited and suitable requisites dispensed for the comfort of needy soldiers. An empty store on One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street was a depot to receive supplies for the camp and for shipment to Cuba.

In conclusion, a study of the volunteer war relief associations shows (1) the absence of petty rivalries and jealousies and the willingness to do whatever would accomplish results ; (2) the need of immediate relief of actual physical suffering in camp and hospital excuses actions that could justly be criticised in the calm of peaceful times ; (3) a necessity for business methods and a complete record of actual results, not for the sake of business and statistics, but because care in this direction will economize time and effort in meeting another similar emergency. After the work of relief has been done, the best organization should be made to serve as an object-lesson on how to do effective work again ; (4) the nucleus of some kind of an organization should be continued for the sake of its administrative machinery, so that the collective piety and sympathy of the entire country can instantly be vitalized for any phase of emergent relief ; (5) that materialism and greed were not superior to altruism and patriotism, as expressed in social and personal service.



THE FEDERAL TAXATION OF INTERSTATE COMMERCE.

BY PROF. HENRY C. ADAMS.

(Statistician of the Interstate Commerce Commission.)

WHETHER hailed with enthusiasm or recognized with reluctance, it cannot be denied that the situation of the American people is not what it was before the late war. Political responsibilities have been broadened and commercial aspirations have been strengthened. A new opportunity of development has revealed itself upon which the nation seems eager to enter. A change so fundamental brings with it the necessity of readjustment in many directions, but nowhere is this necessity more imperative than in connection with the finances of the federal Government. Not only must revenue be increased, but the revenue system must be adjusted to the needs of a sovereign liable to frequent diplomatic complications and of a people determined to extend their foreign trade. The problem thus presented is as difficult in its details as it is comprehensive in its interests, but there is no thought of entering upon its full consideration at the present time. Proceeding rather upon the assumption that such a revision of the revenue system is demanded as may be necessary to bring the laws which impose taxes into harmony with the broader ideas likely in the future to control the policy of the United States, it will be the aim of this paper to suggest a line of argument in the support of the proposition that the taxation of interstate commerce should find place in the revised revenue system of the federal Government.

ELASTICITY IN REVENUE.

The first step in such an argument naturally deals with the character of a revenue system adequate to the needs of the federal Government, and the controlling consideration on this point is that the federal Government administers for a sovereign State, and is consequently clothed with exclusive jurisdiction over war and peace. Being thus exposed to unforeseen exigencies and to unusual fiscal demands, it is evident that a revenue system adjusted to its requirements should not only provide ample revenue, but be so constructed as to respond quickly to changes in law. On the occasion of the late war the treasury exigency was met by expanding the internal revenue system. Certain duties which had not for a long

time been used were called upon to contribute to the public need. The "war revenue act" must be conceded to have been a success. It opened up a new source of revenue quickly and without unusual expense, it provided adequately for the support of public credit, and it lent its influence to the diplomacy of Government by showing strength of treasury policies and elasticity in public revenue.

The reason why this act succeeded is instructive and bears a peculiar significance for the question under discussion. Although most of the internal revenue duties imposed from 1861 to 1865 had been repealed after having served the purpose of the Government during the Civil War, the internal revenue organization had not been abolished, and for this reason the Government was in a position to avoid those serious delays which in 1812 and in 1861 proved so serious an embarrassment to the Treasury. It thus appears that the federal revenue system as it existed before the late war provided for elasticity in revenue by the remission of stamp duties and other analogous duties during a period of peace, in order that they might be reimposed to make headway against fiscal emergency in time of war; and many considerations might be urged in favor of such an adjustment as a permanent feature of the federal revenue system.

A NEW SOURCE REQUIRED.

If the above statement be accepted, it is evident that the taxes imposed by the war revenue act ought, now that peace has returned, to be again remitted, since otherwise they could not again be used to make headway against a future exigency. To retain these taxes would be to destroy that feature of the federal system by which the finances of the nation during the recent war were so easily and effectively controlled. Inasmuch, however, as the war has entailed a permanent increase in the annual budget, it is evident that the loss of revenue due to the remission of the war taxes must be made good by some new form of taxation. When one considers what is implied in the demand of the nation for a more extended foreign trade, it is probable that customs duties can be made to contribute

more than they now contribute; and it is certain that the permanent features of the internal revenue system—that is to say, the taxes imposed on spirituous and malt liquors and tobaccos—will in the future, as in the past, continue to be charged with very high revenue rates. One is therefore justified in concluding that a new source of revenue must be opened to the federal Government, for in no other manner can the needed revenue be secured without destroying the ability of the system to respond quickly to an exigency demand.

The same conclusion—namely, that a new source of revenue should be placed at the disposal of Congress—would be arrived at in case the recently imposed war taxes should be retained as a source of permanent income. The only difference would be that on this assumption the new taxes would be obliged to serve as exigency taxes. In whatever way, then, the problem be regarded, an expansion of the federal revenue system seems imperative, and the suggestion here submitted is that the needed revenue be secured through the selection by Congress of interstate commerce as an object of taxation.

THE NEED OF UNIFORMITY.

A consideration of the financial necessity of a new source of revenue would naturally be followed in the argument by what, for want of a better phrase, may be termed the argument of historical sequence. The federal control and taxation of inland commerce find support at the present time in those considerations so successfully urged in favor of Congressional control and taxation of foreign commerce at the time the Constitution was adopted. Conditions have changed, but the reasons remain. It was not alone the need of revenue which induced the States to concede to Congress exclusive jurisdiction over imports; the necessity of uniformity in all matters pertaining to commerce for the establishment and development of healthful trade and industry were equally imperative. Says Webster: "The entire purpose for which the delegates assembled at Annapolis was to devise means for the uniform regulation of trade." Says Chief Justice Marshall: "The power over commerce . . . was one of the primary objects for which the people of America adopted their Constitution." It is true that this discussion held in mind foreign rather than internal commerce, but the arguments which were then urged so effectively apply with equal force to the proposition that Congress should be granted a preponderating influence, if not an exclusive jurisdiction, over inland traffic.

There are in the United States to-day 185,000

miles of railroad, and the tonnage annually carried over these lines is in excess of 95,000,000,000 ton-miles. This network of railroads it is which creates an industrial unit out of what would otherwise be lifeless union. Inland commerce, like foreign commerce, is one of the fundamental conditions of national life, and it is essential, in order that it may be worked for the highest benefit of the nation, that it should be conducted under uniform rules and uniform conditions. It is not too much to say that the need of uniform control over interstate traffic is now as vital as was the necessity of uniform control over foreign trade in 1789. The fundamental relations are the same, the constitutional provisions are the same, the significance of uniformity is the same, and it would be fortunate should Congress, availing itself of the necessity of reorganizing the federal revenue system, introduce, so far as lies in its power, an harmonious system of railroad taxation.

FEDERAL VERSUS STATE TAXATION.

The argument from historic sequence then reduces itself, under present conditions, to the claim that Congress should undertake the taxation of interstate commerce because a reasonable adjustment of railroad taxation is exceedingly difficult, if not, indeed, impossible, so long as it continues under the exclusive jurisdiction of the State governments. It is a mistake to assume that federal finances are independent of the finances of the States, the municipalities, and the minor civil divisions. The taxpayer is a citizen of each grade of government and is equally interested in the proper adjustment of the revenue systems of each. It is, of course, true that Congress has no jurisdiction over State finances, and cannot, therefore, be held formally responsible for the inconsistencies and complexities that exist in the taxing laws of the several States; but this is no reason why the revenue needed by the federal Government should not be raised in such a manner as to invite, if not to compel, uniformity of action on the part of the State Legislatures. It is primarily in the interest of State and local taxation that Congress should undertake the taxation as well as the control of interstate commerce.

CONFUSION IN THE PRESENT SYSTEM.

It is not difficult to understand why State Legislatures, unaided by the federal Government, cannot frame a satisfactory scheme of railroad taxation. Railroad service follows the demand for transportation, and, consequently, railroad construction and the operations of railroad property disregard local boundaries. To express

this in another way, commercial jurisdiction of railroad corporations extends beyond the political jurisdiction of the governments which impose taxes upon them, and confusion is the inevitable result. One cannot discover the manner in which a railroad property is taxed without inquiring of the revenue laws of all the States through which it operates. Were there some common understanding respecting the principles according to which revenue legislation should be drawn, this plurality of legislative centers might not lead to any great confusion; but there is no such understanding, and thus far in the history of the American people there has been no serious effort to arrive at such an understanding. The consequence is that State taxation of railroad property is full of complexities and inconsistencies, and being thus devoid of system cannot be effectively and advantageously administered. The student may, perhaps, be able to group local revenue laws about some three or four general methods, but there is no guarantee that contiguous States will follow the same method, and consequently the fact is of little importance so far as harmony in the general system is concerned.

DOUBLE TAXATION AND KINDRED EVILS GROWING OUT OF THE CONFLICT OF LAWS.

The evils of such a condition are both specific and general in their character. The specific evil is that the laws of railroad taxation not only present a motive for evading tax payments, but at the same time they provide the means by which evasion, to some degree at least, may be accomplished. This is true because the inconsistencies which they embody are of the nature of double taxation, a fact which renders it comparatively easy for a corporation operating in several jurisdictions to play off the demands of one State against those of another. This is no place to enter upon a detailed consideration of this subject, but that the evil to which reference is made is very real will be questioned by no one who has given the subject even a cursory examination. The general evils that follow the present unsystematic method of taxing railroads are no less serious, though perhaps more difficult of statement. They are such as inevitably arise out of inconsistencies in statute law. The courts in their vain attempt to arrive at harmony have only succeeded in increasing the confusion that surrounds the subject by a strained interpretation of the phraseology of revenue legislation. A dictionary of taxing terms supported by quotations from court decisions upon tax laws would make a very curious book; indeed, so divergent is the meaning attached to the same phrases by

different courts that a general enactment designed to establish harmonious practice throughout the country would be obliged to accompany its text by a series of legislative definitions. This confusion reaches out in many directions, and not least among the mischiefs which it works are the numerous casuistries to which it leads both assessors and assessed. Unfortunately, this is so common a result of the administration of revenue laws that it has ceased to excite comment.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE RAILROADS.

Many plans have been urged for overcoming the evils incident to the present situation, but never, I believe, has the easiest and simplest method of procedure claimed attention. The solution of the problem here submitted is that the federal Government, being the only government that enjoys a jurisdiction coincident with internal trade, should force uniformity in the taxation of railroads by subjecting interstate commerce to federal taxation. The reason why this plan has never before received consideration is that railroads did not assume their modern significance until about 1870, and from that time until within recent years the federal Government has been in the enjoyment of surplus revenue. This situation no longer exists. The revenue of the central Government must be increased, and it would be fortunate for the country should this revision be carried on in such a manner as to indicate clearly and unmistakably the road of reform for State and local taxation in so far as the revenue systems of the several grades of government come into contact.

FEDERAL AND STATE SYSTEMS COMPLEMENTARY.

Let us notice briefly what influence the federal taxation of interstate commerce would be likely to exert upon railroad taxation by the States, and, indeed, that influence is so direct and simple that even its exhaustive statement would be brief. It is generally admitted that earnings rather than valuation, cost, or physical description is the correct basis for the taxation of corporations, and it may, therefore, be assumed that Congress would select the earnings on interstate commerce as the basis of its levy. It is evident, however, that the segregation of this class of earnings would disclose at the same time that portion of railroad earnings which pertain to the States, and one may confidently predict that the successful establishment of the taxation of interstate earnings of railroads by the federal Government would induce the States to accept the earnings upon State traffic as the basis of State taxation. Should this simple and approved base

of railroad assessments be substituted for the complexities and inconsistencies of the existing conglomeration of revenue laws, and should the terms employed in the local laws be the same as those of the federal law and be interpreted in the same manner, the problem of the taxation of this class of corporations would be well-nigh solved. Tax evasion would be impossible, tax duplication would be avoided, and there would undoubtedly be a trend toward uniformity in the tax-rate. This result, to say nothing of the advantage of this source of revenue to the federal Government, would amply justify Congress in undertaking the taxation of interstate commerce.

A CENTRAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS AND ACCOUNTS.

Besides the financial argument and the argument from historic sequence, yet another consideration may be urged in support of this proposition. The extension of the federal taxing system to internal trade would be of decided advantage to railroad commissioners in the performance of such duties as are imposed upon them. This is no place to review the activities of railroad commissioners, but upon one point there can be no question. Their experience has rendered evident to all who are interested in their success the importance of information of many sorts. Casual statements, whether true or false, are of relatively little use. Information to be effective must be continuous from year to year and come directly from those who operate the lines. This has led to a keen appreciation, on the part of public officials, of the necessity of an authoritative system of accounts. The federal commission in its reports to Congress has frequently called attention to the desirability of a bureau of statistics and accounts, with clearly defined authority over the auditing departments of the railroads, and the State railroad commissioners in their convention of two years ago adopted a series of resolutions that held the same end in view. There is no doubt upon this point respecting the sentiment of those railroad specialists to whom is intrusted the duty of guarding the interest of the public in matters of inland trade.

PROPOSED ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS.

The bearing of this fact upon the question in hand is clear and direct. The organization necessary to obtain a statistical separation of State and interstate commerce, for the purpose of State and federal railroad taxation, is of the same sort, and its work would move in the same direction as the organization which the railroad commissioners deem necessary for the more perfect exe-

cution of the laws intrusted to them. Whether the administration of this organization be placed under the Treasury Department, or whether, as would seem more natural, it be intrusted to the Interstate Commerce Commission and the declarations of this body be accepted by the Treasury Department as the basis of its assessments, is a matter of relatively slight significance. It is the incorporation of rules of accounting in a federal law and the application of such rules to the book-keeping of the railroads that is regarded as essential to the successful working out of the commission idea. It is the fact of the authoritative separation of railroad earnings upon lines recognized by the Constitution that is accepted as the important thing.

DELIMITATION OF STATE AND INTERSTATE TRAFFIC.

But the separation and localization of traffic bears a particular as well as a general interest for railroad commissioners. It is, in the first place, a separation that corresponds to the respective jurisdictions of federal and State officials, and its delineation, like a line drawn by a court surveyor through a disputed territory, would assign to each grade of government the traffic over which it has legal jurisdiction. This would be of relatively greater importance to the States as showing to each the traffic to which its laws pertain than to the federal Government; for a larger number of questions arise that the States cannot answer on account of their inability to distinguish the local earnings of through lines on local traffic than arise in connection with interstate commerce. When, however, it is recognized that the railroads of this country constitute a system and must be administered as a unit, one is not at liberty thus to particularize the advantages of a given law. It is essential for the success of railroad control through commissions that all commissions should exercise their authority up to the limit of their respective jurisdictions, for then only can questions be presented for adjudication in a clear and reasonable manner. It is no slight consideration in support of the proposition that Congress should impose a tax on interstate commerce that the administration of such a tax would result in an authoritative measurement not only of interstate and State traffic, but of State traffic by States. Such a measure would enable law-makers to know the volume of business upon which their laws are to operate, while those who administer the laws would be enabled to calculate with greater accuracy the manner in which their decisions are likely to work. Under the influence of such conditions crude and unreasonable arguments,

whether of political agitators or corporation attorneys, would be in large measure eliminated from the discussion of the railroad problem. The courts, too, would be assisted in their task of harmonizing legislative enactments by the information which the levy and collection of the tax on interstate commerce would place at their disposal, as well as by the administrative rules of accounting which the levy and collection of such a tax would render necessary. Considerations of this class might be pressed yet further, but sufficient has been said to suggest in what manner the federal taxation of interstate commerce would assist a just administration of railroad law.

OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED.

A suggestion of the points touched in a discussion upon the federal taxation of interstate commerce would not be complete without a consideration of the objections that may be urged against such a proposition. These objections are likely to come from two sources—the railroads who are to pay the taxes and the States who now enjoy a considerable revenue from railroad taxation.

The railroads will, of course, fear an increase in taxation. This may or may not result from the measure proposed; but should this be the case, the owners of railroad property as compared with other property cannot reasonably object to increased payments. The aggregate annual expenditures of government in the United States, including the expenditure of all grades of government, was, before the recent war, something in excess of \$1,000,000,000. The aggregate wealth of the country, assuming an increase of about \$15,000,000,000 since 1890, stands at about \$80,000,000,000, showing the rate of taxation to be $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the valuation of property. The amount paid annually by railroads, exclusive of stamp duties imposed by the recent war revenue act, is about \$43,000,000, which, estimated on the balance-sheet assets, shows a rate of taxation of less than 4 mills. This is doubtless below the real rate of payment demanded from railroads, because the balance-sheet assets are in excess of the true valuation of railroad property. Accepting, however, two-thirds of the balance-sheet statement as representing a true valuation, which brings the figure somewhere near the census estimate of railroad property in 1890, it appears that the annual payment of railroads for the support of Government will not exceed a 6-mill rate. As compared with what may be termed the basal rate of taxation in the United States, therefore, railroad property bears about half as much as wealth in general.

ARE THE RAILROADS PAYING THEIR SHARE OF THE TAXES?

It may be urged that the above comparison is incorrect because it overlooks the amounts paid by railroad corporations in the form of indirect taxes, as also the amounts paid by the holders of railroad stocks and railroad bonds as personal-property taxes. These omissions are acknowledged, but it is doubtful if they vitiate the comparison, for, on the other hand, the basal rate of taxation was arrived at by computing aggregate expenditures upon aggregate valuation. As a matter of fact, however, only 65 per cent. of this valuation appears upon the assessor's books for the purpose of taxation, so that $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. accepted as the basal rate in this country is below the rate actually paid by that portion of the wealth of the nation actually assessed for taxation.

A comparison of what railroads in this country pay for the support of the Government with the corresponding payment in other countries also would show that this species of property does not bear relatively excessive charges. The railroads of Prussia, for example, with a mileage far below that of the United States, after contributing \$75,000,000 to contractual payments, turn over to the public treasury a clear income in excess of \$50,000,000 each year. This is no argument—it is merely an interesting fact; but considerations such as these suggest that the public might have a case against the railroads should an increase in railroad taxation be proposed.

WOULD THE STATES LOSE REVENUE?

It is likely the more serious objection to the federal taxation of interstate commerce will come from those who see in the measure a curtailment of the revenue of the States, and although Congress has the right to disregard such protests, it yet remains true that the measure would realize a more speedy success should it receive the general approval of the people. It is difficult to meet this objection, urged in the interest of the States, not because it is in itself strong, but for the reason that the considerations which set it aside are of such a general and comprehensive nature that they cannot be easily grasped. A response to this objection should cover at least two points.

In the first place, it should show that under the present political organization the States do not need as prolific a source of revenue as do the federal and local governments. About 9 per cent. of the aggregate expenditures for governmental purposes covers the expenditures of State governments, and except the States undertake

some extensive schemes of internal improvements, it is difficult to see how they may increase their ratio of expenditures in the future. In the present juncture this observation bears a special pertinency, because the occasion for the extension of public income at the present time is found in the increased activities of the federal Government.

In the second place, the plan under consideration cannot be appreciated so long as it is regarded as an isolated proposition. The response to the objection of the States should lay stress upon the fact that the federal taxation of interstate commerce is part of a comprehensive programme of fiscal reform which proceeds from the assumption that the revenue laws of the federal Government, the States, the municipalities, and the minor civil divisions constitute a comprehensive revenue system and that each grade of government is equally interested in good reform and well-administered laws on the part of every other grade of government. The student of taxation is appalled by the complexities and contradictions that at present exist. He sees no hope of permanent reform except under the influence of a programme which shall embrace all the grades of government. The first step in such a programme must be the segregation of the sources of revenue by which each grade of government will be assigned its particular domain of taxation. Were there opportunity to draw out such a programme, many considerations would present themselves for assigning railroad taxation to the federal Government. Not only would this relieve the States of the most difficult revenue problem with which they are now called upon to deal (and which, in the opinion of the writer, they can never solve), but it would possess the marked advantage of bringing the taxation of railroad property and

the control of railroad commerce under the jurisdiction of the same government.*

THE POWERS OF CONGRESS.

A final observation may not be inappropriate. Even though the States should oppose the taxation by Congress of interstate commerce, it may, nevertheless, be the duty of the federal Government to consider this measure. It is a mistake for Congress to regard revenue laws in the light of the interest of the federal Government alone. This body stands for the people as a whole. It speaks for the nation; and while, of course, it is not competent for Congress to undertake the regulation of State taxation by a statutory enactment, it may very properly, in adjusting its revenue system, accept as the controlling consideration the influence which its laws are likely to exert upon the revenue legislation of the States. That the States are incompetent in the matter of railroad taxation is beyond question. It is equally sure that the commercial and industrial interests of the nation demand a uniform taxation of railroad property. Should the States be willing to coöperate with Congress, there are many reasons for separating commerce between them and the federal Government for the purpose of taxation; but should the States, animated by a mistaken pride, seek to reserve to themselves the taxing of railroad property, it is believed that Congress, availing itself of its undoubted right and speaking in the enduring interests of the nation, would be justified in forcing the States to substitute harmony for confusion in the taxation of inland commerce.

* In my treatise, "The Science of Finance," Part II., Book II., Chap. 8, I have endeavored to draw out a plan for the reform of the revenue system of the United States, all grades of government being included.



THE DRIFT TOWARD COLONIAL AND PROTECTORATE GOVERNMENTS IN THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS.

BY DANIEL DORCHESTER, D.D.

THE United States stands face to face with a new problem, thrust upon her by the issues of the late war. Hitherto she has been content to live within herself, husbanding for the benefit of her own people the higher life her institutions have developed. Recent events call upon her to disseminate her best gifts in "regions beyond," and to share a part directly in the uplift of needy outside populations. Shall she establish colonial and protectorate relations over the weaker people thrust upon her? Let us first consult the auguries of the past.

Europe was saved from the terrible sway of Islam and preserved for a better civilization, for the dissemination of which she was specially fitted. With a pagan Europe or a Mohammedan Europe, during the last four centuries, how different had been the condition of all the other continents. Who shall say that the United States, peopled from Europe and sharing in her civilization in an even higher degree, is not also called to the same world-wide responsibility?

The overflow of Europe into all the other continents, during the last three or four centuries, is an intensely interesting phase of modern history, unparalleled in all the world's previous annals. Forces radiating directly from the old centers of Christian civilization now hold sway over 450,000,000 people long known as pagan and half civilized, and heretofore controlled from within their own borders. Russia has overflowed all northern Asia to the Pacific, and she is now girding this broad belt with railroads, telegraphs, and commerce. England, with a home base of 120,979 square miles, or not quite as large as New Mexico alone, with her powerful navy, commercial tact, and English ideas, has brought under her sway large portions of all the continents, comprising over 9,000,000 square miles and over 300,000,000 people. France and the Netherlands also are not inconspicuous factors in this great advance.

Commerce, maritime conquest, and civilization received a great impulse from the achievements of Christopher Columbus. This impulse was intensified by the Reformation. First Spain, then

Portugal, established colonies in the New World. Not until near the close of the sixteenth century (1583), when Newfoundland was possessed, did Great Britain gain a footing in America, and at that time she could boast of no other colonial possession. In the days of Philip II. the people of the Netherlands, trained from early youth to battle with the waves, found their true element on the ocean. With a closely restricted domain on the land, they extended their empire on the sea. Their fleets were to be found in all waters, competing with England, Spain, and the Genoese upon the great oceans. Ambitious for colonial possessions, at the beginning of the seventeenth century we find them in the far-off East Indies, the West Indies, and on Manhattan Island. But England outran all in the race of progress. The beginning in Newfoundland in 1583 was followed by surprising expansions of territorial possessions in the two following centuries.

GREAT BRITAIN—1600 TO 1800.

DATE OF ACQUISITION.	COLONIAL POSSESSIONS.	AREA IN ENGLISH SQUARE MILES.
1704	In Europe: Gibraltar.....	(nearly) 2
1629	In America: Bahamas.....	2,021
1609	Bermuda.....	24
1609-1760	Canada.....	372,280
1670	Honduras.....	13,500
1629-65	Jamaica and Turk's Island.....	6,900
1629-1763	Leeward Islands.....	738
1583	Newfoundland.....	40,200
1797	Trinidad.....	1,755
1606-1806	Windward Islands.....	775
	In Africa:	
1631	Gambia.....	21
1660	Gold Coast.....	6,000
1661	Lagos.....	5,000
1660	St. Helena.....	47
1788	Sierra Leone.....	468
	In Asia:	
1796	Ceylon.....	25,365
1625-1849	India.....	908,350
1785-1819	Straits Settlements.....	1,350
	In Australasia:	
1787	New South Wales and Norfolk Isl- and.....	825,009
1787	Victoria.....	88,198
	Total in 1800.....	1,799,004

In two centuries Great Britain gained over 1,799,004 square miles in four continents.

Additional gains by Great Britain from 1800 to 1880.

DATE OF ACQUISITION.	COLONIAL POSSESSIONS.	AREA IN ENGLISH SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION IN 1881.
1814	In Europe:		
	Hellgoland.....	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	2,001
1800	Malta.....	115	149,783
1838	In America:		
	Falkland Islands.....	6,500	1,533
1808	Guiana.....	76,000	252,186
1815	In Africa:		
	Ascension.....	84	27
1808-77	Cape of Good Hope and dependencies.....	847,855	1,420,162
1810	Mauritius.....	708	377,373
1843	Natal.....	18,750	341,587
1838	In Asia:		
	Aden.....	5	35,165
1878	Cyprus.....	4,200	18,587
1843	Hong Kong.....	29	180,402
1846	Labuan.....	45	6,238
1855	Perim.....	7	35,165
1874	In Australasia:		
	Fiji Islands.....	7,403	127,195
1881	Botumab.....	14	2,500
1814	New Zealand.....	105,243	544,032
1859	Queensland.....	689,520	213,525
1838	South Australia.....	908,890	279,885
1808	Tasmania.....	26,215	115,705
1829	Western Australia.....	1,057,250	29,708
	Acquired from 1800 to 1880.....	3,223,687 $\frac{1}{4}$	4,112,808
	Acquired prior to 1800.....	1,799,004	
	Total in 1880.....	5,022,691 $\frac{1}{4}$	

In eighty years England added over 3,000,000 square miles, or nearly twice as much as in the two previous centuries. Australasia opens her doors widely, and in all over 5,000,000 people come under her sway. But the greatest gain is yet to come. In 1898 Great Britain stands before the world with the following colonies, dependencies, and protectorates, all gathered under her sway since 1583.

COLONIAL POSSESSIONS, ETC.	AREA IN ENGLISH SQUARE MILES.	1891. POPULATION.
Europe:		
Gibraltar.....	2	20,658
Malta and Gozo.....	119	176,231
Totals for Europe.....	121	196,889
Asia:		
Aden and Perim.....	80	41,910
Ceylon.....	25,865	3,008,466
Hong Kong.....	80	261,258
India (British).....	1,068,814	221,173,932
India (Feudatory States).....	731,944	66,060,479
Labuan.....	80	8,853
Straits Settlements.....	1,472	558,935
Totals for Asia.....	1,827,235	291,069,853
Africa:		
Ascension.....	85	140
Basutoland.....	10,298	250,000
Cape Colony, etc.....	292,000	1,821,550
Mauritius.....	705	374,940
Natal.....	32,900	773,000
St. Helena.....	47	3,890
West Africa:		
Gambia.....	2,700	13,100
Gold Coast.....	40,000	1,474,000

COLONIAL POSSESSIONS, ETC.	AREA IN ENGLISH SQUARE MILES.	1891. POPULATION.
West Africa—Continued:		
Lagos.....	1,071	85,000
Sierra Leone.....	15,000	74,900
Totals for Africa.....	394,751	4,875,520
America:		
Bermudas.....	20	15,950
Canada.....	8,315,647	4,333,300
Falkland Islands and South Georgia.....	7,500	1,950
British Guiana.....	109,000	278,280
British Honduras.....	7,532	33,800
Newfoundland and Labrador.....	162,200	208,000
West Indies:		
Bahamas.....	4,466	52,000
Jamaica and Turk's Islands.....	4,424	708,000
Barbados.....	166	189,000
Leeward Islands.....	701	127,800
Windward Islands.....	784	173,000
Trinidad and Tobago.....	1,888	261,300
Totals for America.....	8,614,338	6,882,930
Australasia:		
Fiji.....	7,740	120,500
New Guinea.....	88,460	350,000
New South Wales.....	310,367	1,297,900
New Zealand.....	104,471	714,200
Queensland.....	668,497	472,200
South Australia.....	908,890	390,200
Tasmania.....	26,215	166,100
Victoria.....	88,198	1,174,900
Western Australia.....	975,920	137,900
Totals for Australasia.....	3,173,558	4,793,900
In 1898, total colonies and dependencies of Great Britain.....	9,010,008	307,843,122
In 1800, total colonies and dependencies.....	1,799,004	
Area gained since 1800.....	7,210,999	

What a magnificent scheme England now has in hand, projecting a railroad through the whole length of Africa from Cape Town to Cairo. She has already brought the greater part of the region under her sway. With this extension of English influence and ideas in the Dark Continent, how do her prospects brighten! Every Anglo-Saxon must be proud to belong to a race which is so grandly marching forward to the conquest of the world.

FRANCE—PRIOR TO 1800.

DATE OF ACQUISITION.	COLONIAL DEPENDENCIES.	AREA IN SQUARE KILOMETERS.*	POPULATION.
1679	In Asia:		
	India.....	509	
1687	In Africa:		
1649	Senegambia.....	250,000	
1635	Réunion.....	1,979	
	St. Marie.....	64	
1626	In America:		
1635	Guiana, or Cayenne.....	121,413	
1634	Martinique.....	987	
1635	Guadeloupe and dependencies.....	1,899	
	St. Pierre and Miquelon.....	235	
	Total for France in 1800.....	377,056	

* A kilometer is 62 per cent. of a square mile.

No figures for these countries up to 1800.

Additional from 1800 to 1880.

DATE OF ACQUISITION.	COLONIAL DEPENDENCIES.	AREA IN SQUARE KILOMETERS.	POPULATION.
1861	In Asia: Cochin China.....	59,453	1,597,013
1843	In Africa: Gabun and Gold Coast.....	20,000	186,138
1843	Nossi-Bé and Mayotte.....	113	23,256
1854	In Oceania: New Caledonia.....	17,080	41,694
1864	Loyalty Islands.....	2,743	13,174
1841	Marquesas Islands.....	1,274	5,764
1880	Tahiti and dependencies.....	1,179	11,173
	Protected Countries: Kingdom of Cambodia.....	88,861	1,020,000
1862	Tunis.....	118,000	2,000,000
1881	Gain of France from 1800 to 1880.....	808,708	4,898,195
	Acquired prior to 1800.....	877,056	
	Total in 1880.....	680,784	

FRENCH POSSESSIONS IN 1898.

In 1898 France has the following colonies, dependencies, and protectorates.

DATE OF ACQUISITION.	COLONIES, ETC.	AREA IN SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION.
1679	Asia: India.....	197	286,910
1884	Annam.....	81,000	6,000,000
1862	Cambodia.....	46,000	1,500,000
1861	Cochin China.....	22,950	2,035,000
1884-93	Tonkin and Siam.....	122,000	12,000,000
	Totals for Asia.....	272,147	21,821,910
1830	Africa: Algeria.....	184,474	4,430,000
1861	Algerian Sahara.....	123,500	50,000
1867	Tunis.....	50,840	1,500,000
1867	Sahara Region.....	1,684,000	2,500,000
1890	Senegal.....	115,800	2,000,000
1843	Western Soudan.....	250,190	4,900,000
1863	Ivory Coast, etc.....	64,429	650,000
1863	Dahome.....	14,140	600,000
1884	Congo.....	496,029	8,950,000
1896	Bagirim.....	65,650	1,000,000
1864	Obox and Small Coast.....	8,640	30,000
1849	Réunion.....	970	171,720
1898	Comoro Isles.....	623	53,000
1843	Mayotte.....	143	8,700
1841	Nossi-Bé.....	113	7,800
1843	Ste. Marie.....	64	7,670
1896	Madagascar.....	227,750	3,500,000
	Totals for Africa.....	3,288,034	30,358,990
1626	America: Guiana.....	46,850	22,710
1684	Guadeloupe and dependencies.....	698	167,100
1636	Martinique.....	890	187,890
1636	St. Pierre and Miquelon.....	93	6,250
	Totals for America.....	48,011	383,750
1854	Oceania: New Caledonia and dependencies.....	7,630	51,000
1841	Marquesas Islands.....	490	4,450
1890	Tahiti and Moorea.....	455	11,800
1861	Tubuai and Raiavoe.....	80	880
1861	Tuamotu and Gambier Islands.....	390	5,250
1887	Wallis Archipelago, etc.....	100	5,000
	Totals for Oceania.....	9,135	78,380
	Aggregates for France, 1898.....	8,617,827	52,642,990
	Area in 1880.....	680,784	
	Gain in area since 1880.....	2,966,563	

It is not a small thing for France to acquire so much territory, when we consider the frequent disturbances in her government, and to bring 52,000,000 uncivilized races under her sway.

SPAIN IN THE EARLIER PERIOD AND SPAIN TO-DAY.

A complete history of the Spanish colonies would read like a thrilling romance. In the middle of the fifteenth century, comprising only the two kingdoms of Castile and Arragon, Spain started out under the united sovereignties of Ferdinand and Isabella, expelled the Moors, against whom the nation had unavailingly struggled for eight hundred years, and gained possession of the whole Spanish peninsula. In the very year that the last Moorish city capitulated, and directly from an interview with Isabella, under the walls of Grenada, Christopher Columbus went forth to the discovery of America. During the next century came the founding of colonies in the New World, while at home Charles V. and Philip II. extended the Spanish dominion over Germany, the Netherlands, much of Austria, and a considerable portion of Italy, one of the greatest empires of modern times. With such an immense background of home support, colonies were multiplied rapidly in South America, Central America, Mexico, Florida, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, California, etc. Untold wealth flowed from these colonies, but it flowed only to demoralize Spain, and she grew no richer. Looking out from the perspective of our times, their history furnishes only a pitiable vanishing view. The vast region which opened to Spanish colonies, which was in a large measure occupied by them, and from which they were excluded by no competing force, comprises the main portion of South America, Central America, Mexico, and those parts of the United States contiguous to Mexico, amounting to nearly 10,000,000 square miles, nearly equal to the total colonial area of Great Britain at the present time. What is the present exhibit?

In 1880.

COLONIES, ETC.	SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION.
In America: Cuba.....	41,655	1,424,619
Porto Rico.....	3,670	754,313
	45,325	2,178,932
In Oceania: Philippine Islands.....	114,226	6,300,000
Caroline Islands and Palaoes.....	560	86,000
Mariana Islands.....	420	8,000
	117,306	6,344,000
In Africa: Fernando Po, Annaben, Corisco, Elobey, and San Juan.....	850	35,000
Totals in 1880.....	164,926	8,558,937

In 1898.

COLONIES, ETC.	SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION.
America:		
Cuba.....	41,855	1,681,687
Porto Rico.....	2,670	808,708
Totals for America.....	45,325	2,488,395
Oceania:		
Philippine Islands.....	114,328	7,000,000
Sulu Islands.....	950	75,000
Caroline Islands and Palaoe.....	580	88,000
Mariana Islands.....	420	10,172
Totals for Oceania.....	116,256	7,121,172
Africa:		
Rio de Oro and Adrar.....	242,000	100,000
Iful (near Cape Nun).....	27	6,000
Fernando Po, Annabon, Corisco, Elobey, and San Juan.....	850	30,000
Totals for Africa.....	242,877	136,000
Aggregates in 1898.....	405,458	9,695,567

Of the above, under the recent treaty of peace about 160,601 square miles and 9,513,395 people come under the control of the United States, leaving to Spain 244,837 square miles and 182,172 people in her colonies.

PORTUGAL—NEARLY ALL ACQUIRED PRIOR TO 1800.

In 1880.

COLONIES, ETC.	SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION.
In Africa.....	697,335	2,484,080
In Asia.....	7,180	849,558
Totals.....	704,495	3,333,538

In 1898.

Africa:		
Cape Verde Islands.....	1,480	114,180
Guinea.....	4,440	820,000
Princes' and St. Thomas Islands.....	380	24,880
Angola.....	484,800	4,119,000
East Africa.....	301,000	3,120,000
Totals for Africa.....	792,080	8,197,790
Asia:		
India (Gos, etc.).....	1,390	494,836
Danao Diu.....	168	77,454
Indian Archipelago (Timor, etc.).....	7,458	300,000
China (Macao, etc.).....	4	78,627
Totals for Asia.....	9,020	950,917
In 1898, aggregates.....	801,100	9,148,707
In 1880.....	704,495	3,333,538
Gain since 1880.....	96,605	5,815,124

This is a remarkable increase for this little country of Portugal in the last eighteen years—namely, 96,605 square miles and 5,815,124 people.

THE NETHERLANDS.

In 1880.

COLONIES, ETC.	ENGLISH SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION.
The East Indies.....	612,863	25,418,500
The West Indies.....	408	42,450
Surinam.....	46,080	68,476
Totals.....	659,126	25,530,426

In 1898.

East Indies—Java, Madura, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, etc.....	786,400	34,000,000
West Indies—Curaçao.....	408	48,744
Surinam.....	46,080	68,000
Totals in 1898.....	782,808	34,201,744
Totals in 1880.....	659,126	25,530,426
Gain in eighteen years.....	123,677	8,671,318

With a home base of only 12,648 square miles the Netherlands have in their colonies 782,803 square miles, a gain of 123,677 square miles during the last eighteen years. With less than 5,000,000 people in her home population she has 34,201,744 population in her colonies.

GERMANY.

Germany's colonial dependencies have been acquired since 1880.

In 1898.

DATE OF ACQUISITION.	COLONIES, ETC.	SQUARE MILES OF AREA.	POPULATION.
1884	Africa:		
1884	Togoland.....	23,180	2,500,000
1884	Camerones.....	191,120	8,500,000
1884-90	German Southwest Africa.....	822,450	200,000
1885-90	German East Africa.....	884,180	4,000,000
	Totals for Africa.....	920,920	10,200,000
	In the Pacific:		
1885-96	Kaiser Wilhelm's Land.....	70,000	110,000
1885	Bismarck Archipelago.....	20,000	188,000
1886	Solomon's Islands.....	9,000	88,000
1886	Marshall Islands.....	150	13,000
	Totals for the Pacific.....	99,150	400,000
	In 1898, aggregates.....	1,020,070	10,600,000

RUSSIA.

In 1880 Russia had in Asia 6,299,397 square miles and 14,697,058 population. In 1898 she has in Asia 6,564,778 square miles and 23,045,560 population, an increase of 265,381 square miles and 8,348,502 population in eighteen years. In 1800 probably the Asiatic area of Russia did not exceed 1,000,000 square miles. The present total population of Russia is over 130,000,000.

DENMARK—ALL ACQUIRED PRIOR TO 1800.

In 1880.

COLONIES.	AREA IN ENGLISH SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION.
Faroe Islands.....	510	11,221
Iceland.....	89,758	72,488
Greenland.....	46,740	10,000
West Indies.....	118	83,768
Totals in 1880.....	87,124	127,422

In 1898.

Iceland.....	89,758	70,927
Greenland.....	46,740	10,516
West Indies.....	118	82,786
Totals in 1898.....	86,614	114,229

SUMMARY FOR 1898.

COUNTRIES.	COLONIAL AREAS. SQUARE MILES.	COLONIAL POPULATION.
Great Britain.....	9,010,008	807,848,122
France.....	8,617,327	52,042,980
Spain.....	405,458	9,585,587
Portugal.....	801,100	9,148,707
The Netherlands.....	782,806	84,201,744
Germany.....	1,020,070	10,800,000
Denmark.....	86,614	114,229
Russia.....	6,564,778	23,045,600
Totals.....	22,288,153	447,296,869

Here we find 42 per cent. of the total area of the earth and 33 per cent. of the population of the world under colonial and protectorate forms of government, not including the areas and home populations of the controlling governments. If we include the home areas we have the following exhibit :

COUNTRIES.	HOME AREAS. SQUARE MILES.	COLONIAL AREAS. SQUARE MILES.	TOTAL AREAS.
Great Britain...	120,079	9,010,008	9,130,082
France.....	204,022	8,617,327	8,821,419
Spain.....	197,670	405,458	603,128
Portugal.....	86,028	801,100	887,128
The Netherlands	12,648	782,806	795,451
Germany.....	206,880	1,020,070	1,226,950
Denmark.....	15,299	86,614	101,908
Russia.....	2,065,616	6,564,778	8,630,394
Totals.....	2,890,262	22,288,153	25,178,415

The total colonial area is 7.7 times larger than the total areas of the home governments. In the case of Great Britain her colonial area is 75 times more than her local home area. The colonial area of France is nearly 18 times as large as her home area. Spain is twice as large, Portugal 22 times as large, Netherlands 65 times

as large, Germany 5 times as large, Denmark almost 6 times as large, and Russia 3 times as large.

The aggregate home populations of these eight governments is 266,297,781, or almost 200,000,000 less than their colonial populations ; but both combined (colonial and home) aggregate 713,594,640 inhabitants, or almost one-half of the entire population of the globe, assuming the total to be 1,500,000,000.

COMPARATIVE PROGRESS DURING FOUR CENTURIES.

COUNTRIES.	TOTAL ACQUIRED PRIOR TO 1800. SQUARE MILES.	TOTAL ACQUIRED FROM 1800 TO 1890. SQUARE MILES.	TOTAL ACQUISITIONS IN 1898. SQUARE MILES.
Great Britain.....	1,799,004	3,223,787	9,010,008
France.....	877,056	680,764	8,617,327
Spain.....	1,640,076	164,326	405,458
Portugal.....	704,496	704,496	801,100
Netherlands.....	659,126	659,126	782,806
Denmark.....	87,124	86,614	86,614
Germany.....	1,020,070
Russia (estimated).....	1,000,000	6,299,397	6,564,778
Totals.....	6,296,881	11,819,109	22,288,153

Increase, 1800 to 1890.....8,826,632 square miles.
Increase, 1890 to 1898.....8,940,600 square miles.

It is an interesting fact for all Christians, and especially for statesmen, to contemplate, that of the 52,000,000 square miles of the whole world, 22,288,153 are held in a colonial or protectorate form, and that it has all been acquired by Christian governments since the year 1500 and the greater part of it since 1600.

AS TO THE GOVERNMENT.

The colonies of Great Britain are of three classes : (1) The crown colonies, which are entirely controlled by the home government ; (2) those possessing representative institutions, in which the crown has no more than a veto on legislation, but the home government has the control of public offices ; and (3) those possessing responsible governments, in which the home government has no control over any public officer, though the crown appoints the governor and retains a veto on legislation.

As to France, some of her colonies, like Algeria, have a government and laws distinct from other colonial possessions, being looked upon as a part of France. Tunis is attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs ; the other possessions and protectorates are attached to the Ministry of the Colonies. Algeria, as well as all the colonies proper, are represented in the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies and considered to form politically a part of France.

As to Germany, of colonies in the proper sense

of the term she has none ; but she has declared her protection over various areas or spheres of influence in Africa and in the western Pacific, within which a few factories and trading ports and, in some instances, plantations have been established by Germans and other Europeans.

The colonies of the Netherlands are in the hands of the governor, assisted by a council and other officers nominated by the King. The "Colonial States" form representative bodies of each colony. Four members are chosen every year by the governor ; the others by electors, in proportion of one member in two hundred electors.

The chief of the dependencies of the crown of Denmark, Iceland, has its own constitution and administration, under a charter granted by the terms of which legislative power is vested in the Althing, consisting of 36 members, 30 elected by popular suffrage and 6 nominated by the King. A minister nominated by the King is at the head of administration, while the highest local authority is vested in the governor, who resides at Reikjavik.

The colonies of Spain and Portugal are controlled by governor-generals appointed by the crown, who hold supreme power. He has a council, which is consulted only in regard to important matters.

Asiatic Russia comprises five general governments, Caucasus, Turkestan, Stepnoye (of the Steppes), Irkutsk, and Amur, with numerous subdivisions. At the head of each government is a governor-general, the representative of the Emperor, who, as such, has the supreme control and direction of all affairs, civil and military.

GROWTH AND DUTY OF THE UNITED STATES.

A little more than fifty years ago we felt that our country was about as large as we could manage. In 1843 leading Senators in Congress said : " We do not want the country beyond the Rocky Mountains. We cannot do anything with it. It is too far off. Providence has beneficently walled it away from us. We can never get over the mountains, thank God." This is the way they talked when Jason Lee and Marcus Whitman urged the occupancy of that region. Hon. Daniel Webster came near exchanging our claims to that region for some small fishing privileges along Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. But we were then on the eve of a most wonderful expansion of our territorial area, which many years later was further enlarged by the addition of Alaska.

Fifty-five years ago California and Arizona and New Mexico and Colorado and Nevada and Texas were outside of our national domain. Since that time these vast areas have become ours—a most

extraordinary growth. Since the year 1800 we have obtained from Spain, France, Mexico, and Russia 2,700,375 square miles of the total 3,501,000 square miles of the present United States. This great country we have now well in hand, and have taken advance lessons in handling large areas and large complex populations. We were never before so completely solidified as at present. Our aboriginal population was never before so quiet and easily managed as now, and the prospect of their being civilized and admitted to citizenship brightens every day. Our colored population, notwithstanding some local irritations now and then, is more orderly and manageable than some of the white population in the days of the Know Nothing excitements, the Pittsburg and other riots thirty years ago, and some of our best military troops are the negro regiments. They also furnish a large number of well-trained teachers in our schools, preachers in our churches, and not a few competent business men. All is not perfect on these lines, but we are advancing.

As the result of the recent peace negotiations there have been added to the United States the Philippines, with some other contiguous islands, Porto Rico and Cuba following closely upon the accession of the Sandwich Islands. They have come to us as colonies or as protectorate dependencies, like Cuba. Here are 168,221 square miles and 9,668,587 people (as nearly as I can now reckon), raising our total population to well-nigh 85,000,000.

We are not ready to admit these new outlying sections as States of the Union, but we may borrow wisdom from the colonial policy of Great Britain. Under our constitutional provision for organizing territorial governments these new acquisitions can be formed into line under one of the three following provisions, and then advanced from step to step as the people become prepared :

1. As colonies entirely controlled and protected by the home government. This is the lowest stage.

2. Or, organized with representative institutions, in which the home government shall have a veto on legislation and the control of the public offices.

3. Or, organized as responsible governments, in which the home government shall have no control over any public officer except the appointment of the governor, and shall hold a veto power on legislation under certain specified restrictions.

These are crude, tentative suggestions, but some such modified form of government would enable the United States to hold and beneficently administer her civilizing influence among these new people.

TRAINING FOR PRACTICAL PHILANTHROPY.

BY PHILIP W. AYRES.

(Of the New York Charity Organization Society.)

THE next step in philanthropy interests many persons as widely separated as the members of a woman's club and a prison commission. The next sure step which will be generally approved and adopted as a means of improving the lot of fellow-mortals is not easily discovered nor easily taken.

At one time before the Civil War it was the organization of the disassociated efforts of churches into union, non-sectarian relief societies that should cover the needs of a whole city. Later, after the war, it was the founding of charity organization societies. Nearly every city now has both organizations. Still later the next step in philanthropy was that of establishing social settlements, a movement that is widespread and still continues. Last of all the next step has been the development of municipal enterprises for the health and recreation of the people, Boston, New York, and Detroit having taken the lead in providing municipal parks, playgrounds and baths, recreation piers, clean streets, new school buildings, and cheaper railroad fares. It is the object of this paper to offer a new suggestion looking to the advance of social interests all along the line from church relief to government agency.

Last summer, under the auspices of the Charity Organization Society in New York, a summer training school in practical philanthropy was conducted during six weeks. Workers having practical experience and graduates from fourteen of our leading colleges and universities, representing eleven States, came together for six weeks of study and practice. The programme of studies, addresses, and visits to institutions is summarized as follows:

Addresses by Mr. Charles D. Kellog, of the Charity Organization Society, and Mr. Clarence Gordon, head resident of East Side House. Visit to the Registration Bureau in the United Charities Building.

The evils of investigation and relief, by Mrs. Charles R. Lowell. Addresses by Mr. Robert W. de Forest, president of the Charity Organization Society, and Mr. Edward T. Devine, general secretary. Visits to the Wayfarer's Lodge and the Workrooms for Unskilled Women. Meeting with the district agents of the Charity Organization Society. Addresses by Mr. William I. Nichols, general secretary of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, and by Mr. A. W. McDougall, secretary of the Orange Bureau of Charities.

Meeting with Dr. Wm. H. Tolman and Mrs. Fullerton, of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. The United Hebrew Charities, by Mr. Na-

thaniel S. Rosenau. Visit to the Hebrew Educational Alliance and the Baron de Hirsch Trade Schools. The Woman's Auxiliary of the New York City Mission and Tract Society, by Mrs. Lucy S. Bainbridge.

History of the care of destitute children, by Mr. Homer Folks. Visits to the Institution of Mercy and to the Nursery and Child's Hospital. Provision for babies and mothers with babies, an address by Miss M. V. Clark, of the New York State Charities Aid Association. Visits to the Home for the Friendless and the Foundling Asylum. The New York Children's Aid Society, by Mr. Moore Dupuy, superintendent of the Industrial Schools, and Mr. E. Trott, Western agent. Visit to the Truant School of the Children's Aid Society. Address by Mrs. Glendower Evans, of Boston, on the Lyman School for Boys. Visit to the New York Catholic Protectory.

Meeting at the College Settlement, 95 Rivington Street, with addresses by Miss Mary M. Kingsbury and Mr. James B. Reynolds. Visits to Hartley House, St. Bartholomew's Parish House, and to the University Settlement Fresh Air Work at Atlantic Highlands.

The Department of Public Charities, an address by Hon. J. W. Keller, president of the Commissioners of Charities. Visits to the almshouse and hospitals on Blackwell's Island, to the institutions for the feeble-minded and for foundlings on Randall's Island, and to the State Hospital for the Insane, Ward's Island. Visits to Bellevue Hospital and Training School for Nurses. Address on dispensaries, Dr. S. F. Hallock. Visits to Demilt Dispensary and Presbyterian Hospital. Sanitation in public institutions, by Dr. J. S. Billings, librarian of the New York Public Library, and by Dr. Henry S. Chapin, of the Post-Graduate Hospital. Visits to the fire and police stations, to vacation schools, and new public-school buildings.

The Board of State Charities, by Mr. Robert W. Hebbard, secretary, and the State Charities Aid Association, by Mr. Homer Folks, secretary. Address by Mr. F. B. Sanborn, of Concord, Mass., on the test of curability, especially among the insane.

Help among the Italians, Mr. Jacob A. Riis.

Address by Col. George E. Waring, Jr., the death-rate, or the influence of the municipality upon the lives of the poor. Visit to Health Department.

The City and Suburban Homes Company, by Dr. E. R. L. Gould. Visits to improved tenements in New York and vicinity.

The League for Social Service, by Rev. Josiah Strong, president.

The abolition of outdoor relief in Brooklyn, by Mr. Alfred T. White. An address by Mrs. J. H. Johnston, of the Little Mothers' Aid Society.

Visit to Sing Sing Prison, with an address by Col. O. V. Sage, warden. An address by Mrs. Ellen C. Johnson, superintendent of the Woman's Prison, Sherbourn, Mass. Visits to the police courts, workhouse, and penitentiary. Addresses by Mr. David Willard, principal of the Tombs Prison School, Mr. Kimball, of the

Elmira Reformatory, and Mr. Wm. M. F. Round, secretary of the New York State Prison Association.

The study of statistics, by Prof. Richmond Mayo-Smith, of Columbia University. An address by Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, of the University of Pennsylvania, upon the difficulties and advantages of unity in philanthropic work.

Each student was required to do practical work in the district offices of the Charity Organization Society and to write two reports upon selected institutions or social movements in the city.

The experiment proved successful from several points of view. The addresses were practical and stimulating. Those already at work found new significance in their undertakings. Several bright, original studies were written, and several bright minds have been placed in positions where they are likely to prove useful.

The suggestion of this article grows out of the work of the training class and is this: May there not be established a series of scholarships enabling competent persons properly chosen to study carefully the situation in leading American cities, with the expectation of devoting himself or herself to some phase of the social problem, either in settlement work or prison reform or charity organization or municipal administration? Such scholarships continuing for one year would enable the persons holding to visit two or three cities in order to do some continuous practical work in each, each student following his specialty, but keeping in view also the broad currents of thought. The person holding such a scholarship could attend one or two of the national educational or philanthropic congresses. All of the studies would lead naturally to some special, definite work on completing the year's work.

It has been said that a full-fledged school of philanthropy is needed, with its courses and regular curriculum. Doubtless this is true, and much good could be accomplished through it. Such a school awaits endowment, just as the United Charities Building in New York was an ideal plan before Mr. John S. Kennedy made it a fact of great value in his city. For several reasons it is desirable that such a school should not be connected with any university, but with practical working societies.

It is important to note, however, that this plan of a series of scholarships is different from that of a school of philanthropy and likely to lead to better results. The student who expects to understand the social situation and to lend a useful hand in improving it must not approach it from the theoretical side alone. He must associate in work with those who are changing the lives of men and women if he is to become a part of the changing force himself.

It would probably yield good results if students who are taking post-graduate courses in universities could take the middle year in thus studying the field in different cities, returning each to his university for the last year. Or persons already at work who long for a wider social observation would profit by a year of such study, and their cities would be profited.

Why should not good people in our leading cities, such as New Orleans and San Francisco, Memphis, Denver, and St. Paul, establish this means of training annually some student who is sufficiently mature to get the full benefit of studying methods of social advance in other cities? The plan is equally applicable to Boston or Philadelphia or Buffalo. Why should not the women's clubs of the country take the lead in securing scholarships of this kind, enabling gifted persons from their number to make the wider study, returning to the local field to share the practical advantage? One woman's club in New York State has given favorable consideration to this proposition. Why should not the universities and the settlements have such scholarships? Ten thousand dollars rightly invested would yield approximately five hundred dollars annually. That a sum thus put to the service of young men and women to study social conditions broadly would yield a larger return than if invested in buildings or equipments in one locality, however needy, hardly needs argument. The plan offers a safe outlet for either individual or cooperative endowment.

The above suggestion of a series of scholarships is offered in the hope of meeting the approval of readers of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*. The Charity Organization Society of New York consents to act as trustee for any scholarship funds placed in its care, and approves the plan. It is the purpose of the New York Charity Organization Society to repeat its summer class, beginning about June 20. A limited number of university students and persons having experience in philanthropic work, each bearing his own expense, will be received.

There must be trained workers in philanthropy as in medicine or in education or in art. It is a belated profession left too long to the broken-down members of other professions and the needy applicant placed over others. If the world is to be made better by the generosity of men, this can only be accomplished through minds trained and made practical by experience. In no country, perhaps, is there greater flood of well-intended gifts for all kinds and conditions of enterprises than in America; nowhere, therefore, greater need for training of brain and heart. The philanthropy that educates is far-reaching.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

HOW WE MUST GOVERN OUR COLONIES.

THE February *Atlantic* opens with an article on "The Colonial Expansion of the United States," by Mr. A. L. Lowell. Mr. Lowell says that the common opinion that these recent annexations mark a departure from our traditional policy is only partly correct. There is a departure in the sense that other lands we have annexed have been those that bordered upon the territories already in the United States. They have, too, for the most part been uninhabited or very thinly peopled. The opinion is not true, however, in the sense that we have just now entered for the first time on the path of colonization. Mr. Lowell explains that we have been constantly colonizing ever since the Pilgrim Fathers landed. "The very essence of a colony lies in the fact that it is a new land, to which citizens can go and carry with them the protection of the parent state; and this has been eminently the case in the territories of the United States." But although we have been colonizers for a long time, Mr. Lowell warns us that the problems of colonization now before us are different and more difficult. Especially is there a difference in the fact that these territories cannot be treated as infant States, with institutions like our own and a prospective equality of rights.

A PERMANENT ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE.

"To thrive and add to our own prosperity, we must select only thoroughly trained administrators, fit them for their work by long experience, and retain them in office irrespective of party. To do this it is necessary to create a permanent and highly paid colonial administrative service, which shall offer an honorable and attractive career for young men of ability. It must be organized on the same basis as the army and the navy, and there can be no doubt that the wisest course would be to base it upon an academy like the schools at West Point and Annapolis. Each of these institutions has produced a corps of men admirably qualified for the work they have to do, and the system has proved perfectly in harmony with our form of government. In fact, the rapid growth in America of schools for educating lawyers, doctors, and engineers shows that experts, with a highly specialized training, are quite as much in demand—and hence quite as much needed—in a democracy as anywhere else."

TWO DANGERS AHEAD.

"The task of managing colonies outside the continental limits of the United States is exposed to two dangers of an opposite character. One is that of attempting to apply theories of government where they are not applicable; the other, that of taking a selfish view of the relation. We must reject all *a priori* political dogmas and avoid premature experiments in democracy; and at the same time we must not allow the colonies to be considered a mere market for our goods, a lucrative opening for a commercial monopoly, or a happy hunting-ground for politicians. The success or failure of our dependencies does not affect them alone or the Americans who trade or dwell there. It will react powerfully upon us, and that is the reason why colonial expansion fills many people with alarm. Rome appointed her provincial governors for short periods on political grounds, and the result was that they looked upon the office as a means of personal profit. The republic could not stand the strain. It fell, and the emperors rose upon its ruins. England governs her colonies by means of a permanent corps of trained administrators, independent of party, and they have contributed to her greatness without endangering her institutions. If home politics do not interfere with the colonies they will not harm home politics. Our destiny is in our own hands, and our measure of political wisdom and virtue will determine what we shall make of it."

HOW ENGLAND GOVERNS IN THE FAR EAST.

IN the current number of the *American Historical Review* Prof. H. Morse Stephens reviews the administration of the British dependencies in the "further East"—the Straits Settlements, Sarawak, British North Borneo, and Hong Kong. As the populations of these provinces have many points of similarity to the peoples about to come under American tutelage in that part of the world, England's example is certainly deserving of study on the part of our legislators at the present time.

THE COLONIAL CIVIL SERVICE.

The great secret of Britain's success in these as in her other colonial governments lies in the high standards of the civil service maintained throughout her dependencies. Says Professor Stephens:

"Although the law administered differs and the systems of administration show marked divergences, the men who govern the natives in the Straits Settlements, in Hong Kong, in Sarawak, and in British North Borneo come from the same class and are trained in the same traditions and ideals. Entrance to the civil service of Hong Kong and the Straits Settlements is obtained after a competitive examination open to all subjects of the Queen, and in subjects intended to attract candidates from the great English schools and the universities. The examination is now the same as that for the Indian covenanted civil service, and the young man who wins an appointment has won for himself a career in life. On joining his appointment in Asia he at once receives a salary of \$1,500 and is set to work to learn the native language. On passing in the languages he is attached to some branch of the service, and begins his administrative work under the instruction of an experienced official. He is tried in various places and positions to discover his aptitudes, and if he be intelligent and industrious he rises to high and well-paid official positions. At the expiration of his allotted term of service he retires with a liberal and well-earned pension.

THE PERSONNEL.

"The prospect attracts men of marked ability. Young Englishmen of the middle or professional classes have more liking for administration than for business. Many of them have had relatives in various branches of the Indian and colonial services for many generations and possess hereditary traditions of service in the East. The open-air life, the love of sport and travel, a real liking for the details of governing backward peoples attract them to enter the service; and once in it enthusiasm develops their powers. British North Borneo and Sarawak draw their officials from the same class, but without competitive examination, and it sometimes happens that they obtain the services of excellent men.

"The system is not ideal in itself—what government of Asiatics by Europeans is likely to be?—but it may be asserted that the British system in the further East, as in India, is the result of long experience, and that the officials form a body of highly trained administrators sprung from the very flower of English manhood, selected without fear or favor, promoted only after proof of efficiency, and looking upon their career as the means not only of gaining an honorable livelihood for themselves, but also of promoting, to the honor and glory of England, the extension of Christian civilization in the further East."

GENERAL WOOD: A MODEL ADMINISTRATOR.

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT writes in the *Outlook* about Gen. Leonard Wood, his friend and former senior in command, who is now serving so acceptably as the American military administrator at Santiago. The governor emphasizes the importance of the personal element in such work as our military governors are called upon to do, and this leads him to dwell upon some of General Wood's qualifications. He says:

"The successful administrator of a tropic colony must ordinarily be a man of boundless energy and endurance; and there were probably very few men in the army at Santiago, whether among the officers or in the ranks, who could match General Wood in either respect. No soldier could outwalk him, could live with more indifference on hard and scanty fare, could endure hardship better, or do better without sleep; no officer ever showed more ceaseless energy in providing for his soldiers, in reconnoitering, in overseeing personally all the countless details of life in camp, in patrolling the trenches at night, in seeing by personal inspection that the outposts were doing their duty, in attending personally to all the thousand-and-one things to which a commander should attend, and to which only those commanders of marked and exceptional mental and bodily vigor are able to attend."

HOW WOOD WON HIS SPURS.

General Wood was a Cape Cod boy, and after a course in the Harvard Medical School he began practice in Boston, but his nature "fretted for adventure" and within a year he joined the army as a contract surgeon, beginning service under General Miles in the Apache campaigns of the early 80s. These campaigns were exceedingly exhausting and full of hardship, with long marches through the waterless mountain regions of Arizona, New Mexico, and the northern districts of old Mexico. Here the young contract doctor had a chance to show his mettle.

"Hardly any of the whites, whether soldiers or frontiersmen, could last with him; and the friendly Indian trailers themselves could not wear him down. In such campaigns it soon becomes essential to push forward the one actually fitted for command, whatever his accidental position may be; and Wood, although only a contract surgeon, finished his career against the Apaches by serving as commanding officer of certain of the detachments sent out to perform peculiarly arduous and dangerous duty; and he did his work so well and showed such conspicuous gallantry that he won the most coveted of

military distinctions, the medal of honor. On expeditions of this kind, where the work is so exhausting as to call for the last ounce of reserve strength and courage in the men, only a very peculiar and high type of officer can succeed. Wood, however, never called upon his men to do anything that he himself did not do. They ran no risk that he did not run; they endured no hardship which he did not endure: intolerable fatigue, intolerable thirst, never-satisfied hunger, and the strain of unending watchfulness against the most cruel and dangerous of foes—through all this Wood led his men until the final hour of signal success. When he ended the campaigns he had won the high regard of his superior officers, not merely for courage and endurance, but for judgment and entire trustworthiness."

HOW HE GOVERNS SANTIAGO.

General Wood's record as commander of the Rough Riders and at San Juan of a brigade in General Wheeler's cavalry division is a familiar story now. When Santiago surrendered he was made military governor. Since then, Governor Roosevelt says, he has worked wonders. Both his military and his medical training have stood him in good stead.

"I was frequently in Santiago after the surrender, and I never saw Wood when he was not engaged on some one of his multitudinous duties. He was personally inspecting the hospitals; he was personally superintending the cleaning of the streets; he was personally hearing the most important of the countless complaints made by Cubans against Spaniards, Spaniards against Cubans, and by both against Americans; he was personally engaged in working out a better system of sewerage or in striving to secure the return of the land-tillers to the soil. I do not mean that he ever allowed himself to be swamped by mere detail; he is much too good an executive officer not to delegate to others whatever can safely be delegated; but the extraordinary energy of the man himself is such that he can in person oversee and direct much more than is possible with the ordinary man.

"To General Wood has fallen the duty of preserving order, of seeing that the best Cubans begin to administer the government, of protecting the lives and properties of the Spaniards from the vengeance of their foes, and of securing the best hygienic conditions possible in the city; of opening the schools and of endeavoring to re-establish agriculture and commerce in a ruined and desolate land.

"The sanitary state of the city of Santiago was frightful beyond belief. The Cuban army consisted of undisciplined, unpaid men on the

verge of becoming mere bandits. The Cuban chiefs were not only jealous of one another, but, very naturally, bitterly hostile to the Spaniards who remained in the land. On the other hand, the men of property, not only among the Spaniards, but even among the Cubans, greatly feared the revolutionary army. All conditions were ripe for a period of utter anarchy, and under a weak, a foolish, or a violent man this anarchy would certainly have come."

That anarchy has not come is undoubtedly due to the energy, firmness, moderation, tact, and wisdom of General Wood, and the importance of all this, as Governor Roosevelt says, is in the fact that what General Wood has done in Santiago must be done by other American officials in other Cuban towns, in Porto Rico, in the Philippines, and in Hawaii, "if our rule in these islands is to be honorable to ourselves and advantageous to the natives."

HAS THE UNITED STATES BEEN A WORLD POWER?

IN *Harper's* for February Prof. Albert B. Hart contends that there is no logic in looking upon the present prospects for expansion as a revolutionary advance on the part of the United States toward the position of a world power. He says, in fact, that we have long been a world power, and that we have mixed in world politics whenever our interests were involved for many years. There is, he says, sometimes supposed to be a tradition that in diplomatic relations this country is isolated from the rest of the world with which she is intellectually and commercially so closely connected. Historically there has never been such an isolation. From the earliest colonial times the international forces which moved Europe have affected the western hemisphere. Professor Hart sketches briefly the history of the outer relations of the United States since the Declaration of Independence to show the justice of his view.

A TRUE WORLD POWER SINCE ITS BIRTH.

"Reviewing the history of American foreign relations, it seems clear that the United States has from its birth been in both hemispheres a true world power—in military strength, in influence on other nations, in a tendency to extend its influence and power. It is this status which has given such success in negotiating treaties and in settling disputes. But the Government has regularly chosen its own occasions and its own methods of interference. The power of the United States has usually been in reserve, but not in isolation; and whenever the interests of the nation seemed sufficiently affected, it has

made our place manifest. The method has almost always been that of separate, independent remonstrance. Though invited to take part in European congresses or to join in their action in the English negotiations and also in the Dutch negotiations of 1782, in Spanish affairs in 1823, in the quintuple treaty of 1842, in the declaration of Paris in 1856, and in the African congress of 1885, the Government has always refused. The only case of joint conference on vital matters is that of 1889 on Samoa."

IT IS THE NATURAL TENDENCY OF OUR NATION.

"The disposition of the nation to play a great part in the world's affairs is not, as many people seem to think, simply the work of Presidents or consuls or Congressmen; it is the natural tendency of a people which has a facility for forgetting the early defeats and humiliations of its history, and which feels like proving its own vast power. To moralize upon such a tendency is not the purpose of this article. The United States has heretofore found little occasion to assert its dignity as a world power: our strength is unquestioned—and where, as in the Samoan and Venezuelan questions, the nation appeared to have a strong interest, no other power has been willing to stand in the way."

A STUDY OF AMERICAN "IMPERIALISM."

PROF. FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS, of Columbia University, contributes to the current number of the *Political Science Quarterly* a noteworthy article on the topic of the hour which he heads with the interrogatory word, "Imperialism?"

Professor Giddings begins his article with an expression of regret that the intellectual energies of the wisest men in the community are often wasted or misdirected just because these wise men are so intent upon their notion of what ought to be and so blind at times to what probably will be, that they give us no real aid in adapting ourselves to inevitable conditions. Professor Giddings finds illustrations of this error in our recent discussion of the war with Spain and in the subsequent discussion of issues growing out of that war. Conservative political thinkers who opposed the war are now, almost without exception, vigorously opposing all territorial expansion and are especially earnest in their antagonism to the retention of the Philippines by the United States. Professor Giddings contends that this opposition, "although it springs from conscientious convictions and is backed by arguments that deserve thoughtful consideration, is probably as futile as opposition

to the trade-wind or the storm. There are not lacking reasons for thinking that the war with Spain was as inevitable as any event of nature, and that, at this particular stage in the development of the United States, territorial expansion is as certain as the advent of spring after winter.

"If these hypotheses are sound, it follows that our wise men should discontinue their idle contention against cosmic law and should address themselves to the practical question: How can the American people best adapt themselves to their new responsibilities?"

In support of the proposition that the war with Spain was inevitable Professor Giddings enters into a brief discussion of the American character. He declares that the population of 70,000,000 souls inhabiting the United States is at this moment "the most stupendous reservoir of seething energy to be found on any continent."

AMERICAN ENERGY AND ENTERPRISE.

"Already it has accomplished marvels of material civilization, of governmental organization, of education, and even of scientific discovery. Let any reader of Mr. Wallace's 'Wonderful Century,' glancing again through its pages, ask himself what proportion of the achievements therein recorded are to be credited to America and Americans, and he will see a revelation compared with which the Apocalypse is tame. And yet it is practically certain that all the things that the American has done are but earnest of the things that he is to do. If in the coming centuries this reservoir of energy can discharge itself in enterprise, in investigation and discovery, it can do more for the advancement of the human race than imagination can now conceive. If, by any mistaken policy, it is denied an outlet, it may discharge itself in anarchistic, socialistic, and other destructive modes that are likely to work incalculable mischief.

"This volume of human enterprise is not altogether made up of reasonableness, far-seeing wisdom, and stainless morality. It is as heterogeneous as it is vast. The millions of human beings who have come to our shores from foreign lands are not all assimilated to American standards, and their new-found liberty has not altogether ceased to be license. In those other millions who are descended from an earlier American stock the primitive human passions have not been brought under absolute control, and the love of primitive occupations that partake of danger has not been eradicated. Let us not forget that no population on the face of the earth is so largely descended from daring adventurers. It is not yet three hundred years since the colonists of our Eastern coasts were

performing their daily industrial tasks under the shadow of ever-threatening danger from savage foes. It is not a hundred and fifty years since the pioneers of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys were making clearings in the wilderness during intervals of exterminating warfare. It is not yet fifty years since the later pioneers of the Western plains were crossing a pathless desert in caravans that left a trail of bleaching bones to mark a route for those who should follow them to the El Dorado of the West. Are we to suppose that the offspring of such men, in so short an interval, have lost those instincts that lead men to prefer enterprises that call for physical courage and resourcefulness? It is not true that we are a nation of jingoes. It is not true that we desire war for the sake of war or that in our sports we prefer methods that are adapted to inflict injury. But it is true that we are a nation endowed with exceptional courage, that we heartily despise physical cowardice and all manner of weakness. It is true that we are restless under the disappearance of opportunity for adventure and daring enterprise. It is therefore certain that, more than most nations, we are liable to an outbreak of warlike spirit under what we conceive to be real provocation; and that no other nation is so likely as ours to turn itself into great armies and to fight with an indomitable determination to conquer, when it is once convinced of the justice of its cause.

"The same impulses, directed into peaceful channels, have produced the American commercial spirit. The love of risk and of great responsibilities characterizes our industrial and commercial undertakings to a degree unknown in any other country. The perfectly safe small business does not appeal to the native American mind. This may be unfortunate; but we are not now discussing merits and demerits, but only the actual facts and forces that are controlling our policy."

No other people in the world, as Professor Giddings remarks, has experimented on so costly a scale with new mechanical inventions. No other people has taken such gigantic risks of railroad construction. Certainly no people has surpassed us in the organization of combinations and trusts.

"THE PURITAN CONSCIENCE."

And yet these impulses are wonderfully restrained by the American sense of justice and right. "However much we may despise the timid man and covet the opportunities for dogged endurance and personal heroism which war offers; however much we may admire the business man who successfully achieves great combinations in

the market—we do not deliberately or willingly enter upon war or upon commercial speculation unless plausible excuses can be offered to the Puritan conscience. Perhaps we are aggressive; but we do not like to be regarded as ruthlessly or indecently aggressive. We produce every year a crop of speculators and promoters whose fit habitation is the penitentiary, but the great mass of the people really abhor dishonest conduct in business; and it is more than doubtful whether in any other nation commercial credit rests so largely upon a secure foundation of personal integrity.

OUR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

Professor Giddings alludes to the Valparaiso incident in 1891, when our seamen were attacked and the North Atlantic squadron was sent to the coast of South America, and also to the feeling that arose in this country during the years of misunderstandings with Great Britain, culminating in the Venezuelan boundary dispute. Still we did not go to war on those occasions. The war with Spain, however, in Professor Giddings' opinion, "was neither accidental nor merely a product of the machinations of self-loving politicians. The Cuban situation gave the American people the first apparently decent excuse for fighting that had been vouchsafed them since the Civil War. That the sufferings of the Cuban population were real was beyond reasonable doubt. That the government of the island was thoroughly corrupt no one denied. That justice had long been little more than a name was currently believed; and that years of bad government had culminated in a deliberate attempt to starve the *reconcentrados* was believed by practically all those newspaper-reading Americans who had no exact knowledge of political conditions beyond the borders of their commonwealth. All those feelings of mingled sympathy and anger which precipitated the Civil war were again awakened by the sufferings of Cuba. With hardly an exception the religious press insisted that it was the duty of America to intervene. Thus there existed that peculiar combination of the moral forces of sympathy and conviction with the inherited love of dangerous enterprise which, as I have attempted to show, must exist before the American people will go to war, but which is practically certain, when it does exist, to beget war."

Aside from the economic advantages likely to spring from our inevitable policy of territorial expansion, Professor Giddings finds in the present situation much reason to hope for improved relations with Great Britain and other countries. "Outlying possessions will compel us, as nothing

hitherto has done, to respect the opinions, the manners, and the interests of other nations. They will continually involve us in complications from which we can hope to emerge unscathed only by the utmost exercise of tact and knowledge. They will enforce the steady improvement of our diplomatic and consular service."

At first there will undoubtedly be corruption and scandals in our colonial governments, but responsibility is a powerful moralizing influence. It has been so with England; why not with us?

ENGLAND'S EXAMPLE.

"Therefore, so far from despairing of the republic if we enter into more complicated and more delicate relations to world politics, we may rather anticipate that the change will prove to be precisely what was needed, and that our new responsibilities will operate more surely and more continuously than any other influence to improve the *morale* and the wisdom of American administration. In this belief we are supported by the experience of British colonial government. As every student of history knows, the age of Walpole was marked by corruption greater and apparently more irremediable than any which we have yet known in American political life. Who could have predicted that after a century of continuous territorial expansion, with a correspondingly rapid multiplication of official positions, the administrative side of British government, instead of becoming hopelessly incapable under the increasing strain, would have become the purest and most nearly perfect mechanism thus far known in political history? Have we, then, any right to despair of our own experiment, under a similar broadening of opportunities and responsibilities? If we have, our estimate of American character must be a sorry one. Great Britain successfully administers the governmental affairs and protects the economic interests of populations numbering 381,037,874 souls, occupying a territory of 11,335,806 square miles. The islands that have recently been annexed and those that may soon be annexed to the territory of the United States are 167,753 square miles in extent and are inhabited by about 10,000,000 people. If the republican form of government is to be undermined and destroyed in a nation of 70,000,000 of the most resourceful, energetic, and, all in all, conscientious human beings that have yet lived upon this planet, under the strain of devising and administering a workable territorial government for outlying island possessions of such modest dimensions as these, it would appear that our estimate of the excellence and stability of republican institutions must have been a grotesque exaggeration."

Andrew Carnegie's Views.

In the *North American Review* for January Mr. Andrew Carnegie writes on "Americanism Versus Imperialism," considering especially the dangers of war to which the United States will be exposed through the possession of interests in the far East. "It is chiefly this far Eastern question," says Mr. Carnegie, "which keeps every ship-yard, gun-yard, and armor-yard in the world busy night and day, Sunday and Saturday, forging engines of destruction. It is in that region the thunderbolt is expected; it is there the storm is to burst."

Mr. Carnegie proceeds to outline the situation as he sees it at the present time:

"It is only four years since Japan defeated China and had ceded to it a portion of Chinese territory, the fruits of victory. Then appeared upon the scene a combination of France, Russia, and Germany, which drove Japan out of China. Russia took part of the spoils for herself and Germany later took territory near by. Japan got nothing. Britain, the most powerful of all, stood by neutral. Had she decided to defend Japan, the greatest war ever known would have been the probable result; the thunderbolt would have fallen. Were the question to be decided to-day, it is now considered probable that Britain would support Japan.

"Germany obtained a concession in China, and Britain promptly appeared, demanding that Germany should maintain the 'open door' in all her Chinese territory; the same demand was made on Russia. Both perforce consented. The far East is a mine of dynamite, always liable to explode.

OUR RELATIVE NATIONAL STRENGTH.

"Into this magazine the United States proposes to enter and take a hand in the coming contest. It is obvious that what was done with Japan in regard to Chinese territory may be done with the United States in regard to her territory, the Philippines, and for the same reason, that the dictator is overwhelmingly strong and the victim helplessly weak.

"The relative strength of the powers contending for empire in the far East is as follows: Great Britain has 80 first-class ships of war, 581 ships in all; France has 50 first-class warships and a total of 403; Russia has 40 first-class warships, 286 in all; Germany has 28 first-class warships, a total of 216. Japan will soon rank with Germany and be stronger there because close to the scene of action.

"The United States proposes to enter into the zone of danger with 18 first-class and a total of 81 ships. These would hardly count as half

that number, however, owing to her greater distance from the battle-ground. Russia is 8,000 miles, the other Europeans about 9,000 miles from it. The United States is from 15,000 to 17,000 miles distant via the Cape and via the Straits; the route via Europe is about 12,000 miles, but that would be impracticable during war-time, as the American ships going via Europe would pass right into the trap of their European enemies."

Considering, further, the enormous army establishments of Germany, France, and Russia, Mr. Carnegie concludes that the United States "cannot stand alone." We must look to Great Britain for backing. Our position in the East, in Mr. Carnegie's opinion, depends altogether on Great Britain's continued support or alliance.

HOW LONG WILL IT TAKE TO BECOME "IMPERIAL" ?

Nevertheless, Mr. Carnegie believes that we can grow great among the powers, in time :

"The writer is not of those who believe that the republic cannot make herself strong enough to walk alone, and to hold her own, and to be an imperial power of herself, and by herself, and not the weak *protégé* of a real imperial power. But in order to make herself an imperial power she must do as imperial powers do—she must create a navy equal to the navy of any other power. She must have hundreds of thousands of regular troops to cooperate with the navy."

If we should try, for instance, to build up a navy equal to that of Great Britain, it would take more than twenty years, building twenty warships a year, whereas hitherto our navy has added only six in a year. That we can build these ships and man them, Mr. Carnegie does not question.

"If ever the republic falls from her industrial ideals and descends to the level of the war ideals of Europe she will be supreme. I have no doubt of that. The man whom this stimulating climate produces is the wiriest, quickest, most versatile of all men, and the power of organization exists in the American in greater perfection than in any other. But what I submit is that at present the republic is an industrial hive, without an adequate navy and without soldiers; that she therefore must have a protector; and that if she is to figure in the East she cannot be in any sense an imperial power at all. Imperialism implies naval and military force behind; moral force, education, civilization are not the backbone of imperialism; these are the moral forces which make for the higher civilization, for Americanism—the foundation for imperialism is brutal physical strength, fighting men with material forces, warships and artillery."

THE PROBLEM OF THE PHILIPPINES.

As to what should be done with the Philippines, Mr. Carnegie holds that the Filipinos should be treated precisely as we have promised to treat the Cubans. That is to say, we should give them self-government. Mr. Carnegie does not believe that the Filipinos have yet been proven to be unfit to govern themselves. He says :

"The Filipinos are by no means in the lowest scale—far from it—nor are they much lower than the Cubans. If left to themselves they will make mistakes, but what nation does not? Riot and bloodshed may break out—in which nation are these absent? Certainly not in our own; but the inevitable result will be a government better suited to the people than any that our soldiers and their officers could ever give."

JAPAN AS A POWER IN THE PACIFIC.

IN the *Arena* Mr. C. Pfoundes, of Kobe, Japan, writes on Japan's prospects as one of the Pacific powers. He shows how Japanese aspirations for expansion are being thwarted by Russia's monopoly of northeastern Asia and her designs on Corea, by the acquirement of preemptive rights to the south by Germany, England, and France, and by America's annexation of Hawaii, while Japan's chances in the other islands of the Pacific have been reduced to the minimum.

"The shadow of the Colossus of the North haunts the Japanese, and they feel their isolation. Proposals for alliance with one of the great powers have been advocated; with England by preference as against Russia; and if the United States could be included, so much the better. The Japanese have entered into competition with the great powers in bidding for the mentorship of the Chinese, and an imperial prince, who is also president of the House of Peers, has publicly expressed an opinion that has been very popular, that 'an alliance with the Chinese, to resist the aggression of the Occidental races, is the only hope of the Asiatics.'

JAPAN'S WEAKNESS AND STRENGTH.

"Expansion being checked in every direction and emigration being considered inadequate as a relief to future congestion of population, the Japanese are now face to face with many serious problems. The resources of the country are being severely taxed at present, and the potentialities of the future, though undoubtedly great, are seriously embarrassed by the lack of cheap capital. How long the present pace can be maintained depends upon the willingness of

the people to be taxed and to consent to measures that will attract foreign capital at low rates of interest. As an industrial and commercial people the Japanese have shown that they are possessed of much ability; but in competition with the Occident there are some vital points regarding which experience will have to be gained at no little cost, judging from the past.

"The possession of a powerful fleet, a large army, and numerous transports by a nation in which the military spirit is predominant and in which loyalty, patriotism, and attachment to the land and its traditions form a strong bond of union, places triumphant Japan in the front rank among the peoples of Asia. In the far East the Japanese have assumed the leadership. They now consider that they are entitled to claim a hearing in the councils of the nations on an equality with the powers of the Occident, and they demand that they shall be consulted in all matters affecting the extreme Orient."

The writer concludes that Japan has become a factor that must henceforth be recognized as a powerful though not necessarily controlling influence in the future of the Pacific.

THE EXPORT TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE recent remarkable increase in our export trade has attracted no little attention abroad, especially in Great Britain. The significance of the matter to Englishmen is well brought out in an article by Mark Warren in the *Westminster Review* for January. This writer says:

"The chimera 'made in Germany' appears as though it were about to yield to the new bogey 'made in the United States of America,' and the outcry against German competition to be succeeded by a lugubrious denunciation of the competition of the United States. Hitherto, to the average Englishman, the United Kingdom has had but one serious commercial adversary, and arguments based upon Germany's growing trade have formed an integral portion of the stock in trade of every self-respecting political agitator. Doubtless the statement recently issued by the United States Treasury Department will materially alter all this, and will furnish a prolific source of more or less influential and important inferences.

"To the average individual the fact that the value of the exports from the United Kingdom has, for the first time in the history of modern trading nations, been surpassed in the same year by the value of those of another country will come as a bolt from the azure, and will, consequently, form the nucleus of a considerable

amount of misapprehension and exaggeration. It is unfortunately the case that the bulk of the nation appears to be almost entirely ignorant of the most rudimentary teachings of political economy, and still has a hazy notion that the success of one nation is necessarily to the disadvantage or loss of the others, and that the criterion of a nation's progress is the expansion of its foreign trade."

BRITAIN'S ONE GREAT RIVAL.

It is made clear in Mr. Warren's article that Englishmen are beginning to look askance at America's commercial activities:

"It has long been apparent to those who look beneath the surface that it is the United States which will prove to be England's most formidable commercial rival, and not Germany. Under existing conditions, when the preëminence of trade passes away, in the natural course of affairs, from England, it will be apprehended by the United States. The publication of the figures for the exports of merchandise from the United States during the last fiscal year will bring this home to the people, and will arouse slow-moving public opinion by showing the very real and true facts of this rivalry. Even the most cursory examination will effectually demonstrate the absurdity and irrationality of viewing Germany as our great rival. It cannot be too strongly impressed upon the contemplative individual that it is from the United States that earnest and effective competition will come.

"A very brief investigation will show that the United States is far in advance of any other foreign country in the possession of those essential qualities, active and potential, necessary to constitute a great trading nation. This superiority is manifested in all the regions of modern life. There is no surer method of gauging the relative advancement, moral and intellectual, physical and material, of a nation than by means of the extent and value of its literature. If the United States and Germany be thus compared it will be clearly seen that, viewed in this light, the former country is eminently to the fore. Again, the very difference of laws, customs, race, and environment tends to make the gulf wider and to place the United States in a vastly superior position. Every consideration of social and industrial surroundings and conditions emphasizes the fact that it is the United States, and not Germany, with which we shall have to reckon as the holders of the world's commercial supremacy."

A MANUFACTURING NATION.

The part of our Government's preliminary statement which impresses Mr. Warren as most

important and significant is that dealing with the exports of manufactured articles.

"For the first time in history the value of the manufactured goods exported exceeded the value of the manufactured articles imported. The exportation of these goods has fluctuated, but the value has shown a steady growth. In the lustrium 1887-91 they amounted to an average rate of 19 per cent. of the total value of the special exports; in 1892 they shrank to 15.6, from which period they have shown an increased proportion; thus in 1896 the proportion was 26.5 per cent., and the value fell short of the corresponding imports by \$104,759,734. This latter deficiency was reduced to \$27,362,217 in 1897 and was transformed into a surplus in 1898. Of course the chief articles exported are those classed as products of agriculture. In the lustrium 1887-91 they amounted to 73½ per cent. of the exports; in 1896 the proportion had decreased to 66 per cent. The imports of manufactured articles during 1898 show a remarkable decrease when compared with previous years, while the exports show an equally remarkable increase. In his annual report the Secretary of the Treasury states that the satisfactory condition of the United States' foreign trade extended to its commerce with practically every nation. The sales to Europe alone increased \$164,420,601, while the purchases from that section of the globe decreased \$124,258,514; this falling off was almost entirely in manufactures and articles of food."

Mr. Warren notes the increase in the output of pig-iron, notwithstanding the low price prevailing, the significant thing being that the production is progressive, while the imports are rapidly declining and the number of blast-furnaces increasing. He notes also "a prodigious increase" in the exportation of such manufactured articles as steel rods, rails, wire and nails, bicycles, and locomotives. The figures prove that American manufacturers "are not only supplying their home markets, but are actually competing in the markets of the world against the products of free trade."

The statistics to which Mr. Warren had access in preparing his article are for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898. The case is made still stronger for the United States by the Treasury statement of exports covering the last six months of 1898, published at the close of the year.

PROTECTION AND FREE TRADE.

On the question of a protective tariff Mr. Warren says:

"England will have little to fear from the competition of the United States until that coun-

try considerably modifies its high protective duties. There can be no reasonable doubt that protection has done much to foster its trade. It has brought new industries into the country and is still doing so, but there are reasons for thinking that the time has come for an alteration in the mercantile policy. Few people thought, at the time Sir Robert Peel declared his conversion to the principles of free trade, that fifty years after England would practically be the only country following its principles. It is easy to see how this is. A policy of protection must be followed in new or partially developed countries which possess plenty of food and little effective labor. Such countries could not attempt to compete with a country like England, which could swamp its markets with cheap goods produced under the most approved economical methods. On the other hand, when a country produces more manufactured goods than it can consume, and when it is dependent on other countries for a large proportion of its food, then free trade, or a modification thereof, is undoubtedly the better policy. The United States is approaching the first of these conditions, and it is evident that the whole of the productions of protected industry cannot successfully compete with the productions of free trade."

NEXT LINK IN THE CAPE-TO-CAIRO*CHAIN.

MR. LIONEL DECLE draws an inviting picture in the *Fortnightly* of the prospects before the Tanganyika Railway. He is quite willing to let Germany have Zanzibar, provided that this railroad is built without delay. So far the Germans have done little or nothing with their 400,000 square miles in East Africa. Their land, except by sea and lake side, is poor and without minerals. Mr. Decle asks:

"If such is the case, what will be the use of a line from Bulawayo to Lake Tanganyika? Here the conditions are vastly different. To begin with, the proposed line will cross regions rich in coals, rich in minerals, admirably adapted to agriculture, suitable to the cultivation of coffee, sugar, and tobacco; it will cross the Zambesi, that magnificent waterway which will bring to the railroad goods and produce from the west, which cannot now be forwarded to the coast on account of the heavy cost of portage over the 150 miles which separate the upper from the lower Zambesi, whose navigation is interrupted by the Kebra Becca rapids. The Tanganyika Railway will, as I will show, open new markets and carry to the south scores of thousands of those magnificent Wanyamwezi laborers I described just now—men who will be delighted to

come and work for wages they never dreamed of ; men whose labor is urgently needed in the south, and who will return to their country loaded with British goods purchased with their earnings, and whose advent will solve that great problem of finding reliable native labor for South Africa."

"MOUNTAINS OF SOLID IRON."

With this objective before him, the writer proceeds to unfold the scheme :

"Mr. Rhodes proposes to extend, first, the Bulawayo line in a northeastern direction as far as Gwelo (100 miles from Bulawayo and 160 miles from Fort Salisbury). Thence it would take a bend and run almost due north along the valley of the Sanyati River as far as the Kariba gorge of the Zambesi (about 250 miles). Crossing the Zambesi over the gorge the railroad would then run as far as Lake Tanganyika (about 500 miles) through the country lying between Lake Bangweolo and Lake Nyasa. The total length of the proposed extension would therefore be about 900 miles."

Mr. Decle confidently anticipates that "northern Rhodesia and British Central Africa will, with cheap transport, soon be able to compete with Sumatra, Manila, and India as tobacco-producing centers." Moreover, "almost every square mile of land north and south of the Zambesi contains iron ore, and in some places regular mountains of solid iron are to be found."

CHEAP AT TEN MILLION DOLLARS.

That the line will pay, the writer argues by comparing the present and prospective cost of transportation. Now goods going from Chindi by Nyasa cost for overland transit \$225 per ton. Then by rail from Cape Town \$75 per ton. Now third-class passengers from London by the Chindi-Nyasa route must pay \$350 per head and spend sixty days on the entire journey. From London and by the new railroad from Cape Town the cost would be little over \$100 and the time twenty-four days.

"The success which has crowned the Bechuanaland Railway will follow the Tanganyika extension. It is calculated that £2,000,000 will be required to build the line, and if, as suggested by Mr. Rhodes, the British Government gives its guarantee, which will be secured in such a way that the taxpayer can never possibly be called upon to pay a single penny toward it, the money will easily be found at 3½ per cent., which will only mean £75,000 per annum. As I have already shown, the building of this line is still more necessary to consolidate Great Britain's African empire than ever was the Uganda Railway. Last, but not least, the Tanganyika line will put a stop to the traffic in slaves."

THE CUBANS AFTER THE WAR.

IN the *Puritan* for February there is a sketch of conditions in Cuba to-day, by Miss Mary C. Francis, entitled "The Aftermath of War." Miss Francis enjoys the distinction of being the only American woman who ever entered into the fastnesses of the patriot districts of the island, to the very headquarters of the provisional government. She was a guest of the provisional government during a six weeks' tour, and during last August and September rode over three hundred miles on horseback in the interior of the island. Her description of the condition of the native population is eloquent of the terrible sufferings the women and children were enduring. Miss Francis stayed for a time at one of the *bohios*, or huts, made by an exiled *reconcentrado* family, and had especially good opportunities of observing the manners and customs of the Cuban country people.

HOW COOKING IS DONE.

"Cooking in Cuba is done on a primitive basis. A box of earth about 8 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 6 inches in depth, supported on a half dozen posts, serves the purpose of a stove. At intervals on this foundation fires are built, over which iron kettles are set resting on old bricks, stones, or pieces of scrap iron. There are no chimneys, and with the sudden shifting of the wind clouds of smoke come puffing into your face at unexpected moments. If the house has an attic, a pole into which notches have been cut serves the purpose of a stairway. Nails in these houses are unknown ; the entire structure is held together with vines or strips of *majagua* bark. From this bark, by the way, a Cuban, without tools of any kind, will in fifteen minutes make a good sixty-foot rope for a tether."

THE FURNITURE OF A BOHIO.

"The furniture of these war homes is primitive. The beds are of stout canvas stretched tightly over a wooden framework. There is no mattress, and the climate is such that with a sheet, blanket, and pillow one can be remarkably comfortable for the night. For myself I slept but rarely in these beds, as I found my hammock more convenient. Aside from the beds, wooden stools with straps of rawhide for the seat, a few wooden chairs, some shelves and boxes completed the outfit. One must not forget in this category the regulation Cuban *bric-à-brac*, consisting of little naked children, dogs, chickens, and in some instances goats and pigs, running freely about the house. The *pièce de résistance* of said *bric-à-brac* was the great slabs of freshly slaughtered beef or pork carried by

- the men of the household into *la cocina* and hung in full view, swinging its red-and-white length before the family and guests as though demonstrating the successful and artistic triumph of the useful and ornamental. As an 'article of bigotry and virtue' this newly killed beef has a decided advantage over most of its cult—it can be eaten."

A PLENTIFUL LACK OF FOOD.

"All through my tour I found men, women, and children hungry and naked. Little children with swollen bodies begged for food along the roadside; women with sodden faces and rags that barely covered their skeleton-like frames went in little processions about the country looking for fruit. It was when I met one of these hopeless processions one day that I talked with a man who told me that he had recently eaten nothing for days but *corojo*, a small nut that falls from the *corojo* palm, a tough, miniature cocoa-nut about the size of a school-boy's marble. This nut was eaten by the pigs before the war, but within the past three years it has been food for many who would otherwise have starved. The country people have been eating and are eating to-day horse, mule, *julia*, a small animal that is a cross between a rat and a woodchuck, alligator, *maja*, a small snake of the boa-constrictor class, *iguana*, a large lizard, and *curugay*, an air plant, the base near the root being somewhat like a coarse cabbage.

"I found men in the woods stewing the intestines of beeves for hours in an effort to make them palatable. But the strangest and most incredible dish I discovered was that of a slice of dried rawhide, the hair singed off, sprinkled with water and toasted over an open fire until it could be broken between the teeth and chewed until the gnawings of hunger were partially appeased. Of beverages there were but few, and they were the most primitive. There was no coffee to be had for love or money in the interior."

COLONEL WARING ON THE SANITATION OF HAVANA.

THE substance of the late Colonel Waring's recommendations for the cleansing and sanitation of Havana is embodied in an article contributed by Mr. G. Everett Hill, Colonel Waring's secretary and assistant, to the *January Forum*. Since the appearance of this article in the *Forum* the publication of Colonel Waring's report to the Government at Washington has been authorized, so that the public is now in possession of all of Colonel Waring's data and conclusions on the subject, so far as they had

been committed to paper. The importance of these conclusions can hardly be overestimated.

The paper opens with a brief account of the deadly progress of yellow fever in past years, and it is stated that fully 90 per cent. of the visitations of this awful plague to the United States can be traced, directly or indirectly, to Cuba.

"The controlling factor in the problem of the sanitary regeneration of Cuba is Havana—(1) because that city is the worst seat of infection; (2) because it is a center of distribution; and (3) by reason of its importance and influence."

After describing the prevailing filth of the city—a filth so gross and sickening as to be most unthinkable—the article reverts to the question, "Can Havana be purified?" and the answer is strongly affirmative; for Havana, dirty as she is to-day, is no dirtier than many another city has been in the past.

SPECIFIC REFORMS.

"In the notes of his proposed report to the United States Government, which Colonel Waring brought with him from Cuba, the following improvements are specified as absolutely necessary for the sanitary redemption of Havana:

"1. The immediate organization of a department of public cleaning, 'under the full control of a single commissioner experienced in the conduct of such work,' who should have authority to act as occasion may require.

"The chief function of the department would be the maintenance of a 'constant state of cleanliness' in all streets and places of public business or resort, including the *abattoirs* and markets. 'It should also control the disposal of all wastes, except sewage—by cremation and otherwise.'

"2. The construction of a system of sewers 'to receive the liquid wastes of all houses of the main city.' The topography of the city divides it naturally into several districts. Each of these should be served by a distinct sewerage system, which should discharge directly into the harbor or the gulf, as the case may be. 'Before such discharge the effluent should be effectively clarified by one of the various well-known methods, so that it would carry only its dissolved impurities.' The dilution would be immediate and more than sufficient; for the daily movement of sea-water into and out of the harbor is about six thousand times as great as would be the day's discharge of clarified sewage from the harbor slope of the city.

"3. The clearing out and filling with clean earth of all the cesspools and garbage-vaults, and the supplying to each house of a suitable water-closet, connected with the public sewer system. The closets furnished should be practically automatic in operation and not liable to damage from

ignorance or carelessness. They should be made so that no foreign substance able to cause an obstruction in the house-drain or the sewer could pass out of sight. If more elaborate plumbing be desired, this

"4. The paving or repaving of all the streets with the best quality of asphaltum. Some form of artificial paving of the streets of cities is indispensable. Mr. Edwin Chadwick says that between the two divisions of a town population, similarly situated in general condition, one part inhabiting streets which are unpaved and another inhabiting streets that are paved, a difference of health is observed. He cites instances showing the sanitary benefit resulting from paving.

"Laying aside all considerations of comfort and economy, which in themselves are sufficient to warrant its construction, asphaltum is the best paving material from a hygienic standpoint. Being a monolithic sheet, it is impervious alike to the rise of exhalations from the earth and the soakage of liquids into the earth. It is easily cleaned; and as it can be cleaned without sprinkling it can be cleaned dry. At intervals it can be thoroughly washed with a hose and all surplus water removed immediately with a squeegee. The absence of dust and the minimizing of noise are hygienic benefits of secondary degree.

"5. The erection of a new *abattoir*, adequate to all the needs of the population and furnished with modern appliances for the inoffensive utilization of the entire animal, so that no refuse remains to be got rid of.

"6. The construction of 'a suitable and sufficient incinerating furnace, for the complete and inoffensive destruction of garbage and other refuse,' including dead animals, street-sweepings, mattresses, discarded clothing, rags, excelsior, paper, and similar substances, which might serve as vehicles of contagion. The experiments made by Colonel Waring while street cleaning commissioner of New York indicated that such a furnace may produce steam in quantities large enough to be valuable.

"7. The reclamation and drainage of all the marshes, or at least of those bordering the harbor on the south and west. 'This reclamation to be made after the "Polder" method of Holland—by diking out the harbor and the water-courses and moving the water by pumping.'

"8. The establishment of a 'power-plant sufficient for this pumping, for pumping sewage where necessary and for propelling the machinery of the *abattoir*.'

HOW REFORM MAY BE FURTHERED.

Colonel Waring did not stop with these recommendations. Other fragmentary memoranda left

by him indicate that he had thought out several comprehensive plans for carrying the proposed reforms into effect. For example, he advocated the establishment of a board of sanitary control, with powers similar to those of an American city board of health. Furthermore, Colonel Waring believed that a campaign of popular sanitary education should be begun in Havana, that practical hygiene should be taught in the schools, and that the children should be organized as volunteer aids in the work of sanitation, as was done so successfully under Colonel Waring's administration of the New York streets.

One other very practical and important suggestion is made:

"Of less pressing need, but still an important factor in the improvement of the city's condition, is a revision of the custom—practically universal—of laying the first floors of the houses close to the ground, without adequate means for ventilating the space between. Probably no immediate radical change is practicable or wise, but gradual improvement in this direction may be made and similar defects in future construction avoided by requiring that the floors of all new buildings and all old floors which need relaying be raised so far above the ground and be so provided with means of ventilation as to insure a free circulation of air under them."

HOW TO DEAL WITH THE HARBOR.

In regard to the improvement of Havana harbor, Mr. Hill says:

"It may seem strange that no reference has been made to the dredging of the harbor—so urgently advocated by some advisers—or to any improvement of it, save such as would be effected by the withholding of solid organic matters from the *abattoir*, sewage, and dumping-grounds, and by the construction of the dikes at its southern end. As has been said, the tidal flow is more than sufficient to effect the purification of the clarified sewage which Colonel Waring proposed to empty into the harbor. So long as solid wastes are withheld, its surplus oxidizing power will gradually destroy the accumulation of putrescible material.

"To dredge the harbor now would be dangerous work; for it would stir up and expose to the air vast quantities of putrid filth. Later, if Colonel Waring's recommendations should be carried out, it would mean only the removal of innocuous mud. Navigation is not yet impeded by the deposits, and the rate at which the harbor is silting up—one-third of 1 per cent. per year—makes it evident that a delay of even ten years would not be injurious to commerce. Long before this time has elapsed the harbor should be clean."

WHAT TEN MILLIONS WOULD DO.

Mr. Hill writes with enthusiasm of what can be wrought in Havana if our Government shall see fit to make an adequate appropriation for the purpose. He says:

"Havana can be freed from her curse. The price of her freedom is about ten million dollars. Can the United States afford to redeem her? For once humanity, patriotism, and self-interest should be unanimous, and their answer should be, Yes!

"The enormous possible saving of pain, misery, and wasted life is evident. The war against disease would be indeed a 'war of humanity,' which would call for no explanations and would need no apologies. It would place not only Cuba, but all the civilized nations of the earth, in our debt. It would be a link of gold in the chain of universal brotherhood which will one day bind the world together.

"The sanitary rehabilitation of his country would raise the Cuban to a higher plane physically, socially, morally, industrially, and financially. Having given him his freedom, this would be the greatest benefit we could possibly bestow upon him; for the natural resources of the island are so exceptional that to make it healthy is to make it wealthy.

"The economy of hygienic measures is not only an economy of pain, misery, and life, and a profitable investment for the future, but is a saving of money *now*. It is estimated that a single epidemic, introduced into the United States from Havana, cost one hundred million dollars cash in loss to industries and commerce alone. But this was not the only monetary loss. The cost of funerals, medical attendance, and nurses and the loss of earnings must be added, to say nothing of the actual cash value of each life thrown away."

THE URGENCY OF THE CASE.

Colonel Waring was impressed with the extreme gravity of the situation, and among the last words that he wrote on the subject were these:

"If these improvements are to be made, there must be no delay and no half-way measures. All that is indicated must be done in the best and most complete manner, and it must all be done before June 1, 1899.

"If it is not all done, there is every reason to fear that yellow fever will be rife here next season, because of the large number of unprotected persons who would come, trusting to the efficiency of the partial carrying out of the work.

"Would it not be wise to accept at once the fact that we are confronted with a danger com-

pared with which war is insignificant, and proceed to meet it and to conquer it while we may? We cannot afford to wait until we have fed it and strengthened it with the lives of our people. The necessary reforms will call for costly work, even now; but every month's delay will make them more costly and more imperative.

"We can set about these reforms now calmly and judiciously. Later, under the impulse of panic, we should work at far greater disadvantage."

WITH DEWEY AT MANILA.

MR. JOSEPH L. STICKNEY gives in the February *Harper's* a too brief account of Admiral Dewey's conduct at Manila. Mr. Stickney, it will be remembered, was the rarely fortunate newspaper man who stood on the bridge beside Dewey during the whole of the fight, having been playfully appointed the commodore's aid for the occasion.

DEWEY WAS SEA-SICK!

The most striking part of Mr. Stickney's article is the modest paragraph which tells how Commodore Dewey was fearfully and wonderfully seasick during the whole battle.

"About 4 o'clock the commodore's Chinese servant brought him some hot coffee and hard-tack. Now, unfortunately the commodore had been drinking cold tea at frequent intervals during the night, and the coffee did not make a satisfactory combination. The result was that half an hour before the opening of the battle Commodore Dewey was as completely upset as if he had been a youngster just going out of port into a heavy sea on his first cruise. At any rate, he threw up nearly everything except his nerve and his fighting spirit. I mention this untoward incident merely to indicate how little conducive to an undisturbed mind were the commodore's physical conditions. It was doubtless due to this fact that he was perhaps a little less suave than he usually has been during my acquaintance with him. The bursting of the mines and the opening guns of the battle did a great deal to restore his good-humor, but he undoubtedly was in considerable physical discomfort during the whole of the action."

WE MUST GIVE UP THE BREAKFAST STORY.

It is too bad, but the story accepted by the whole world of the withdrawal from the heat of the engagement to give the men breakfast must fade out in the cold light of historical accuracy. Mr. Stickney says:

"I do not exaggerate in the least when I say that as we hauled off into the bay the gloom on

the bridge of the *Olympia* was thicker than a London fog in November. Neither Commodore Dewey nor any of the staff believed that the Spanish ships had been sufficiently injured by our fire to prevent them from renewing the battle quite as furiously as they had previously fought. Indeed, we had all been distinctly disappointed in the results of our fire. Our projectiles seemed to go too high or too low—just as had been the case with those fired at us by the Spaniards. Several times the commodore had expressed dissatisfaction with the failure of our gunners to hit the enemy. We had begun the firing at too great a distance, but we had gradually worked in further on each of the turns until we were within about twenty-five hundred yards at the close of the fifth round. At that distance, in a smooth sea, we ought to have made a large percentage of hits; yet, so far as we could judge, we had not sensibly crippled the foe. Consequently Commodore Dewey hauled out into the open bay at the end of the fifth round to take stock of ammunition and devise a new plan of attack.

"As I went aft the men asked me what we were hauling off for. They were in a distinctly different humor from that which prevailed on the bridge. They believed that they had done well and that the other ships had done likewise. The *Olympia* cheered the *Baltimore* and the *Baltimore* returned the cheers with interest. The gun-captains were not at all satisfied with the results of their work. Whether they had a better knowledge of the accuracy of their aim than we had on the bridge, or whether they took it for granted that the enemy must have suffered severely after so much fighting, I do not know; but at any rate they were eager to go on with the battle and were confident of victory. I told one of them that we were merely hauling off for breakfast, which statement elicited the appeal to Captain Lamberton as he came past a moment later:

"For God's sake, captain, don't let us stop now. To hell with breakfast!"

"When I told the commodore that I intended to attribute our withdrawal to the need for breakfast, he intimated that it was not a matter of much importance what reason I gave, so long as I did not give the true one. And so the breakfast episode went to the world as a plausible excuse for what seemed like an extraordinary strategic maneuver—one which has been the subject of more comment than almost any other event during the battle. Many people have said to me that it would be a pity to spoil so good a story by telling the truth; but as the commodore will be sure to let the cat out of the bag some day, I may as well let her have her freedom now."

IMPORTANCE OF THE NAVAL ENGINEER.

IN the *Engineering Magazine* for January Mr. Arthur Warren publishes a tribute to "the fighting engineers at Santiago," and especially to Chief Engineer Milligan, of the *Oregon*, to whom officers of the line and the staff generally award a large measure of credit.

The war with Spain in American waters, says Mr. Warren, was an engineers' war. "The man behind the gun" gave splendid service—none better—and won glory for it. So much praise was used up on him that the supply was inadequate for distribution among all branches of the navy. Jackie deserved his honors. But even American warships do not move by wishing or by gun-fire. The engineers put the ships where 'the man behind the gun' could give an account of himself. Admirals and captains are brave enough, and keen tacticians, no doubt, but the best part of the Spanish fleet would have slipped through somebody's fingers that Sunday morning at Santiago if America's fighting engineers had not, by the hardest of work, overcome the obstacles imposed upon them by orders from the bridge. If the fighting had been against men more nearly kin—say English or German—under conditions identical with those off Santiago on the morning of July 3, some American hulks might now be resting at the bottom of tropic seas. For engines were uncoupled, and many fires went out, and steam so low that all the energy of the stokers was required to get it up again.

THE CAPTAINS CONTROL THE BOILERS.

"The American ships had been off the coast for weeks, waiting for the enemy to come out. When the enemy came out the American ships were ready to shoot, but not to give chase. This was no fault of the engineers. It was not the effect of over-confidence. It was the result of a condition. The condition is peculiar to naval practice. It was long ago discarded in the merchant service. In the merchant service a chief engineer controls his department. In the navy the captain controls the engineers and is in turn controlled by the commanding officer of the fleet. The chief engineer of an Atlantic liner looks to his captain for starting and stopping signals only; for the rest, he takes his orders from his owners and reports to them. The chief engineer alone is responsible for the care, operation, and economy of the machinery. In the navy the ship's captain decides how many boilers shall be used, how much coal shall be burned, what pressure shall be carried. And the American captains at Santiago had everything in readiness except their boilers and engines. There were two exceptions, the *Oregon* and the *Gloucester*."

THE "OREGON'S" SECRET.

Mr. Warren's article lets in the light on certain facts that go far to explain the superior state of preparedness in which the *Oregon* found herself when the real test came.

"It is even officially conceded that but for the *Oregon* the *Colon* and probably another Spanish ship would have escaped. So much for having engines in order, boilers ready, and fires burning. Here was a ship after a fifteen-thousand-mile run, four months out of dock, with foul bottom and increased displacement, almost equaling her trial-trip record for speed. And she fought as she ran. Inside of fifteen minutes after the full-speed signal was given she was making fifteen knots. Within an hour she was making nearly seventeen. Coming down the Pacific the *Oregon* had Cardiff coal under her boilers—the best quality of Cardiff for steaming. When she turned the corner of the continent and got into the Atlantic she picked up in the coal ports the best fuel she could buy, but it was much inferior to Cardiff. Milligan had a few hundred tons of Cardiff left. He shoveled them into the fighting bunkers. 'This will do for emergency,' said he. Then he locked the bunkers. On the blockade the coal supplied to the ships was—well, less fiery than patriotism. On the day of the battle Milligan unlocked the fighting bunkers, and the Cardiff coal helped the *Oregon* to make her burst of speed. Besides, there were fires under all her boilers when Cervera slipped out."

Not an ounce of salt water was allowed in the *Oregon's* boilers at any time. The ship had made several trial "spurts" under forced draught, and when the necessity came the men knew how to get the utmost possible speed.

THE ENGINEER IN BATTLE.

Mr. Warren gives one of the most graphic descriptions yet written of the actual conditions under which a modern warship's engineers have to work while the fighting is going on. He says:

"If you were sealed up in a heated iron tank floating on the sea and hammered at by missiles which now and then let in daylight and splinters, you would get a dim idea of the lot of the engineer's men aboard a battleship in action. But the engineer's men have to work in the hurly-burly and you would go mad in your tank. The enemy's shot pounds the ship, but the engineer and his men know not where the enemy is or where the ship is heading. And they can't stop to think about it. Keep that bearing cool—smother it in oil, drown it in water! Keep it cool or the game's up!

"The men on deck can let the splinters lie

where they fall, but the men in the engine-room have to keep the splinters out of the machinery. Steam-pipes are pierced. Mend 'em. Crawl behind the boilers and stop that steam leak. Impossible to shut off anything. Scalded? Never mind. It's all in the day's work. Don't let the water down. Pass the coal lively. And, while you're about it, put out that fire in the bunkers. Grimy men, dripping with sweat, go about quietly, with clear heads, watching everything. There's no bawling, no unusual noise, no confusion. In the lower engine-rooms the thermometer shows 136 degrees in front of the ventilating blowers; in the upper engine-rooms 190 degrees. Men dart into the upper rooms twice an hour or so, look around for a minute or two, and then dart out again. There on the hot seas, on July 3, the temperature above the boilers of the *Texas* was sometimes 200 degrees!"

Mr. Warren's article is a telling plea in behalf of the principle embodied in the naval *personnel* bill now before Congress. Abolish the distinction between line and staff in the navy. Make engineer officers officers of the line. Teach all line officers engineering, so that they will know the engine-room as well as the wheel-house and the bridge; for "the modern fighting ship is a fighting machine; her efficiency depends upon the engineer."

EVILS OF EUROPEAN MILITARISM.

IN the *International Journal of Ethics* Prof. T. J. Lawrence, of Cambridge, England, discusses the Czar's rescript, presenting some of the economic and ethical arguments favoring a halt in the policy of increasing national armaments. He says:

"No one can fail to see that the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of young men from the peaceful careers just opening out before them involves enormous social and industrial waste. Moreover, during the time they are learning the business of mutual slaughter they are supported by public funds raised from the taxation of their countrymen. The burden is already in some countries destroying the springs of industry and closing the avenues of commerce. Even wealthy England has been warned by the present chancellor of the exchequer that if her expenditure on armaments continues to increase at the present rate, she will have soon to choose between increased taxation and the cessation of her efforts to reduce her national debt. The twenty-four thousand miles of soldiers which, according to a German authority, represent the sum total of the armies of continental Europe, are not fed, clothed, and provided with munitions of war without an annual expenditure of hundreds of

millions sterling. And while money is poured out like water for warlike purposes, education languishes owing to the difficulty of raising the necessary funds, and the eternal lack of pence hampers every effort to deal with such problems as the housing of the poor and the provision in towns and villages of the amenities of communal existence.

ETHICAL ASPECTS.

"Nor are the evils of militarism confined to the diversion of national wealth from productive to unproductive channels. It brings with it grave moral dangers, which it is both foolish and wicked to ignore. M. Urbain Gohier, in his book '*L'Armée contre la Nation*,' which has brought upon him prosecution at the instance of the French Government, may possibly paint too dark a picture. But much of his information is taken from official reports, and he deliberately declares that barrack life is a school of drunkenness, debauchery, and every filthy vice. The youths of the nation go into it healthy, clean, and vigorous. They come out rotten and tainted, to become centers of moral and physical corruption on their return to civilian occupations. It is impossible to pronounce an opinion upon such sweeping charges without an investigation, which few would be able or willing to undertake. But it may not be amiss to remark in passing that, human nature being what it is, the aggregation of young men together in large masses without the possibility of marriage, and with a good deal of time hanging idle on their hands, is sure to lead to results of a most unsatisfactory kind, unless the greatest pains are taken by the authorities to provide influences which shall counteract those other influences whose existence is so well known that they need not be described. Unfortunately, it sometimes happens that those who from their official position should be foremost in the combat with vice have adopted the doctrine that it is a necessity, and do their best to encourage what they ought to endeavor to stamp out. But lubricity is not the only evil that may easily be made to flourish in the atmosphere of camps. Contempt of civilians, impatience of civil authority, distaste for civil life, are each and all fostered by the overgrown military system of most continental nations. The old doctrine of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that a standing army is dangerous to liberty, may receive startling confirmation at the close of the nineteenth century.

PATRIOTISM WITHOUT MILITARISM.

"It is said, on the other hand, that armies are schools of patriotism and self-sacrifice; and

no one who possesses a knowledge of the gallant deeds done by soldiers of all countries will be disposed to deny that there is a large amount of truth in the statement. Yet it is false to add that patriotism cannot exist and flourish without the aid of a military training. The United States, with its army of twenty-five thousand men in a population of seventy millions, is a striking proof to the contrary. At the beginning of the present year no ruler of a great civilized power controlled so small an armed force as did President McKinley. But when the need was felt he had but to stamp his foot and armed men seemed to rise from the soil. If any real danger from a foreign foe should threaten the American Union, the industrious population which tills her prairies and toils in her workshops would throng by millions to her defense. In no country is the sentiment of patriotism stronger, and in no country is it less dependent upon the influence of a standing army. As to self-sacrifice, it is taught far better by the charities and restraints of domestic life than by the wild rush of the battlefield or the comradeship of the camp and the march. Courage and devotion, organization and discipline, are not the sole prerogatives of the soldier, though the world rings with his deeds of daring and his feats of obedience and endurance."

INDUSTRIAL HEROISM.

"The management of a great industrial concern requires as much talent for organization as the planning of a campaign. The thousands of workmen who obey one head and combine their separate efforts to attain a common end are disciplined differently, but as thoroughly as the long lines of marching infantry who delight the eye at a great review. If peace necessarily meant ignoble ease there would be much to say for the theory of Von Moltke and other great generals, that war was necessary to preserve the virility of the race and keep alive the manly virtues. But who can visit the busy hives of industry without being convinced of its fallacy? The arts of peace require as much active cultivation as the arts of war. While there are seas to be traversed, mines to be dug, explorations to be carried out, engineering feats to be accomplished, and scientific discoveries to be made, no one need fear that patience, courage, perseverance, and skill will die out among mankind for lack of exercise. The dangers of fire and flood would call forth heroism and devotion even if war were but a dim memory of an evil past. Honest toil and manly exercise would develop the human frame to the height of its strength and beauty even if military drill were as obsolete as the formation of the Macedonian phalanx."

THE NORTH SCHLESWIG QUESTION.

ON the last page of the December number of the *Preussische Jahrbücher* Prof. Hans Delbrück, the editor, criticising what he believed to be the policy of the Prussian Government in expelling Danes from North Schleswig, wrote to the following effect:

"The recent expulsions from Schleswig cry out to Heaven. What the Danes did before the war of 1864, and what aroused at that time the moral indignation of the whole German nation, is child's play compared to the brutality with which we govern that country to-day. But worse than the brutality which makes us an object of detestation to the whole civilized world is our blindness in believing that by such means we can achieve lasting success in the struggle of nationalities.

"It is with national feelings as with religion. Behind the really religious people arise at once the abominable priesthood and the zealous hunters of heretics and inquisitors in order to commit their disgraceful acts in the name of the saints. Thus national feelings have created here and there among us a sort of fanaticism which in its wildness and stubbornness thinks itself at liberty to trample under foot the laws of humanity, and so does immense harm to that national idea which it intends to serve."

For this very frank criticism disciplinary proceedings are being instituted against Dr. Delbrück, and the affair promises to be quite a *cause célèbre*.

DR. DELBRÜCK'S CAREER.

Dr. Delbrück is an interesting personality. Before he was twenty-one he was publicly promoted to the rank of officer on the field of Gravelotte, and a year or two after he became tutor to Prince Waldemar, brother of the German Emperor, and remained in this post till 1879, when the young Prince died. From 1884 to 1890 he sat in the Reichstag as a Free Conservative member. The *Preussische Jahrbücher* has been in existence over forty years. When Dr. Delbrück was first associated with it it was as joint editor with Professor Treitschke, but since the year 1882, or thereabouts, he has been sole editor of the review. He is further known to literature as the author of a number of historical and political works. In his review he has often criticised fearlessly both the government and his own party, and just three years ago a prosecution was instituted against him for *lèse-majesté* (see REVIEW OF REVIEWS, January, 1896, p. 18), when, strange to tell, it was the same Herr von Köller (then minister of the interior, but now governor of North Schleswig) with whom he

came into collision, as the newspapers reported at the time.

It was in 1881 that Dr. Delbrück succeeded Professor Treitschke in the chair of history at the University of Berlin, and it is in connection with this office—the professor of history being in the pay of the state—that disciplinary proceedings are to be taken against him for the offending paragraph quoted above. The disciplinary court consists of a president and ten assessors, of whom seven form a quorum, and there may be an appeal to the Prussian ministry—the body which has instituted the proceedings! The penalty which the court can impose may be a warning, a censure, or a fine, or the professor may be dismissed from his office.

THE POLICY OF EXPULSION.

In the January number of the *Preussische Jahrbücher* Prof. Julius Kaftan contributes an interesting article to the discussion on the North Schleswig question. He is a native of North Schleswig himself, and he admits that there is a great deal of anti-Prussian agitation in the province, but he could only justify the policy of expulsion if it should turn out to be expedient. But it would be well, he thinks, if the Prussian Government would make some such just and natural concessions to the Danes, as, for instance, some regular instruction in the Danish language in the national schools. At present, with the exception of religious instruction, which is imparted in Danish, only German is used, and the children of Danish parents have first to struggle with the new language.

DELBRÜCK'S LATEST STAND.

Professor Delbrück follows with a most reasonable article. Since he wrote his December criticism he has learned that the policy of expulsion does not proceed from the Prussian Government, but from Herr von Köller, the president of the province; but this surely should make it more difficult to justify the system of administering the province. Still, Professor Delbrück admits that, under exceptional circumstances, some force may be necessary, but he cannot bring his mind to call that a sound policy which expels a number of innocent persons for no other reason than that they happen to be in the employ of agitators. National fanaticism, as on previous occasions, is here responsible for a great deal, and one organ suggests the usual thing in such cases—Professor Delbrück may be in the service of the foreigner. It will be interesting to see what comes of this case, which only the semi-official organs try to defend. The unanimous opinion of the independent press seems to be that the prosecution is politically inexpedient.

CASTELAR ON INTERNATIONAL POLITICS.

IN the December number of *La España Moderna* Emilio Castelar, the famous Spanish orator, treats of the international complications of the world and of the grave and intricate problems which they present. He says that "the political horizon has seldom appeared so dark as it is at present, charged as it is with tempestuous clouds which threaten immediate war. The hasty return of William II. to grapple with the tremendous problems that arose in his absence; the forcing of the Sultan, through European diplomacy, to evacuate Crete and consent to its government by a Greek prince; the manifestations in the Holy Land of the mourning Armenians; the rude agitations of Macedonia and Bulgaria; the acute malady of Austria, whose diverse nationalities are almost impossible of crystallization; the finishing of the Trans-Siberian Railway, bringing Titanic Russia near the northern gates of China and India; the Anglo-French entanglement regarding Africa; the universal anxiety concerning the Spanish race in America; the words of Salisbury declaring unarmed nations decadent as he covets their territory; the maneuvers of Europe imperiling the Chinese empire; the understanding between the Anglo-Saxons of the world to dominate the ocean and divide the land between them; the monstrous proceedings of the upstart Yankee with Spain—all these unsatisfactory conditions are threatening elements that make toward intercontinental war."

A SPANISH THRUST AT CHAMBERLAIN.

Castelar can find no good in Chamberlain, especially in view of his expressions upon the subject of our relations with Spain. He thinks that "history does not present an example of cynicism similar to Chamberlain's. After a lifetime spent in the Radical school he becomes a Tory, imperialist, and reactionary without the smallest qualms of conscience; and he undoubtedly never had an equal in his vicious tendencies to enormous colonial conquests in absolute derogation of laws, human and divine. He is nothing better than a marauder of the age when liberty was unknown and piracy prevailed upon the seas. He has been following the exterminating Yankees in their piratical conquests in both hemispheres, inviting them, in public speech, to divide the spoils with him. Language fails to furnish an epithet to fitly characterize this ignoble action against Spain. And Chamberlain chooses for his shameless exploit the very moment when the subject is under discussion at Paris between the United States and Spain.

"But sin brings its penance. Were it not for the political iniquity of Chamberlain the last

speech of Lord Salisbury would not have obtained such a sad reception from the conscience and public opinion of Europe. That speech smells of powder and dynamite.

"Nations and governments, however, at this end of the century are doing the most extraordinary things, from the transformation of the American people to the peace proposals of the Czar, and calm spirits must need reflect as to whether they themselves or the nations have become foolish."

The distinguished Spanish writer, after reviewing the haughty attitude of Salisbury toward France and his disdainful treatment of the peace rescript issued by Nicholas II., concludes his elaborate article by summarizing the dangers that threaten England "in China as well as India, in the Cape of Good Hope, Jamaica, Honduras, Trinidad, and the Orinoco." He says: "I cannot be oblivious of the fact that Great Britain is at present menaced by most powerful elements capable of generating conflicts hopeless of solution."

THE REVIVAL OF CARLISM IN SPAIN.

A WRITER in *Blackwood's* for January describes "The Carlists: Their Case, Their Cause, Their Chiefs." He gives an interesting exposition of the history and aims of the whole Carlist movement, pointing out the particular differences between the existing situation in Spain and the conditions which tended to favor Carlist success in the past. He says:

"Things move even in Spain, and neither the Carlist resources nor the Carlist cause are what they were in 1833-40. Then the Serviles, Apóstólicos, Agraviados of Ferdinand's reign were relatively more numerous and were unbroken. Therefore they were able to make head against a government which had no other enemy and could use the services of some eighty or ninety thousand well-appointed troops. The second Carlist rising, in the middle of Queen Isabel's reign, was a much smaller business and ended in complete surrender. It is chiefly worth noting because the uncle of the present Don Carlos, who was taken prisoner, saved himself from the fate of his generals, who were shot, by renouncing his rights. Once safe on the other side of the frontier, he renounced his renunciation, on the ground that it had been extorted from him by fear—which was true, but ignominious. The most notable fact about the third war was that it did not become formidable till the government had been utterly disorganized by the resignation of Don Amadeo in 1873 and the establishment of the anarchical republic.

THE LAST UPRISING.

"It is well to keep this truth in mind when we hear that the Don Carlos of to-day is issuing manifestoes and that preparations for a rising are being made. Talk to this effect is exceedingly easy; but what prospect is there of another civil war on a serious scale, after twenty years of peace, if the last failed? The history of that venture of itself is sufficient answer. Queen Isabel was driven out by a military revolt in September, 1868, and the Carlists did not move. While Prim lived they were hardly ever heard of. A few sporadic outbreaks took place in Catalonia and were instantly suppressed. After his murder and during the brief so-called reign of Amadeo of Savoy there was a movement in Biscay, and therefore in other regions. The intrusive king belonged to a family odious to the papacy and to the Church; so clerical influence was on the Carlist side, or was, at any rate, nowhere vigorously used against it. Yet it was not till King Amadeo resigned and the republic was proclaimed that the Carlists became really dangerous. Then the way was cleared for them by the utter collapse of government. The Republicans had promised to abolish the conscription, and one of the first results of their insane engagement was to cause the mutiny and dissolution of the army of Catalonia. The soldiers took the politicians at their word, disbanded, and went home. Then came the 'cantonalist' outbreak—which was a mere explosion of anarchy by agitators who took the communards of Paris for their model.

THE DECLINE OF THE MOVEMENT.

"During this interval of confusion and of the paralysis of government the Carlist army in Biscay was regularly organized by Dorregaray and Lizarraga; while the *guerrillero* bands of the Alta Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia gained in numbers and solidity. They were in their height during the protectorate of Serrano, which lasted from the suppression of the republic by Pavia in the beginning of 1874 to the restoration of Don Alfonso XII. by the *pronunciamiento* of Murviedro in December. Yet even during this period they never succeeded in occupying any considerable town, and were forced to raise the siege of Bilbao. From the day of the restoration of Doña Isabel's son their cause steadily declined. They were first swept out of Valencia and Catalonia and then broken up in Biscay. Disgusted as the vast majority of Spaniards were with the follies of the republic and the incompetence of Ferrero, it was never to the Carlists that they looked for a remedy, but to the restoration of the family of Doña Isabel."

THE ANIMUS OF MODERN CARLISM.

This writer mentions two influences that told against the Carlists twenty four years ago and that tell against them even more strongly to-day. One is that of the Church, which is on the side of the recognized government. The other is the commercial influence. The building of railroads and highways has made possible an intercourse between the provinces that was unknown in former times, and the country can no longer afford to give itself to civil war.

It is admitted, however, that a revival of the Carlists is possible in certain contingencies:

"They may again come to the front if the way is prepared for them, as it was between 1868 and 1872, by military rebellions, *pronunciamientos*, and the collapse of government. Whether these old evils will revive is beside the present question. What concerns us is the fact that the present Don Carlos no longer appeals for support on the same grounds as his grandfather. He no longer defies the army and relies on his faithful and religious Basques, Aragonese, and Catalans. They get compliments from time to time; but he directs himself to the mass of Spaniards, and, above all, to the army, and that with pleas which amount to a surrender of all the principles of his family. When the first Don Carlos stood forth to vindicate his right to the crown, he also declared that he fought for *la monarquía pura*—for pure monarchy. A despotic king united to an intolerant Church were the advantages he offered his country, and it was because he did that he had the support of the Spaniards who valued these things.

"The Don Carlos of to-day talks in a very different tone. His representatives in Spain, who meet at the *Círculo Tradicionalista* and whose chief is the Marquis of Zerralbo, are authorized to declare that his majesty is no enemy to representative institutions. Far from it. He is much in favor of the 'traditional liberties' of Spain, hence the name of the club. What this means is that he will consent to restore the Cortes of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia as they were before his ancestor, Philip V., put them down with the strong hand, because those parts of Spain fought for the Hapsburg line. It may be said, by the way, that the rest of the country was represented *taliter qualiter* by the nobles and the sixteen good towns which formed the Cortes of Castile. This traditionalism, in fact, shows its fidelity to principles by throwing over the whole tradition of the Bourbon dynasty more completely than the female line now on the throne.

"Such is the political consistency of the *flor y nata*—the flower and cream—of the sentimental

Carlism of Spain, which meets in the *Círculo Tradicionalista* and talks politics of this force in the intervals of looking out of window at the Calle de Alcalá and playing *tresillo*. The cause of the *monarquía pura* has been wondrously translated, if they are to be trusted."

As to the Carlists' promises of better government for Spain, this writer concedes that poor Spain might do worse than take Don Carlos at his word—if there were the slightest chance his word would be kept.

"The genuine Carlists are not those Spaniards who feel disposed to seek a remedy for the ills of their country in 'home rule all round.' They are the believers in 'the pure monarchy' and the extreme churchmen. It is not by concessions to Liberalism and to religious toleration that they will ever be brought into the field."

A SPANIARD ON THE CAUSES OF SPAIN'S DECADENCE.

THE December number of *La España Moderna* contains an article reviewing a recent remarkable speech of Señor Echegaray (a distinguished Spanish dramatist) upon the subject, "In what does the strength of nations consist?" The reviewer says:

"The intrinsic interest of the speech is augmented by the fact that it presents many points for the study of national psychology in the present critical period. Among other things, it is stated that the strength of a nation does not consist in the institutions specially erected for defense, as the strength of an individual does not consist in his muscles alone or in the weapon that he carries. Señor Echegaray, in his discourse, treated this point lucidly. He said: 'True strength, that which resides in the individual as in society, is the result of an harmonious equilibrium of all the parts of the human or social organism. In speaking of national strength I do not refer merely to material force, to armor-plated ships, or to battalions. These constitute one of many elements which must be considered in order to appreciate the energies of a nation. They are something; they are a great deal; but they are not all nor are they the greater or the better part. Furthermore, they are the effect rather than the cause; they are a manifestation of strength rather than strength itself. If the nation be strong in all its branches and in all its organisms, it will be strong on the bloody field of battle and on the stormy sea. If the nation be weak within, it will be conquered at last, no matter what sacrifices it may make of life and treasure, not because it lacks strength to-day, but because it was weak yesterday.'"

The reviewer considers these ideas most oppor-

tune, "as the Spanish people are unaccustomed to seek the causes of things, merely giving attention, through indolence or lack of culture, to their external manifestations, and therefore the true and enormous difference in strength between Spain and the United States was not appreciated. The Spaniards asked for more ships, more batteries, more battalions, and did not see that what was needed most was more money, precisely what our enemies had in abundance, and at last, as was to be expected, our misfortunes are attributed to the demand for peace.

A FRANK ADMISSION.

"Class interest, newspaper servility, and party weakness drown the voices of sincerity in those matters. It is notorious that apart from our naval inferiority we were, from the military point of view as to land forces, better prepared than the United States. We had in Cuba an army of 200,000 men seasoned by a three years' campaign; we had in the Philippines another army of at least 20,000. The United States had scarcely 30,000 soldiers, and notwithstanding this fact, wherever battle was given they had the superiority of us in numbers and war material; and for this two months only of preparation sufficed them.

"With a superior navy and greater military capacity we should have been able only to prolong the struggle. In place of succumbing by reason of the destruction of our squadrons and the capitulation of our towns, we should have been obliged to yield through exhaustion and starvation. War in the present age is largely a struggle in economic resistance. Small nations cannot now, as formerly, by reason of the superiority of its generals or its hosts, subjugate others more extensive, rich, and populous. Such triumphs were always ephemeral, and to-day, on account of the transformation in the arts and means of war, are altogether impossible. Strength must be sought, as Señor Echegaray said, in the harmony and equilibrium of the distinct parts of the national body. Develop any one of them at the expense of the other, and the result is not strength, but rather general debility and interior disturbance.

"In the last analysis the strength of all human society must be sought for, logically, in the individual. This primary material has the utmost influence on all organizations, and modern state worship not infrequently forgets what is owing to the individual.

"Hence it is to individuals, to the action of all, that Señor Echegaray looks for national regeneration, not to new political organizations and still less to office-seekers."

SPAIN STRONGER WITHOUT COLONIES THAN WITH THEM.

The writer says, furthermore, that the great distance apart of Spain's colonies "was a considerable element of weakness in a nation of Spain's limited economic resources, rendering her vulnerable in many points difficult to protect in good time by the mother country," and he says that "although it may seem paradoxical, Spain is stronger after the loss of her colonies than when she possessed them. It would be another thing if those colonies had been strong and loyal enough to defend themselves alone—like, for example, the English colonies of Australia—or if they had contributed on a large scale to the wealth and prosperity of the mother country. Such as they were, we ought, instead of lamenting their loss, regret the enormous price which they have cost us in our natural efforts to retain them."

THE SPANISH CURRENCY OF TO-DAY.

IN the December number of the *Journal of Political Economy* M. de Foville describes the present condition of Spain's currency. Speaking of the metallic money circulated in that country, this writer says:

"In Spain, as everywhere else, Gresham's law has been obeyed. Good money—that is to say, gold—has taken its departure; the other sort, in the process of accumulation, has become more and more doubtful in value, and the five-peseta piece is now nothing more than a mere counter which has lost something like one-half of its nominal value in all places where debtors are unable to call in the power of the law for the purpose of forcing upon their creditors the acceptance of a coin of fictitious value.

COIN WORTH LESS THAN BULLION.

"When war and defeat made their appearance the five-peseta piece, like the paper pesetas, was seen to vary more and more widely in purchasing power from the gold peseta. Not only did the value of coined silver come in this way to approximate that of silver in its bullion form, but the rise of the exchanges at a certain moment resulted in an anomalous situation; for the royal impress, instead of adding something to the market price of the metal, decreased it still further, and this to such an extent that speculators, as in the time (now long since bygone) when silver stood at a premium, were able to see a profit to be gained by withdrawing from circulation these despised coins for the purpose of melting and exporting them. This phenomenon seems extraordinary and has been only temporary. The law of June 1, 1898, however, establishes belief in

the fact by its preamble, and even by the mere clause which 'prohibits for the time being' the exportation of silver to foreign countries, either in the form of coin or of bullion. It would be hard to imagine, in the whole range of monetary phenomena, a more depressing and disgraceful situation than that the value of a silver coin of full fineness should fall below that of the silver bullion it contains, when silver bullion itself is at a discount of 55 per cent."

M. de Foville expresses the hope that the Spanish authorities will make a vigorous war on the evil of counterfeiting, which he says is a regular occupation in some of the Spanish cities, notably in Barcelona, where the business is carried on for both the domestic and the foreign market. Large volumes of counterfeit coins of gold, silver, and even of bronze are in existence. In fact, the business has been carried so far that the customs department uses it as an argument against the admission into the country of sous that have been exported.

"THE DISRAELI OF LIBERALISM."

THE *Fortnightly* contains an unsigned article, of considerable boldness and even brilliancy, with the heading "The Disraeli of Liberalism." The "neutralization of the Foreign Office" in all party conflicts and the persistent continuity of British foreign policy are the ideas to which the ex-premier has, the writer insists, converted party and people. At the outset as at the finish is expressed the doubt whether Lord Rosebery is a strong man or a weak man—the executor as well as the evangelist of his own ideas. On this point "no one is sure, least of all Lord Rosebery." For the American reader the chief interest of the article lies in its exposition of the views of English Liberal statesmen on the foreign policy of their government.

A PUPIL OF BEACONSFIELD.

In any case, Lord Rosebery has seen that for his great end there must be genuine agreement on foreign policy between Conservative and Liberal; and this agreement he has—as witness the Fashoda incident—secured. Says the writer:

"As a modifier of party views, Lord Rosebery's influence has been the most curious since that of Lord Beaconsfield, to which it may fairly be compared. His imperialism has been a force more gradual, subtle, insidious, sure, than Mr. Gladstone's unlimited powers of temporary persuasion. Mr. Gladstone manipulated the emotion of his party. Lord Rosebery, along a whole side of politics, has transformed the principles of his party. Lord Beaconsfield himself was hardly more potent as an educator of Conservative opin-

ion upon domestic legislation than Lord Rosebery has been as an educator of Liberal views upon foreign policy. Lord Rosebery's early intimacy with Mr. Disraeli is known. It is certain, for several reasons, not all of them purely political, that a deep impression must have been made by the arch-politician upon material peculiarly impressionable to the Machiavellian die. The only doubt is whether Lord Rosebery has been an involuntary analogy or the conscious Disraeli of Liberalism."

He must, thinks the writer, despite all expressions to the contrary during Midlothian campaigns, have had "inward and instinctive sympathy with the spirit" of Lord Beaconsfield's foreign policy.

THE OLD LIBERAL FOREIGN POLICY.

When he began "in foreign affairs the Conservatives were strict nationalists, the Liberals inclined to be philanthropists at large." The foreign policy of the Manchester school, which ruled Liberals in the early 80s, was one of peace and unrestricted commerce, and strongly opposed on moral grounds to a "strong" or "spirited" foreign policy:

"We traveled without pistols, because we reprobated the practices of highwaymen. There was no more certain method for the propagation of highwaymen. The Manchester principles of foreign policy, as exemplified by the retrocession of the Transvaal, the abandonment of the Sudan, the helpless perception of the encroachments of Russia, and the pained endurance of Bismarckian contumely, resulted less in a general adoption of broadbrims than in a general development of brigandage. The partition of Africa was inaugurated in contempt of Earl Granville and Lord Derby. The scramble for Africa set up new and feverish impulses toward aggrandizement with which American imperialism and the gathering of the eagles over the carcass of China are not remotely connected. The advocacy by one party of what in practice was perilously near to a policy of passive resistance was simply a stimulus and a premium to the policy of active aggression by every other power. The theory of traveling without pistols resulted in the impunity of the highwayman. Humiliation after humiliation was followed by aggression after aggression."

THE NEW DEMOCRACY AND ITS VIEWS.

This was the condition of affairs on which Lord Rosebery entered. He "saw that a strong foreign policy is the only foreign policy." He saw also that "the first requisite of a strong foreign policy is consistency." He realized that

the genius of democracy is nationalist rather than cosmopolitan. Democracy, too, has "an incorrigible appetite for vigor and an insuperable loathing for weakness. With the profound instinct that goes deeper than the most humane theories, it holds weakness to be the fundamental immorality." These facts directed his career.

"If the future of the empire depended upon unanimity in foreign policy, it must have been apparent to Lord Rosebery that upon the identification of Liberalism with a strong foreign policy and its dissociation from the reproach of a weak tradition depended the future of his party. Lord Rosebery began to educate his party."

SUCCESSIVE STEPS—THE BATOUM DISPATCH.

He declared "a continuity of policy in foreign administration" to be the aim with which he took office in 1886. He kept up the policy of Lord Salisbury:

"The celebrated Batoum dispatch of 1886 brought the doctrine of continuity into conspicuous action. The master-issue between the Conservative and the Liberal parties had been the difference of their attitudes toward Russia. To one Russia was the 'divine figure in the North'; to the other, Russia was the dark enemy in the North. The Penjdeh incident had perhaps done something to disconcert the angelic theory. Lord Rosebery paid little heed to it when he wrote the dispatch denouncing as an intolerable perfidy, in the nearest approach to plain language allowed by diplomatic usage, the violation of the clause in the treaty of Berlin constituting Batoum a free port. . . . The Batoum dispatch left British prestige where it was. But it was something that a Liberal foreign secretary had opened his mind about Russia in terms that were comfortable to the Unionists, while by no means unacceptable to Liberalism at large. There was a beginning of the *rapprochement* in principles."

"THE TRUE CRISIS IN LORD ROSEBERY'S CAREER."

The next decisive step concerned Egypt. In 1891 the Liberal leaders openly advocated evacuation, and Mr. Gladstone, in the speech approving the Newcastle programme, seemed to accept their policy.

"This was the true crisis of Lord Rosebery's career. He had enunciated his principle of continuity. His task now was to make it prevail upon the Liberal party against the Liberal leaders; against Sir William Harcourt, against Mr. John Morley, against Mr. Gladstone. Lord Rosebery declined to join the cabinet of 1892 under the terms of the party declarations which would commit the new government to the old spirit in

foreign policy and flagrantly repudiated the new. . . . Lord Rosebery would not move, and Lord Rosebery was indispensable. When he joined the cabinet upon his own terms the battle seemed to be won, though it was not."

"MR. RHODES' COMPLIMENT AT WHITEHALL."

His African policy appeared in the apology extorted from the insulting young Khedive and in the retention of Uganda:

"Up to this point Lord Salisbury could have done nothing less and nothing more. Beyond this point Lord Rosebery went, where Lord Salisbury would, perhaps, have declined to follow, and where Lord Salisbury's initiative would certainly not have led. More vitally than any one else except Mr. Rhodes, Lord Salisbury believed not only in the maintenance, but in the expansion of the enormity of empire. . . . His speech of March, 1893, at the Royal Colonial Institute, marked another step in the process of public and party education. . . . 'We are engaged in pegging out claims for the future,' he said. . . . Mr. Rhodes had found his complement at Whitehall. It is necessary to remember that Lord Rosebery became the official sponsor of the Cape-Cairo route. Of that great departure the reconquest of the Soudan, the Fashoda crisis, and the conscious inauguration of the new epoch in foreign policy were direct results."

THE "UNFRIENDLY ACT" AND FASHODA.

In the Anglo-Congolese agreement Lord Rosebery made the mistake of not first consulting Germany. Defeated on this point, Lord Rosebery left an objective for his successors and issued the historic warning about the "unfriendly act."

"In the recent crisis, it will be observed, England founded herself upon Lord Rosebery's principles. Lord Salisbury based his summary action against France expressly upon the warning of his predecessor. Lord Rosebery hastened to point out that in this memorable instance of a 'strong' foreign policy the usual course was reversed. The Liberals were not reluctant adopters of Unionist views—the Unionists were the executors of a Liberal idea. But Lord Rosebery's speeches upon the Fashoda crisis were required to reconcile his party to the greatness of its own merits. . . . The Liberal party, which as a whole up to seven years ago, if not very much later, was inclined to contemplate the abandonment of Uganda and the evacuation of Egypt in the old mood which had made the retrocession of the Transvaal and the withdrawal from the Soudan possible, realized its claim to have originated a policy which meant nothing less than

that, even at the risk of war, England was prepared to enforce her claim to the whole Nile from Uganda to the Mediterranean. In view of the close connection between this fact and Lord Rosebery's effort in 1894 to open an all-British route from the Cape to Cairo, it would be difficult to conceive a bolder model of a strong foreign policy."

HIS ONE "VOLATILE INFIDELITY."

The writer would fain have seen here the "final ascendancy" as well as the "powerful operation" of Lord Rosebery's ideas. But Lord Rosebery's action is not always in accord with his most pronounced principles. In 1896, on the question of the advance to Dongola, designed as it was to enforce his warning about the "unfriendly act," Lord Rosebery "surrendered to the lead of Mr. John Morley and Sir William Harcourt." This the writer regards as "a volatile infidelity to a great idea:"

"Nothing can be more obvious than that Lord Rosebery was not really opposed to the Soudan expedition. Nothing is more certain than that he made himself appear to be opposed to it."

THE HERO OR THE HAMLET OF POLITICS?

This aberration raises the question, Is he a strong man or a weak man?

"He may be the hero in politics as in recent weeks he has been proclaimed. There is at least as much reason to dread that he may be not the hero, but the Hamlet of politics, whose powers of analysis and exposition are at once extraordinary and paralyzing. If there were a public orator of the empire, Lord Rosebery would be the immediate and the ideal selection. Hamlet is the public orator to mankind, with his preternatural insight and deep utterance. But that does not help him to do his business."

"HE HAS NEVER HAD HIS CHANCE."

As though by way of extenuation the writer proceeds:

"There has been a government which included Lord Rosebery. There has never been a Rosebery government. He has never had his chance, nor has he yet given his full measure. He has had a bitter education, and he has the faculty of development. The difficulties of his position in the last cabinet were far greater than any modern premier has ever had to encounter. He was not the head of his government. He was the figure-head of their government. He was not a minister who had established an ascendancy in politics before rising to the highest office, who had chosen his colleagues and given the organic impress to his own cabinet in its for-

mation. He was less a premier supported by a cabinet than a premier in the custody of a cabinet. There was open and arrogant sedition; there was desertion, opposition, lack of sympathy, hopeless incompatibility of temper. These were circumstances that would have unstrung the nerve of Hamlet, but might also have paralyzed the vigor of a Fortinbras.

"THE MOST POPULAR OF ALL STATESMEN."

"It is certain, on the other hand, that his mind is the most influential in politics, and as an educator of parties upon foreign policy he seems to have completed his work. He has asserted at last a real, as distinct from a titular, supremacy in the Liberal party. He is the most popular of all statesmen, and is even more universally admired among Unionists than among Liberals. At the present moment he is probably the statesman of most widely national influence since Palmerston."

PARTY FEELING ON TURKEY AND RUSSIA.

Candor compels the writer—a Liberal Unionist, if we mistake not—to own that not the Liberal attitude alone has changed:

"Nor would it be accurate to represent the actual approximation of view as a surrender by the Liberal to the Unionist party along a whole side of public questions. The Unionists, as a matter of fact, have abandoned the tradition of friendly relations with Turkey. Lord Beaconsfield is dead, as we know. Party differences even upon the Eastern question no longer exist. Lord Salisbury has directed language against the Sultan more contemptuous and minatory than any that Lord Rosebery would have used. The Cretan settlement is the result of Liberal and not of Conservative ideas. Upon the other hand, the Liberals have modified their attitude toward Russia as completely as the Conservatives have changed theirs toward Turkey."

THE CREATION OF A NEW EPOCH.

The anonymous critic closes thus:

"Lord Beaconsfield is dead. So, indeed, is Mr. Gladstone. The Disraeli of Liberalism is the heir of both. His future is commonly said to be in doubt. In the sense of official importance it is not in doubt. Lord Rosebery may return to the Foreign Office under whichever party he chooses. Whether he will become the chief helmsman as well as the chief spokesman of the empire remains to be seen. But the new epoch in foreign policy is his work, and in that decisive idea he has rendered a service to his country with which few achievements in office will compare."

A NEW REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN IRELAND.

THOSE Englishmen who have regarded home rule as defunct, or suspended, or deferred by the grant of county councils to Ireland, will be startled out of their easy-going security by Mr. F. St. John Morrow's paper in the *National Review* on "The New Irish Revolutionary Movement." This writer deplors the strange ignorance of the people east of St. George's Channel about most things Irish, and in especial of the centennial commemoration of the rebellion of 1798. The memories of that dismal year have, it seems, aroused the revolutionary spirit and have shown it to possess unsuspected vigor and volume. The chairman of the centenary committee was John O'Leary, the ex-Fenian sentenced to twenty years' penal servitude in 1865.

"The new year was ushered in by a 'grand demonstration of unparalleled magnificence' in Dublin and equally imposing gatherings elsewhere. During this year and throughout the length and breadth of the country '98 clubs have been formed and '98 centenary celebrations have been attended by thousands and tens of thousands of the townsfolk and peasantry. 'Sound national teaching' was provided at all these assemblages. The manhood of Ireland was sternly enjoined to 'promote physical development by means of national games,' and to 'form boys' brigades in connection with each '98 club, with experienced drill instructors.' Resolutions pledging the respective meetings 'to carry on the struggle for the attainment of our country's rights till we see Ireland a self-governing nation' were common form."

The prospect of war between England and France has been hailed with shouts of "*Vive la France!*" and with threats of a fighting alliance with the French. The methods of '98 have been rapturously approved and applauded.

THE NEW ENGINE OF REVOLT.

These speeches, celebrations, and clubs Mr. Morrow feels to be relatively insignificant.

"There is one organization, however, which has been called into existence this year, the formation of which is viewed with serious apprehension by all who desire peace and quietness and political freedom in Ireland. It is styled the United Irish League, and its motto is 'The Land for the People.' It was born in Mayo, the birth-place of the Land League, its prototype, and like that conspiracy it is eminently practical. The only constitution possessed by this Irish revolutionary movement is contained in the resolution passed by its founders:

"That, in the words of the constitution of

the first club of United Irishmen in 1792, this society is constituted for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a community of rights, and a union of power among Irishmen.

"That membership be open to all Irish nationalists without reference to any sectional differences, and all controversial subjects as between Irish nationalists be excluded from discussion at meetings of the league."

THE LAND FOR THE LABORERS.

The tenant farmers who were the backbone of Parnellism are now contented men, eager only to mind their farms and "put a bit by." They cannot be reckoned on for another land agitation. So the new league hopes to reconcile Parnellite and anti-Parnellite by a new political objective, and aims at roping in the laborers in support of a new agrarian programme:

"The league holds out to laborers the certain hope that the grazing farms will ultimately be divided up among them, provided only a vigorous enough crusade against the graziers of Ireland is waged. . . . Mr. Pierce Mahony, ex-M.P., speaking at Dromin in September, declared that 'economically and socially the present state of affairs is a great evil which can only be remedied by the purchase by the state of all the grazing lands and their redistribution among the surrounding occupiers of holdings too small to support life.'"

THE LARGE CATTLE OWNERS THREATENED.

Mr. Morrow roughly estimates the grazing land as one-half of the area of Ireland, the other half being divided about equally between tillage and bog or other waste land. This is the source of the valuable Irish cattle trade, which exports to Great Britain about \$7,500,000 more than all other nations combined—nearly \$60,000,000 as against nearly \$52,500,000. The result of the suggested subdivision of grazing lands would, in Mr. Morrow's judgment, be the extinction of the Irish export cattle trade, small owners being unable to bear the cost of transportation or to raise the requisite capital. He admits certain significant conversions:

"At a meeting held in September last at Glencastle, County Mayo, after spirited denunciations had been indulged in by Mr. William O'Brien and Mr. McHugh, M.P., a grazier came on to the platform and meekly announced, amid loud cheers, his intention to hand over all his grazing land to the tenants. The County Mayo also furnishes another instance, for Mr. Davitt is reported to have announced at a large meeting in Ballinrobe, in October, that a local magistrate

and landowner had already surrendered to the league and had given up his grazing farms."

A PLEA FOR COERCION.

Mr. Morrow attributes these things to "outrageous intimidation." Several meetings have been "proclaimed" by the government, but by a slight change of place or time have been successfully held. "The political work proper" of the league is to capture the forthcoming county councils for nationalism. Mr. Morrow concludes:

"The aims of the United Irish League are identical with those of the Land League, and the only method by which the executive can defeat them is by resorting to the method by which Mr. Arthur Balfour successfully combated the Land League and boldly proclaiming the new Irish revolutionary movement as an illegal conspiracy."

THE PROGRAMME OF THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY.

MR. KEIR HARDIE and Mr. J. R. MacDonald write in the *Nineteenth Century* on the Independent Labor party's programme. They declare that the Liberal party has done its work and that the Independent Labor party is in the true line of "the progressive apostolic succession."

"The foundation upon which the Independent Labor party builds itself is socialism, just as the foundation upon which Liberalism built itself was individualism. But British socialism is not Utopian."

The programme of socialist principles put forward by the Independent Labor party at the last elections was intended to bring some "largeness of purpose into party aims" and to insist that "socialist theories could not be overlooked by the progressive-minded elector."

THE PRINCIPAL PLANKS.

Now, however, we are made to infer, the Independent Labor party is prepared to condescend to practical politics. Of the leading planks in its present programme the writers enumerate the following:

"The abolition of the lords and of hereditary authority.

"An eight hours' day made general.

"Taxation of ground-rents and values.

"Readjustment,' with a view to ultimate nationalization, of mining royalties.

"Nationalization of railroads and canals."

A MINOR SQUAD.

Then comes a later squad of reforms:

"Adult suffrage, triennial Parliaments, and

payment of members are obviously foundations of a genuinely democratic representation; an extension of the powers of local authorities so that no unnecessary officialism may hamper them in undertaking the management of public services and experimenting upon such questions as the municipalization of drink and the relief of the unemployed; a complete revolution in our educational system, especially a considerable rise in the standard and age at which children may leave school; a drastic reform and extension of the law of workmen's compensation for injury and employers' liability, together with far-reaching budget reforms, such as old-age pensions raised by a special tax on the swollen incomes of the rich, are necessary before our state approaches even to the condition of some continental countries."

It is to be feared that some Liberals will feel difficulty in distinguishing this programme from much that has been put forward by their own advanced comrades.

MORE CONCILIATORY TACTICS.

The new tactics of the Independent Labor party show an even greater modification of the old than appears in the new programme. The writers assert:

"The Independent Labor party has never been averse to alliances, provided they were with bodies whose aims it could trust. . . . Independence is not isolation, and in so far as coöperation with kindred sections is possible, while retaining our freedom, there is no barrier to it in our methods or tradition. . . . We have always been aware that a policy of wrecking for its own sake would not commend itself to the thinking portion of the electorate. . . . The proposals outlined above indicate the practical work which might be forced upon the attention of Parliament and the country by a group of socialists speaking from the vantage-point of the floor of the House of Commons, and it is proposed to follow up this declaration of opinions by a method of electioneering to which the most sensitive partisan can find little to object."

The Independent Labor party continues its independent course, say the writers, because it, as neither of the other parties does, stands for "democracy in the political and socialism in the industrial state." Economists will note one passing concession with some interest:

"Socialism and the Marxian theory of value are often regarded as inseparable; but if Marx's position in economics should become untenable to-morrow, the case for socialism as an improved system of production and distribution would not be touched."

FRENCH WOMEN AS CO-OPERATORS.

IN the first December number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* M. d'Haussonville has an interesting paper on the economic position of women and the various methods of improving it. M. d'Haussonville notes that working women make far less noise in the world than working-men, and he dryly attributes that to the fact that the former are not electors. In some ways it is surprising, in view of the well-known independence and self-reliance of the average French woman, to find that coöperation has made such great strides, but M. d'Haussonville does not think so, for he excuses the much greater proportion of men in the French coöperative societies by the plea that the wages of the women are generally so low. Certainly 418,227 women, as compared with 114,758 men, is not a bad proportion, considering the circumstances.

M. d'Haussonville explains that French coöperative societies are divided into three classes: first, those of recognized public utility (a very small number); secondly, societies approved by the minister of the interior; thirdly, the societies authorized by the prefect of police in Paris or the prefects of the departments in the country. Of these three he deals only with the second class. In this class there are 5,326 societies composed entirely of men, 2,143 composed of men and women, and 227 composed of women alone. The "cock-and-hen" societies include 133,425 women, while the exclusively "hen" societies number 29,993, making a total of 163,418 women coöperators in the societies approved by the minister of the interior.

THE ELEMENT OF PHILANTHROPY.

M. d'Haussonville further limits his inquiry to these 227 exclusively feminine societies, because he wishes to study the phenomenon of mutual aid among women free from the disturbing element of the other sex. These 227 societies subscribed in the year 1895 a total of over \$77,000; their expenses amounted to about \$89,000 for medical aid, sick pay, funeral expenses, and so on. The deficit is a serious matter; it is covered by charity and by the gifts and subscriptions of honorary members. Of course this is a very excellent form of charity, but those who deny the economic independence of women would undoubtedly much prefer that these mutual unions of self-help should be really self-supporting. M. d'Haussonville shows that the proportion of honorary members is greater in the case of exclusively feminine societies than it is in the case of mixed societies. In the former the proportion is 36 honorary members to 138 participating members, while in the latter the proportion is 29 to 136.

M. d'Haussonville goes on to deal with three or four particular societies, into whose affairs it is not necessary to follow him. As regards the general question of independence of those unions for working women, he frankly avers that the acceptance of charity is essential, and he even encourages the subscriptions of the benevolent, in order that the unions may establish clubs and systems of lending money without interest for the benefit of their members.

MANKIND AS SEEN BY AN ENGLISH CYCLIST.

MR. JOHN FOSTER FRASER, having rolled round the world on his machine, so far as seas permit, has now arrived in the sober and dignified pages of the *Contemporary Review*. His "impressions of a world-wanderer" make a very clever and racy bit of satire. There is just enough good-humor and moral anger to save the satire from sinking into cynicism.

"EARTH'S SUPREMEST SNOB."

After relating his observations of the Englishman over-sea, and especially of the Anglo-Indian, Mr. Fraser concludes:

"The Englishman when he gets away from his own shores is inclined to develop with an extraordinary rapidity into the earth's supreme snob. It's a sad confession. Our overbearing manner on the continent has passed into a proverb. We seem to have been suckled on national egotism. And the bad side of that egotism comes out more particularly when we have to deal with Eastern nations. The mere fact of coming in contact with natives deteriorates the man, and especially the woman, and they cloak themselves in a robe of wooden dignity that would be ridiculous in England."

AMERICAN FEELING TOWARD ENGLAND.

This British cyclist seems to have found very little evidence of "Anglo-Americanism" among us.

"The citizen of the republic, speaking of him in the mass, does not love the Englishman. Here in London we hear much about the Anglo-American alliance, an alliance founded on kinship, religion, like sympathies. But the American—not the statesman nor the writer in the newspapers, but the average ordinary sort of man who goes to make up nine out of every ten persons you meet in the streets—has his views. I talked with hundreds of men right across the States. The general idea was this: 'Yes, it would be a good thing for you English, but we've got nothing to gain. We can take care of ourselves and you can't. You want our help. As we are

at war with Spain the English are taking advantage of the moment to force an alliance. You know we are the principal nation on the face of this earth; we lick you in everything; we've licked you in war; and you want to keep on the best side of us.' This is the way the ordinary American regards any arrangement to diplomatically bind the two countries together. It is nothing but an endeavor on the part of crumbling and decrepit England to seek shelter under the arm of Uncle Sam.

YANKEE FOIBLES.

"One hears much about the alertness of the American commercial man, but he is not nearly so alert as our own commercial man and he falls far short of him in shrewdness. The reason the American seems more successful is that he makes a greater noise over it; instead of calculation he is given to bluff, and above all he is a gambler. Fortunes are built up in England. In America they are won at the hazard."

The writer has no mercy on the standing American inconsistency of ridiculing aristocracy and yet groveling before any and every aristocrat:

"A poor Persian girl never groveled more dumfoundedly under the smile of a shah than Chicago groveled in the reflected glory of one of her daughters being the wife of an English peer appointed to rule over the Indian empire."

Mr. Fraser hazards a prophecy:

"I do hope to read in a Chicago paper ere I have finished my little strut in the world that America has a House of Peers of its own, and that the Earl of Milwaukee and the Marquis of Wabash have been staying at Blackpool and honored Mrs. Jones by taking afternoon tea. Nay—and in no frivolity I say it—I should not be surprised if, some day, Americans went begging to the European courts asking for some prince to be spared whom they can place upon a throne on the Capitol steps at Washington, encircle his brow with a crown of gold, and grow hoarse with shouting 'Long live the King!'"

OUR EDUCATIONAL IDEALS.

IN the *School Review* for January Prof. C. H. Thurber, of the University of Chicago, voices an educationist's protest against the interminable discussion of school curricula to the exclusion of what he regards as vastly more important subjects. He says:

"In the year 4000 A.D. a graduate student in the Central University of the World took his thesis in an investigation of the dominant educational ideals of the last decade of the nineteenth century. Applying the statistical method, he

proceeded to determine these mathematically by computing the number of times certain words were used, the one most frequently employed being the best fellow—that is, embodying the uppermost thought of the period. The results of this calculation were somewhat astounding and more absolutely conclusive than any similar investigation ever made. One word—a word by that time obsolete for twenty centuries, and requiring an elaborate explanation to make it intelligible to his readers to whom the idea it stood for was in no wise familiar, not even through heredity—stood practically alone. In the final computation it was found that the leading word was used one thousand times more frequently than the next word in the list, and the use of all other words was so infinitesimal that they could be entirely disregarded. This significant word which so clearly indicated the overwhelming educational interest of the years 1890–1900 was the strange word CURRICULUM. The word that possessed one one-thousandth of the importance of this giant was the word *culture*. In 1400 A.D. 'curriculum' had been obsolete for many centuries; culture, however, was still a well known word; indeed, it designated the only idea of importance in education. When the investigations of the young scholar were published it was considered a very significant fact that he had discovered slight traces of the idea of culture in so remote and barbarous a period as the last decade of the nineteenth century."

THE OPEN-AIR CURE FOR CONSUMPTION.

MR. JAMES ARTHUR GIBSON contributes to the *Nineteenth Century* "a personal experience" of "the open-air cure of consumption." In 1895 he had completely broken down; eighteen months later he was pronounced by two doctors to be suffering from acute phthisis. After three months' milk diet in Ireland he went to Nordrach, in the Black Forest, where the new treatment is followed, and spent three and a half months there. He returned home quite cured, having increased his weight from 138 to 176 pounds and his chest measurement by 6 inches. He has been three years at work since, and is better now than when he returned. Mr. Gibson next gives a rough outline of the treatment as carried out by Dr. Otto Walther, and to a great extent originated and perfected by him, at Nordrach, in the Baden Black Forest, Germany.

PLENTY OF FOOD.

Of Dr. Walther's treatment the principal features are three:

"1. OVER-FEEDING.—Dr. Walther holds that there can be no cure without weight-gaining. He . . . stuffs his patients to their utmost capacity. It is amazing the amount one can eat when forced to it—twice or three times as much as one would feel inclined to eat. There is no harshness used, but somehow the doctor is able to make every one eat the amount necessary. The food is of ordinary kind. . . . Every one gains weight. . . . This over-feeding causes no ill-effects. . . . As the weight increases the patient begins to feel more fit. . . . The cough leaves him after the first few weeks. . . . The meals are at long intervals and there are no snacks allowed between whiles. Breakfast at 8, dinner at 1, and supper at 7 o'clock. . . . No medicines are ever given.

PLENTY OF REST.

"2. REGULATION OF THE AMOUNT OF EXERCISE AND REST.—Dr. Walther gives great attention to this matter of regulating the amount of exertion, for he says that more consumptives kill themselves by doing too much than in any other way. Each patient has to take his temperature, by the rectum, four times every day, and to note it on a chart. The doctor visits him three times a day, and can tell at a glance from the temperature chart if the patient is doing as he ought, and instructs him accordingly: whether he is to be in bed, to lie on his couch, to sit outside, or to go a long or a short walk.

PLENTY OF FRESH AIR.

"3. PURE AIR.—From the moment of arriving until leaving Nordrach the patient never breathes one breath of any but the purest air, as Nordrach is in the Black Forest, at an elevation of 1,500 feet, surrounded by trees, and a long way off from a town or even a village. The casement windows of the sanatoria are kept wide open day and night, winter and summer, and in some instances the windows are taken completely out of the frames. Thus it is practically an outdoor life the patient lives continuously. There is therefore no danger of chills on going out in any kind of weather or at any hour, as the temperature within and without is equal."

Food, rest, air: these homely remedies have sent back "hopeless consumptives" so stalwart as hardly to be recognized by their friends.

Dr. Walther will take no more than from 40 to 50 patients, believing it impossible to properly care for more at one time.

There is no peculiar charm in the Nordrach air. The same system might be applied with like success at many places in the United States.

THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

THE February *Harper's* contains articles by Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart on "The United States as a World Power" and by Joseph L. Stickney "With Dewey at Manila" that we have quoted from in another department.

In this number of *Harper's* there is the first chapter of Henry Cabot Lodge's history of "The Spanish-American War," this chapter being headed "The Unsettled Question." The story of the struggle is evidently not to be an exhaustive one, inasmuch as the first installment of less than ten pages of text brings the recital past the destruction of the *Maine*.

Mr. Julian Ralph, writing on "Anglo-Saxon Affinities," finds that the American school history has been the main bar to friendliness with England, by reason of its comments on the wars of our independence and of 1812. He says the English school histories dismiss the matter with a mere statement that in a certain year we separated from the mother country and set up a republican form of government.

In discussing "The Astronomical Outlook," especially as it is related to the perfection of the methods and instruments of observation, Prof. C. A. Young thinks it certain that the coming century will bring an immense increase of knowledge. He says: "As in the case of the sun, mere lapse of time will settle many questions. It will accumulate knowledge as to the motions of the stars and of the solar system among the stars, and also of the motions of the components of double stars and multiple stars and clusters; and will ultimately determine with certainty whether the same law of gravitation which rules in the planetary system prevails also in stellar space."

There is a good descriptive article by A. C. Humbert on "A Trekking Trip in South Africa," several stories, and a condensed chapter from the life of Gen. N. B. Forrest, telling of the exciting experiences of Lieutenant-Colonel Forrest at Fort Donelson, the first decisive battle of the Civil War.

THE CENTURY MAGAZINE.

THE February *Century* begins with a valuable article by Frederic C. Penfield, former United States Consul-General in Egypt, on "Harnessing the Nile," which should be stimulating to Americans in the work they find before them in Cuba and the Philippines. The English administrators at Cairo have been so successful in bringing the dirty and diseased Egyptians out of their destructive habits that the Queen's people are setting to work to increase the area of what Mr. Penfield calls "the practical Egypt." Sixteen years ago, when the British first came to Egypt, its population was 7,000,000. It has already risen to 9,750,000 as the result of caring for child-life and teaching the common people to be cleanly and orderly. Mr. Penfield tells us that a fair estimate of the value of Egypt's 10,500 square miles of cultivable territory is no less than \$115 per acre. He says the work on the great dam at Assuan, which will irrigate middle Egypt and the Delta with regularity, will add, if the hopes are realized, \$100,000,000 to the value of the country.

Mr. James L. Hughes, inspector of public schools in Toronto, in an article entitled "What Charles Dickens Did for Childhood," puts the novelist with Froebel, calling the two "the best interpreters of Christ's ideals of childhood." "Dickens," says Mr. Hughes, "was the first great English student of Froebel. He deals with nineteen different schools in his books. He gives more attention to the training of childhood than any other novelist or any other educator except Froebel. He was one of the first Englishmen to demand national control of education, even in private schools, and the thorough training of all teachers. He exposed fourteen types of coercion, and did more than any one else to lead Christian men and women to treat children humanely. Every book he wrote except two is rich in educational thought. He took the most advanced position on every phase of modern educational thought, except manual training. When he is thoroughly understood he will be recognized as the Froebel of England."

Under the title, "How Other Countries Do It," Mr. George McAneny, secretary of the Civil Service Reform League, gives an account of the suggestive result of an inquiry of the State Department of the United States into the consular system of other nations.

General Shafter writes the story of the capture of Santiago. "Santiago," he concludes, "has been called a soldier's campaign. There is a great deal of truth in that, but the implication that any important movement or action was taken without orders or forethought is untrue." He calls attention to the fact that this was the first time that an army composed almost entirely of regulars has fought a campaign for this nation. Heretofore the volunteers have always outnumbered the regulars many times. Of course, in the Civil War the regulars cut no figure at all. "In the Fifth Army Corps I had virtually the whole of the regular army of the United States."

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE.

THE February number of *Scribner's Magazine* contains the second chapter of Col. Theodore Roosevelt's story of the Rough Riders, and the Messrs. Scribner's Sons announce that the last of the six papers have been duly written. Colonel Roosevelt certainly makes the most of a highly picturesque subject. He continues in the second chapter to characterize some types of the curiously mixed elements in his regiment, and describes the journeys from San Antonio to Tampa and from Tampa to Daiquiri, leaving his men safely landed with a portion of their ammunition and provisions on the Cuban coast.

Senator George F. Hoar, in his account of "Four National Conventions," takes occasion to defend Garfield from any disloyalty to Blaine in that excited convention which nominated the former. He also states his utter disbelief in the accusations against Mr. Blaine at the time that the "Plumed Knight" was nominated.

Scribner's attempts something rather unusual in magazine custom in illustrating with beautiful, delicate drawings, "The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson," edited by Sidney Colvin.

The most noticeable appearance in this number in the way of fiction is a new story by Joel Chandler Harris,

"The Chronicles of Aunt Minervy Ann," illustrated by A. B. Frost. Another story introduces a new writer, Mr. William C. Scully, who contributes "The Lepers." Mr. Scully is an Englishman from the country of Olive Schreiner, and is vouched for in a literary way by no less a critic than Rudyard Kipling. One rarely sees in the "popular" illustrated magazines a distinctly literary essay. *Scribner's* for this month prints W. C. Brownell's critical analysis of Thackeray, a piece of work worthy of the subject—and one does not wish to say more than that.

McCLURE'S MAGAZINE.

THE February *McClure's* has a half dozen readable articles, but they give precedence to a new poem by Rudyard Kipling, so notably timely that we quote two stanzas out of the six. The verses are entitled "The White Man's Burden." After exhorting his hearers—evidently, from the first two lines the nation which has just won from the Spaniards—to send forth the best of their men, to exile their sons, to fill the mouth of famine, and to stop sickness among the child-like people that are now dependent on them, the poet concludes:

"Take up the White Man's Burden—
Ye dare not stoop to less—
Nor call too loud for Freedom
To choke your weariness.
By all ye will or whisper,
By all ye leave or do,
The silent sullen peoples
Shall weigh your God and you.

"Take up the White Man's Burden!
Have done with childish days—
The lightly proffered laurel,
The easy ungrudged praise:
Comes now to search your manhood
Through all the thankless years,
Cold, edged with dear-bought wisdom,
The judgment of your peers."

Franklin Matthews gives an account of the working of the Holland submarine boat, reciting his experiences as one of the crew during some diving operations of that curious vessel. He does not think that this boat or any other invention is going to "revolutionize warfare," but he does think it means a new and important development.

Mr. Edward W. Harden tells the story of "Dewey at Manila." Mr. Harden, accompanied by Mr. McCulloch, went out on the *McCulloch* and joined Admiral Dewey's fleet just before it sailed for Manila. He remained with it until a short time ago, when he came home to report to the Government on some special official investigations. Mr. Harden's account of the spicy relations between the German Admiral Von Diederichs and our own Dewey leaves nothing to be desired from the point of firmness and cool-headed determination on the part of him of the *Olympia*. Aguinardo has the most profound respect for Dewey, who receives him with every courtesy, but not officially.

There are some excellent stories, one of them by Rudyard Kipling, the third of the "Stalky" series; Captain Mahan gives a third chapter of "The War on the Sea and Its Lessons;" and Prof. Charles Henry Hart adds a brief article to the reproductions of several magnificent life-masks of Gilbert Stuart, Dolly Madison, John Quincy Adams, Commodore Porter, and others.

THE COSMOPOLITAN.

THE February *Cosmopolitan* opens with a much-illustrated description of the Emperor William's journey into the Holy Land, by Samuel I. Curtiss. The author says that never before in the history of the Turkish empire were such elaborate preparations made for the reception of a guest. From Damascus to Jerusalem streets were repaved, roads were repaired or constructed, and there were everywhere evidences of fresh paint and whitewash. The Turkish troops were drilled for months in anticipation of the great event. Mr. Curtiss does not attempt to draw any international or political deductions from the visit. He says, however, there can be no question that the Emperor made a wonderful impression in Jerusalem, especially on the German colonists there.

In "After the Capture of Manila" Mr. Frank R. Roberson describes a visit to the Philippines after Dewey's victory. He thinks that the question whether Americans can with advantage exercise permanent dominion in the tropics depends mainly upon whether they can succeed in mastering tropical diseases. He tells us that the rush to Manila has inflated prices everywhere, and the one hotel for the accommodation of Americans, the Hotel de Oriente, charges ten dollars a day for the privilege of sleeping on a hardwood floor.

Mr. J. T. Van Gestel contributes a travel sketch, "Among the Dyaks," descriptive of his visit to the east coast of Borneo in 1879. S. C. C. Shreiner gives an account of "Hunting the Trek-bokke of Cape Colony;" Henry F. Bryant explains the gigantic systems of "City Subways for Pipes and Wires;" and the editor of the *Cosmopolitan*, Mr. John Brisben Walker, begins a serial, "How an Empire Was Built," the empire in question being that which the followers of Mohammed established. Mr. Walker's first chapter is occupied with Mohammed, the man and the prophet.

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE.

MR. AUSTIN BIERBOWER makes in the February *Lippincott's* "A Diplomatic Forecast" in which he sees the three great nations of the world, Great Britain, Russia, and the United States, prominent over all others. None of the other nations, he thinks, have sufficient territory or probable opportunities to secure additional territory to enable them to rank with these three. He thinks the English language will crowd out all other tongues of the British empire and will ultimately be the speech of the whole territory under British rule. No more languages will be formed on the globe. "Those peoples which have not a permanent speech will take up the English and domesticate it, and in those places where a language is spoken in only a small territory the English will drive it out." Thus Mr. Bierbower looks forward to two great world languages, the Slavonic and the English. He sees nothing in the way of a consummation of this programme, except a possible war between Russia and Germany before Russia is fairly established, in which Germany should conquer. In case this should happen and large blocks of Russia's territory should become German, he thinks Germany would also retain a world greatness; but unless the *coup* is soon made Russia will be too great to be conquered.

Mr. H. E. Warner takes a somber view of the world's literary and sentimental tendencies in his article under

the title, "Will Poetry Disappear?" He thinks poetry has lost its force in the world and has nothing left to it except its music, and he asks whether this one effective poetry—that is, music—is a sufficient cause for continuing musical composition.

The novel of the month in *Lippincott's* is by Isabel N. Whiteley, "For the French Lilies," a story laid in the year 1511 in France.

THE CHAUTAUQUAN.

THE *Chautauquan* for February begins with an article on "The Education of Englishmen," by Mary A. De Morgan, which sketches the careers and describes the constitutions of the great English public schools, Eton, Winchester, and Harrow.

Dr. B. E. Fernow, the director of the New York State College of Forestry, gives some interesting facts about American lumber. He establishes the importance of the subject by telling us that the American people get every year a thousand million dollars' worth of wood from virgin forests, with no expenditure except for harvesting the material. About a half of this value represents the cost of firewood, fencing, and smaller materials, the other half being for lumber and logs. It is a new idea that Dr. Fernow suggests, that the entire gold and silver product of the United States has not one-tenth the value of what the forest furnishes us. He says that the State of New York has taken the most advanced step that we can yet boast of in the direction of checking the dangerous waste of tree-life, by buying up the culled forest lands of the Adirondack Mountains and by establishing its State College of Forestry, at Cornell University, where the art of forestry is to be taught as a profession and the men will be educated who are to be relied on to handle and recuperate the State property.

Mr. John W. Hardwick, writing on "The United States and Her New Possessions," reminds us that those who boast of our "splendid isolation" in the claim against the addition of territory as un-American forget that every inch of our national domain was either bought or fought for. He thinks that the same arguments now advanced by Senator Hoar and Mr. Bryan against expansion might have been used with equal force to head off the Pilgrims at Delft-Haven, and could have been applied to every cabin that was erected on our frontier.

THE NEW ENGLAND MAGAZINE.

MR. EDWARD PORRITT discusses in the February *New England* "Public Opinion in England and America." He thinks that public opinion in England is more active, alert, and usually better informed than public opinion in this country. It is especially so as regards political questions. He sketches the chief reasons for this, and besides the compactness of England and the absence of sectional issues, he thinks the one reason for it is that Englishmen are always so ready for agitation to be kept alive in public meetings not of a political nature. The *Matine* disaster would, if she had been a British ship, have caused many of these meetings in England, impressive and characterized on such grave occasions by "an almost religious solemnity." In them at the times of crises the real feeling of the nation as a whole becomes articulate.

Mr. William I. Cole gives a description of "Boston's Insane Hospital," with excellent half-tone illustrations;

and there are worthy articles of special New England interest on "The Massachusetts State House," by Alfred S. Roe, and "New Britain, Connecticut," by May C. Talcott.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

WE have quoted in another department from Mr. A. L. Lowell's article on "Colonial Expansion in the United States."

Professor James follows the series of articles which the *Atlantic Monthly* has been printing on "Psychology and Its Relation to Education" with a chapter of "Talks to Teachers on Psychology." Professor James' articles will consist chiefly of matter contained in his lectures before teachers' institutes and summer schools. He exhorts teachers to adopt what he calls the biological conception, as that seems to him the point of view likely to be of greatest practical use to them in their professional capacity, Professor James' biological conception being that man is, first, essentially a practical being, with a mind furnished him to aid in adapting him to his earthly surroundings.

Miss Jane Addams, who has become famous through her work at Hull House, Chicago, has an extremely interesting discussion which she calls "The Subtle Problems of Charity." Miss Addams says that for most of the time during her ten years of residence in the settlement her mind was impressed over the practical difficulties that confront every one who attempts to distribute charity. She has seen her way plainly through the light of the Hebrew prophet, who combined his injunction to "love mercy" with another: "to do justly." The first alone will not answer, as it brings one into the error of indiscriminate giving, with disastrous results; the second by itself results in a dreary lack of sympathy; but the two together are sufficient if one can attain them.

Prince Kropotkin, in his "Autobiography of a Revolutionist," describes his experiences in Siberia. There is another chapter of "Reminiscences," of Julia Ward Howe, and a charming little essay by Samuel Crothers on "The Enjoyment of Poetry."

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

ELSEWHERE we have quoted from Mr. Andrew Carnegie's article on "Americanism Versus Imperialism" in the January *North American*.

Mr. Edmund Gosse contributes an original study of the literature of action as related to national movements. The "besieged attitude" of England among the nations has been accompanied, he says, by a certain literary movement. He dates the revival of active romance from the publication of Stevenson's "Treasure Island," but the elements of "violent death and breathless incident" were first used with a free hand in Mr. Rider Haggard's "King Solomon's Mines" (1886). Rudyard Kipling's whole literary career has been "one unflagging appeal to the fighting instincts of the race," as Mr. Gosse puts it.

Writing on the capture of private property at sea, Mr. Charles Henry Butler cites President McKinley's enunciation of the principle of exemption in his annual message, which he interprets as a pledge of our national policy, and discusses the attitude of the several great powers toward the proposition. He concludes that the present is an opportune time for the assembling of an

international convention to consider the subject, and that such a convention should be held at Washington.

In a paper on "Theology and Insanity" Dr. John H. Girdner shows that the delusions of the insane take their form and color from the questions that are most absorbing in actual life. It would seem that less interest is felt in theology than formerly.

"The insane are not now tormented by the devil and his imps, but telephones and phonographs are continually ringing in their ears. Others suppose they have steam-engines in their heads, and many imagine they are persecuted by men of large fortunes or of great political power. Formerly those who were afflicted with delusions of grandeur were prone to imagine themselves to be the Saviour of the world or the Virgin Mary or some eminent saint. Now they are more apt to think themselves to be great inventors or powerful politicians or the possessors of untold wealth."

Mr. Richard J. Hinton writes on the subject of "Cuban Reconstruction." He does not believe that sugar-planting can remain the foremost industry of the island. Small crops of coffee, cocoa, rice, fruits of all kinds, except those of the higher latitudes, vegetable roots, and tobacco will gain in commercial importance. The development of mining interests, cattle-raising, and of timber resources will make large demands for labor. There is a healthy desire among the people for better educational facilities.

Commissioner-General Peck sketches the part to be taken by the United States in the Paris Exposition of 1900; Max O'Rell contributes the second of his "Studies in Cheerfulness"; President Smith, of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, writes on the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission; Mr. Lewis N. Dembitz urges the importance of securing a greater degree of uniformity in State laws on certain subjects; the Hon. J. F. Daily reviews the ballot laws of New York; and Senator Vest states his objections to the annexation of the Philippines.

In the department of "Notes and Comments" Dr. J. L. Oswald writes on "Snow Tornadoes," George E. Walsh on "Sheathing War-Ships," J. Howe Adams on "Labor-Saving Devices in Literary Work," and C. M. Woodward on "Indian and Spanish Education."

THE FORUM.

IN another department we have quoted at length from Colonel Waring's notes on the sanitation of Havana as edited by Mr. G. E. Hill in the January *Forum*.

The opening article of the number is a description of the organization and *personnel* of the army by Adjutant-General Corbin, who declares that our standing army in the future should contain not less than seventy thousand enlisted men—one man for every thousand of population—but as a large proportion of these will be serving beyond the borders of the United States, the average number of soldiers within the country will be little, if any, larger than under the old *régime*.

Prof. Francis G. Peabody contributes a fresh study of the Norwegian liquor question. The principal lesson that he derives from the present situation is that the "company" system of retailing liquors has educated the public sentiment of Norway to the point where the policy of absolute prohibition seems to stand some chance of success at the polls.

In an article on "The Upper Regions of the Air"

Prof. John Trowbridge develops the interesting theory that extremely short waves of energy, which we call light-waves, exist in the upper air and are instrumental in producing the electricity of the atmosphere and the magnetism of the earth. This supposed transformation of light-waves into electrical and magnetic waves would seem to be in line with the present tendency of scientific thought, "which more than suspects that light and heat and electro-magnetic waves do not differ in any respect except in regard to length."

Prof. Frank W. Blackmar describes the new charter of San Francisco which has received a majority of the votes cast at a special election in the city and, if approved by the State Legislature, will become a law in January, 1900. Professor Blackmar points out many excellent features in the new scheme of government and describes some of the more flagrant abuses that it is intended to do away with.

Mr. Henry Litchfield West sees little promise of improvement in the race situation at the South. The two assertions that the negro cannot govern and that the white man will not let him govern are accepted axioms in that part of the country.

"While the negro continues shiftless, ignorant, superstitious, and incompetent, there is a justification for the refusal to give him absolute control over invested capital, commercial interests, and municipal matters. At the same time, the casting and the counting of his ballot are his constitutional rights; and so long as these are denied him there is a confession that our vaunted scheme of universal suffrage is a failure and a farce. They will be denied him however, even at the muzzle of the rifle; and as long as he threatens to exercise his rights, just so long will the South remain solid."

If the negro is to work out his own salvation he has a long and thorny road to tread, in Mr. West's opinion.

In an article on "Government and Society in the Klondike" Mr. Frederick Palmer declares that the conduct of the Canadian officials last winter and summer was "a disgrace to the flag that we have come to associate with fair play the world over, and that most Englishmen in the Klondike will agree with him. He says that if the new laws were directed against Americans they have injured Canadians and other British subjects equally as much, if not more."

Mr. Hamilton W. Mabie writes on "American Literature and American Nationality," showing that only the "ingrained idealism" of the American nature can preserve our higher interests against the inroads of materialism, and that this idealism needs constant reinforcement and expression in our literature. English literature, says Mr. Mabie, "has done more than any other single force to give the English race clear consciousness of its strength, its aims, and its work: it has bound the race together in the consciousness of a rich and enduring community of history and fortune. Shakespeare has done more for England in forming this consciousness than Pitt or Peel or Gladstone."

Sir Charles W. Dilke discusses the future relations of Great Britain and the United States; the Hon. James Kerr reviews the results of the elections of 1898 from the Democratic point of view; Dr. Rudolph Encken raises the question, "Are the Germans Still a Nation of Thinkers?" Miss Julia E. Bulkley writes on "Social Ethics in the Schools;" and Byron C. Mathews contributes an interesting statistical study in the nativities of the inmates of the public charitable and penal institutions of New York City.

THE ARENA.

THE last number of the *Arena* (November-December, 1898) presents an attractive and varied programme.

The opening article, by Francis J. Douglas, discusses municipal socialism in Boston as officially represented by Mayor Quincy's administration. Many persons who heartily approve of the methods put in operation by Mayor Quincy would still object to being classed with the socialists. Mayor Quincy is setting the pace for all our cities in the improvement of untoward conditions and the introduction of rational and scientific methods in municipal government. If the things that Mr. Quincy is doing in Boston can be done in our other great cities people will no longer be frightened by the "socialistic" label. If Mr. Quincy's theory that municipal government should be treated with the dignity and gravity of a science—which is also the theory of many of the old-world cities—is socialism, our American cities certainly need to become more socialistic.

Mrs. Helen Campbell contributes a study of "Social Settlements and the Civic Sense." Her article is especially valuable as showing some of the difficulties with which the workers in these settlements have to contend and the importance of a cultivated civic sense in all the supporters of such efforts.

This number has two articles on the subject of newspaper work. Mr. Edward F. Adams takes the familiar position that it is virtually impossible for any newspaper editor, under modern conditions, to speak the truth with independence, and that the newspaper is what the reading community makes it. Mr. John Livingston Wright repeats the advice to reporters, which is quite generally given in these latter days, to keep away from the great city and go to work in the country town and provincial city.

Mr. Paul Tyner, the *Arena's* new editor, congratulates his readers on the better understanding between all sections of the Union, and especially between the East and the West, which he looks forward to as one development of the new policy of expansion on which the nation has entered.

The article by C. Pfoundes on "Japan as a Power in the Pacific" is quoted in our department of "Leading Articles."

THE COMING AGE.

MR. B. O. FLOWER, the founder of the *Arena*, and Mrs. C. K. Reifsnider are the editors of a new Boston "magazine of constructive thought," to be known as the *Coming Age*.

The editors announce as one of the characteristic features of the magazine a series of reported conversations with distinguished men and women on topics of the day, accompanied by editorial sketches of the persons interviewed. Those who appear in the first number are the Hon. Josiah Quincy, whose subject is "Municipal Progress;" Mr. W. Ordway Partridge, the sculptor, who gives his impressions of "Art and Manhood;" and Dr. Richard Hodgson, who describes the work of the Society for Psychical Research.

The Rev. Dr. George C. Lorimer, the Rev. H. C. Vrooman, the Rev. B. Carradine, and the Rev. S. C. Eby join in a symposium on the subject of Christmas and the New Year.

In the department of original contributed articles the

Rev. Thomas Van Ness describes a visit to Count Tolstol; Mr. W. D. McCrackan writes on "The Example of Switzerland;" Lilian Whiting contributes an article on psychic phenomena; Hezekiah Butterworth describes "The Democracy of Childhood;" and Prof. Frank Parsons writes on "The Power of the Ideal."

Mr. Flower reviews Victor Hugo's "Shakespeare" and Mrs. Reifsnider, in a department of the magazine entitled "Dreams and Visions," gives a remarkable record of facts from her own experience. There are also departments of original fiction, "Health and Home," editorials, book notices, etc.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

IN the January number of the *American Historical Review* (quarterly) Mr. Frank Strong, in an elaborate article, discusses the causes of Cromwell's expedition to the West Indies, bringing out the interesting fact that important influence from New England was exerted on Cromwell to induce him to aim this blow at Spain's American interests.

An article by George A. Gilbert makes it clear that Connecticut managed far better than her neighbor, New York, in dealing with her loyalist element during and after the Revolution. "Though her attitude toward the loyalists was firm and decided, it was not vindictive or revengeful."

In an admirable survey of "The Politics of John Adams" Mr. Anson D. Morse declares that Adams wished and worked for the establishment of a higher type of American aristocracy—"an aristocracy open to every aspiring soul, without legal privilege, based on merit, assigning its highest honor to highest service, welcoming the lowly born Abraham Lincoln as heartily as the patrician-born George Washington." Such an aristocracy as this, in Mr. Morse's opinion, is essential to the existence of a strong and healthful democracy.

Mr. George W. Julian, one of the very few survivors of the delegates to the first Republican national convention, contributes an interesting account of the proceedings of that body. How imperfectly the participants in that convention foresaw the consequences that were to flow from their action is illustrated by Horace Greeley's statement in the *Tribune*, in which he said: "Its moral and political effect will be felt for a quarter of a century." He could not see that its greatest "moral and political effect" was to be a war which should give freedom to the slaves within seven years of the time when he wrote. Surely a "quarter of a century" was a brief measure by which to gauge the duration of such an impulse as the historic forces shaping the republic's destiny received from that memorable meeting.

In the department of the *Review* devoted to original documents there is printed a minute of the council of war held in connection with the British expedition against Santiago de Cuba in 1741. The military landed without opposition in the bay of Guantanamo, but such accounts of the difficulty of taking Santiago were received that it was judged most prudent to withdraw, and the expedition came to nothing. An accompanying manuscript—"Some Thoughts Relating to Our Conquests in America"—contains much suggestive material showing the British views at that time of conditions in Spanish America.

In our department of "Leading Articles" we have already quoted from Prof. H. Morse Stephen's "History of the British Dependencies in the Further East."

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE *Contemporary* begins the new year with an excellent array of interesting articles, several of which have claimed special notice on previous pages.

THE ONE REMEDY FOR BRITISH AGRICULTURE.

Sir Edmund Verney declares that "until agriculture is regarded as a scientific profession, agricultural depression will always be with us." His contribution is all but entirely made up of a letter from a former farmer who tells how he made his farm to pay by brains, resolution, discipline, quickness, and science. This correspondent's suggestion is:

"Every county where agriculture predominates ought to have one mixed farm set apart as a training-farm for young fellows about to embark their cash in farming. Let the staff for teaching be, say roughly, a general manager and secretary combined, a farm bailiff, and a scientist, these men to be the smartest and most efficient obtainable, and the junior staff the same. Why, with a big old-fashioned farm-house and buildings, the whole thing could be rigged up and started at very moderate cost. Here the pupil would have ocular demonstration of smart and record work and such a drilling as he would never forget. In every branch he would be prepared to meet the rapid and rushing competition of the age. There would be the library fully stocked and kept replete with all agricultural literature up to date. . . . Such an institution, in my mind, ought to be a beacon-light, a 'rallying-point' for the agriculturists of the county."

THE SCIENCE OF DOLLS.

"Dollatry" is the title of a study by Prof. James Sully concerning the true inwardness of dolls. He finds in all the vast range of doll-dom a tendency of the child to select what is rudely suggestive of the human form. "Children when in the serious mood of doll-play appear to regard their dolls as beings like themselves. They are treated as if they were alive," as having senses, understanding, affections, and even a rudimentary conscience. This, the professor declares, "seems, so far as we can guess, to be the doll-idea, the indwelling preconception which colors the child's perceptions and directs her actions." Here is a mystery. "We have here to do with what is technically called an illusion of sense. . . . Our so-called art-illusions, even that of the theater, are probably cold cynical disillusionings by the side of the child's true doll-illusion." That the doll is chiefly a girl's plaything suggests the presence of the maternal instinct; and "the decline of the doll-passion" may be largely due to "the development of a new feeling of maidenly modesty."

AN ANTI-RITUALIST PROGRAMME.

Francis Peek, distracted by the spread of "the sacerdotal heresy" in the Church of England and despairing of any help from the bishops, calls on the laymen to take the matter into their own hands, and first to repeal the power given to the bishops by the act of 1874 to veto any action by the laity against a law-breaking priest. "The Bishop of London," he says, "is perhaps the most dangerous enemy of the reformed Church."

"The Protestant spirit of England, however, is too strong to be denied, and if the present government do not act, they will give an opportunity to the opposition which will probably carry them into power. No better cry could possibly be used to reunite the Liberal and

the Liberal Unionist parties than to restore to the laity their proper share of power in the Church, and if to this were added one man one vote, one vote one value, success would surely attend them. This would not only confirm the Reformation, but get rid of that abominable over-representation of the Irish Roman Catholics. . . . A center should be formed in every parish for consolidating the efforts of those who place the maintenance of the reformed faith above all political questions."

THE RESURRECTION IN THE LIGHT OF EVOLUTION.

Starting with Mr. Herbert Spencer's dictum that the religious faculty "is as normal as any other faculty," the Rev. W. W. Peyton inquires after its correspondent environment. He finds that "the reasoning faculty translates the world of sense to us; the ethical faculty communicates with human society; the religious faculty communicates with supernatural society." His argument may be inferred from these paragraphs:

"In the language of science, worship is the intercourse of the religious faculty with its environment. In the last evolution of religion, in the Christian era, the worship of Christ is the distinctive transaction with supernatural society. The response of the religious faculty to the impact of Christ has given the impulse and impress which have pushed the promising nations into the highest civilization, stamped an ideal of character, and shaped the Western races into types. The resurrection is the event which introduces Christ into the unseen, to be henceforward the correspondent of the religious faculty, and when the intercourse is established the faculty passes into the new type we call Christian."

"Death passes us into a body of supersensible elements by which the sensible world is undergirded. The break-up is an illusion; assisted by the resurrection we see a transfusion of persistent forces into a new form. There is a silent side to the body as to thought; it has a double, and just now the double is in its infancy. In death, consciousness slides into a body of silence and invisibility, composed of the invisibles of life, matter, and motion. The future body has definable antecedents in the present body. The chamber of death is a robing-room; the ascension robe is already ordered."

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BEYOND Mr. Swinburne's poem on Webster, there is not much of specially eminent importance in the January number of the *Nineteenth Century*—a title, by the bye, which has only two more years to run. The paper on the open-air cure of consumption receives separate notice in our department of "Leading Articles."

POEM BY MR. A. C. SWINBURNE.

The distinction of the number is Mr. A. C. Swinburne's "Prologue to 'The Duchess of Malfy.'" It is a wondrously musical tribute to Shakespeare and to Webster, on whose head, the poet declares, "half Shakespeare's glory" shall rest. Two couplets may be quoted, one describing the fruit of Shakespeare's word:

"Our skies were thrilled and filled, from sea to sea,
With stars outshining all their suns to be."

And the other showing one phase of Webster's power:

"High up the darkness of sublime despair
He set the sun of love to triumph there."

THE FRENCH THORN IN NEWFOUNDLAND'S SIDE.

Mr. P. T. McGrath, of the Newfoundland *Evening Herald*, writes on "France in Newfoundland" and the grievance her presence entails. He hints that his narrative and his proposals are substantially those to be presented by the royal commission. What he suggests as a basis of agreement with France is as follows:

"1. THE TREATY COAST.—France to withdraw therefrom, compensation to be accorded her for the stations on the coast which would be removed thereby, and free bait being conceded in our southern harbors in return for her giving up her fishing rights on the treaty coast.

"2. ST. PIERRE.—The French to abandon their bounty system and compete with our fishermen on more equal terms. Baiting privileges to be conceded them in Newfoundland waters, subject to regulations for the preservation of the bait fishes binding on Americans, Canadians, French, and colonists alike. The French to recognize a British consul at St. Pierre, to abandon their connivance at smuggling, and to frame enlightened and honest revenue laws."

WANTED—PUBLIC ELEMENTARY TRAINING-SHIPS.

Mr. W. L. Ainslie and Mr. J. H. Yoxall, M.P., expand the scheme prepared by the Navy League with a view to securing "British seamen for British ships." In 1847, with a tonnage of 3,500,000, four-fifths of the 250,000 seamen were British and apprentices numbered about 10,000 a year. Now, with a tonnage of 10,333,335, British seamen number about 125,000 and grow fewer every year. The essence of the plan suggested is that public training for the mercantile marine should cease to be merely reformatory or semi-penal; that depot training-ships be placed at suitable points round the coast for training each some 300 boys of good character and parentage—chiefly to be able seamen, with promotion for promising pupils; and that shipowners taking these pupils as apprentices be paid every month £1 for the first year, 15 shillings for the second, and 10 shillings for the third. The writers count on the active support of county councils, city companies, and charity commissioners.

A NEW RÔLE FOR OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE.

Prof. Percy Gardner gives his impressions of American universities. He remarks on the great change introduced by the adoption of post-graduate courses of study. He regrets that the value of doctoral theses, so prized in Germany and America, is underrated in England. He is stirred to imperial ambitions for England's ancient seats of learning and laments their "comparative isolation" as "a deplorable dereliction" of duty to the empire. He says:

"I found it to be in America the universal opinion that if the English universities organized graduate courses and awarded the doctorate at the end of them, there would be a flow to England of young graduates from the United States and the English colonies. The opportunity is unquestionably present; it is for us either to use or to neglect it. Of course the first duty of Oxford and Cambridge is to England; but only Little Englanders would underrate the advantages of a closer federation of English-speaking universities. At the present time Harvard exercises great influence throughout the north and west of America by sheer intellectual force. It seems not impossible that Oxford and Cambridge might, if they chose, become the two hemispheres of the brain of the empire."

IRISH UNIVERSITY FOR CATHOLICS.

The Bishop of Limerick is careful to point out that the Irish hierarchy do not ask for a Catholic university, which would be absolutely under the Pope's control, like University College, Dublin, but for a university for Catholics. Public funds would be spent only on the departments of secular knowledge. No tests would be imposed for any chair excepting that of theology beyond a promise not to teach irreligion. The bishop is ready to meet Mr. Courtney's requirements as to its government by giving a certain representation to each of the faculties on the senate, the proportions to be fixed by royal commission. The purpose of the paper, which opens with a conciliatory reference to Sir William Harcourt's Kensit crusade, is evidently intended to disarm Liberal and Protestant opposition.

OTHER ARTICLES.

The Dreyfus case arrives at last in a summary survey by M. Yves Guyot, who declares the issue now to be between "men of intellect" and "men of authority." Lieutenant-Colonel Adye shows up the colonial weakness of France, who is trying to do two things, either of which would strain her powers to the utmost—to outvie the greatest military power in the world and to become a great colonial power in hostile rivalry with the greatest naval and colonial power in the world.

Mr. Reginald Hughes discusses the record of the Alps in 1898—exceptionally fine weather, few successes, unusually many accidents, including 31 deaths.

Mr. Andrew Lang claims to have proved over against Mr. Tylor's theory of borrowing, and from Tylor's own witnesses, that the savage gods of North America, and particularly of Australia, could not have been borrowed from missionaries.

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE most striking paper in the January number of the *Fortnightly* is that on "The Disraeli of Liberalism," which, with L. Dècle's prospectus of the Tanganyika railroad, claims separate notice.

WHO SHALL HAVE SAMOA?

Mr. John George Leigh, writing on the powers and Samoa, supplies a lengthy survey of the islands and their recent history. He claims that Samoa may be regarded as the germ of the American empire beyond the seas, for on the initiative of Mr. Steinberger, sent by President Grant in 1873, the Samoans petitioned for admission into the United States. He suggests that they may repeat the application to-day. The United States largely owes its navy to the hurricane which destroyed its protecting ships of war in 1889. The group lies almost in the direct line between America and Australasia and forms a key point for naval strategy. Hence springs West American and Australasian jealousy of German designs on Samoa. The British empire supplies over 50 per cent. of Samoan imports, and the carrying trade is essentially British, even though Germany takes most of the exports. The article has been called forth by a German suggestion that the group should be partitioned, Great Britain taking Savaii, Germany Upolu, and the United States Tutuila. In the last named is Pago-Pago, of which the writer says:

"There can be no question as to the priceless importance of Pago-Pago itself. On the broad waters of this splendid harbor—beyond comparison the finest and

safest in either South or North Pacific—a fleet of war vessels may ride at anchor, still as on a lake. The inlet, which almost cuts in twain the island of Tutuila, is land-locked, sheltered by high cliffs, and, humanly speaking, exempt from those terrible hurricanes by which, sooner or later, every other harbor of the South Pacific is liable to be devastated. . . . So far as England is concerned the United States need anticipate no objection, for—holding Suva, a safe and commodious harbor in the direct route between Vancouver and Auckland—we require no Samoan port.”

GOSSIP ON LAST YEAR'S BICYCLES.

Mr. Joseph Pennell liberates much pent-up indignation on the subject of cycles and cycling. After visiting the two great cycling shows just closed, he concludes that “the spirit of invention is dormant in England.” He pronounces the chainless cycle, whatever its merits in theory, to be practically a failure. “The wood rim in this country is not a success.” The aluminum machine “has made scarcely any progress.” After many trials he has found that what he wants is “a machine geared to 75 or possibly 80, with 9 or possibly 10 inch cranks.” He declares that, owing to careless workmanship and inferior metal, an average bicycle will not carry one for six months without extensive repair. “The pneumatic tire is excellent in theory and abominable in use.” He looks forward to inventions which will “add something like the quality of the cushion in resisting punctures to the pneumatic. He will gladly bear the extra pound weight. On the only fresh question this year—of brakes or free wheels—he pronounces for brakes.

SEMANTICS: A “NEW SCIENCE.”

Mr. Charles Whibley reviews M. Michel Bréal's “*Essai de Sémantique*.” He hails the reaction from the foolish attempt to class philology under natural science, welcomes the purpose of the author who places semantics, or the science of language, with politics, and sociology among the historical sciences. Words are devised by man as signs of man's meaning. Psychology, not physiology, is henceforth decisive. “The pedant, in despair, discusses the ‘tendencies’ of words. He might as well discuss the ‘tendency’ of screws and pistons.” The artificer of language is no longer unconscious nature working on a feeble palate, but “the people.” The doctors of language are impotent: the only true and good distinctions are made by the popular intelligence. Mr. Whibley thinks this “the single superstition of the new science.” M. Bréal credits the democracy with too much, the elect with too little. “If the human will controls the meanest operations of speech, the human will must be exercised freely and intelligently, and it is only the intellect of the wise which can thus be exercised.” Nevertheless he grants that “M. Bréal has provided us with a text-book which no ingenuity could better”—“the very best handbook which ever inaugurated a new science.”

HOW TO GET GOOD ARMY OFFICERS.

Mr. H. H. Almond writes on competitive examinations for Woolwich and Sandhurst, and insists on the need of giving marks for physical attainments to counteract the present unnatural mental strain and to furnish forth good officers. “An average of six hours daily sedentary ‘brain-work’ for a growing lad” is as much as is safe or wise. The proper plan to get the best officers for the British army would be to intrust

the whole business of selection to a small sworn and competent commission, who would choose on grounds personal and physical as well as literary. But “the suspicion of one another, which is one of the drawbacks of democracy,” leads the writer to despair of this ideal way and to fall back on marks for physical merit. He asks only 2,500 marks—as many as are given for chemistry and geography—which he would distribute thus: “(1) Strength of grasp and (2) keenness of vision, 250 each; (3) chest girth, or breathing capacity, relative to height, 300; (4) girth of left upper arm, 120; (5) general physique, 300; and (6) twenty-five miles ‘go as you please’ by use of legs alone, 780 marks.” To tests of hearing power and vision he would assign 500 marks.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Literature is much to the fore this month. Fiona Macleod contributes an appreciation of a group of Celtic writers, chief of whom are Mr. George Russell, Mr. Yeats, Miss Nora Hopper, and Dr. Hyde. The peculiar Celtic flavor is suggested by saying: “We are nearer to our earlier clan of the woods and hills and haunted ancient shores when the interpreter is a Celt; and in that nearness there is a certain gain, particularly in a note of exquisite sadness, of troubled longing, of spiritual exaltation, of emotional intensity.” Mr. W. B. Worsfold furnishes an interesting study of Charlotte Brontë, and Mr. G. S. Street describes the joy of soul Horace Walpole's letters have given him. Prof. Max Müller pronounces an affectionate eulogy upon the late Dean Liddell, of Greek dictionary fame.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

THE January number is a fresh reminder of the interest which the *National* is taking in the cause of imperial and English-speaking unity. Its regular survey of the British empire as a whole and its sympathetic chronicle of American affairs dissipate by the light of knowledge much more effectually than by any tirades the Little England superstition. Its most important article is perhaps Mr. Morrow's on the new Irish revolutionary movement, which claims separate mention.

FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY AND THE DREYFUS CASE.

The editor discusses “international aspects of the Dreyfus scandal” as it affects Germany and Italy, Russia, and above all Great Britain. He pronounces the Czar to be the most powerful friend of the *Cour de Cassation*, and suggests that his rescript on disarmament may have been partly dictated by disgust at the excesses of French militarism. The chief point is given in these quotations from M. Yves Guyot in his *Siècle*:

“These friends of the headquarters staff have only one preoccupation, and that is to direct public opinion toward a conflagration with England. . . . The headquarters staff would take no part in it. Such a war would only concern the navy. . . . They are endeavoring, in the interests of the headquarters staff, of all the men compromised by the Dreyfus affair, to create a diversion. They believe that the only miracle which can save them is a war with a state of siege, the suppression of the independent newspapers, and the suspension of civil rights. And while our sailors are smashed at sea, our generals of the *pronunciamiento* will have nothing else to do but to smash the Republicans and install a military and clerical dictatorship.

That is the true significance of the foreign policy of Messrs. Drumont, Rochefort, Paul de Cassagnac, and Jules Lemaitre expounded in the New York *Herald*."

The *Pettit Journal* strives to make the war popular with the French masses by assuring them "only sailors would be killed!" Failing the triumph of justice, the editor expects a *pronunciamento* followed or preceded by a foreign war.

"THE POLICY OF JINGOISM."

It is a commentary on the times through which we have been passing that "jingoism," once a word of reproach, is now calmly appropriated by one of its advocates as a suitable title for his policy. Mr. H. W. Wilson, author of "Ironclads in Action" and of the article before us, actually attributes to the shock produced by Gordon's death "the conversion of the country to jingoism in the best sense." "We are all jingoes now," repeats Mr. Wilson. Jingoism, he explains, does not mean constant wars; it means "the firm stand and vigorous policy"—the readiness to fight—which prevents war; it means a strong and well-organized army and navy and a patriotic domestic policy. He puts the last thus:

"The British boy and girl and the nation generally should be made familiar with the story of heroic Englishmen—men such as Drake, Wolfe, Nelson, Cromwell, Havelock, Chatham, and Gordon himself. To hold up an ideal of statesmanship, the truest, strongest, and loftiest type of Anglo-Saxon, what study could be better than that of the life of Abraham Lincoln? . . . In our board schools an effort should be made to have the portrait of the Queen and the national flag always displayed and saluted on stated occasions, while the importance of the navy should be taught as a lesson. In our public schools the navy and army should not be forgotten, and the geography of the British empire should certainly be rescued from the neglect in which only too often it slumbers. The regular singing of patriotic songs and performance of military drill are not considered wicked by hard-headed Americans. It is difficult to understand why so many Englishmen should object to them in schools."

The *civis Romanus* policy of Palmerston and Lord Rosebery as possible leader of the jingo party close this programme of jingoism.

OTHER ARTICLES.

"The Navy as a Profession," by "Captain, R. N.," gives a gratifying picture of the high morals, hard work, low pay, thrifty habits, and promotion by merit which prevail in this all-essential service. Rich men's sons are fewer than in the army. Admiral Maxse blends most interesting personal reminiscences of the Crimea with his review of Admiral Lord Lyons' life.

Mr. Henry M. Grey, writing on the future of Morocco, suggests that England should warn France against extending her frontier westward as another "unfriendly act," and retaliate if unheeded by annexing a strip of the littoral to Britain and giving Germany Sus and part of southern Morocco.

Professor Schäfer objects to Mr. Coleridge's criticism of Lord Lister, that morphia used in vivisection is a complete anæsthetic, though not destroying "sensibility" in the physiological sense of irritability or response to stimuli.

Jane H. Findlater contributes a brief paper on the importance of the "point of view" in authorship.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

THERE is not much of preëminent interest in the January number of the *Westminster*. We have quoted elsewhere from Mr. Mark Warren's article on the export trade of the United States.

HOW TO CHECKMATE THE PEERS.

The House of Lords comes in for a considerable amount of hostile attention. One writer declares "the coming struggle" to lie between the democracy and the peers, and expects it to be more arduous than that for the first Reform bill or Corn Law repeal. He hopes for some as yet unknown Cobden to form a league for the abolition of the veto of the peers, and to rally the people around him. Mr. F. G. Thomas, writing on "The Liberal Party and the Peers," rejects other methods of warfare in favor of the crown summoning only a few of the peers. This is his scheme:

"The course of action which would have to be pursued by the Liberal party in order to give effect to this constitutional change would be that, having obtained a majority in the House of Commons, the Liberal leaders should refuse to accept office unless they had received an assurance from the sovereign that only such peers as the ministry should nominate would be summoned to the House of Lords, or, if summonses had already been issued, they should be withdrawn on the advice of the ministry. A certain number of peers who possess a statutory title to their writs of summons would necessarily remain. They are the representative peers, five of the bishops, and the law lords. In addition, all peers who had held high ministerial office would undoubtedly be summoned, and also any peers with special qualifications. It is probable, therefore, that a certain number, perhaps thirty or forty new creations, of Liberal peers would be necessary, a very different matter, however, to three hundred and seventy-nine new peerages. Having thus secured a majority in the House of Lords, a bill would probably be passed through both houses withdrawing the writs of the representative peers and the remaining bishops, and possibly securing a right of summons to all ex-ministers who were also peers, and removing the disability of peers not members of the House of Lords to sit in the House of Commons."

AN AGNOSTIC AGAINST DISESTABLISHMENT.

"An Agnostic on the Church Question" opposes disestablishment as likely to send large reinforcements into the Roman camp and pleads for liberal reforms. He further argues:

"Hasty disestablishment would tend to the injury of the country by the disappearance of that protection to freedom of theological thought which a national church undoubtedly affords. If, however, the nation were to come into possession of a considering mood, it might, perhaps, be seen that there is nothing to prevent the enlargement of the national Church by the inclusion within it of the great bodies of evangelical nonconformists, having their due representation in convocation, and, while agreeing with the most advanced Anglican section in all essentials, tolerating differences in respect of matters of ritual. A church thus enlarged, and with its various sections exercising tolerance toward each other, might well deserve the appellation of 'national.' And in such a church even the agnostic might possibly find a footing."

EDMUND SPENSER DIED THREE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

Mr. A. E. Spender calls attention to the tercentenary of Edmund Spenser, who died January 16, 1599. After pronouncing a discriminating eulogy on the poet "so rich and rare in talent, so versatile in thought, and so superabundant in unpurloined originality," he closes with a remark which may be commended to the London County Council:

"Sidney loved Spenser as a scholar, Milton praised this 'sage and serious poet' as a moralist, and Dryden upheld him as a man of genius than whom none knew better how to use his gift to the best advantage. Other men than these have also given their full meed of praise, yet London has forgotten him. If her citizens wish to redeem their disgrace, the tercentenary of his death provides an ample excuse for the metropolis to perpetuate the fame of Edmund Spenser in some substantial form."

OTHER ARTICLES.

An unsigned article on Parnell laments the "mistaken morality" which led his followers to renounce him.

A volunteer colonel of thirty-five years' service pleads for many reforms in the British volunteer system, and as a means to that end suggests that a volunteer officer of experience should be attached as assistant at the War Office to the inspector-general.

CORNHILL.

THERE is much readable matter in the January number of *Cornhill*. The anniversary study in history is wanting. The sketch of O'Connell supplies stories given elsewhere in these pages. The first place is given to "an eclogue" on Giovanni Dupré by Mr. Robert Bridges. The point of the poem is that Dupré succeeded as a writer where he failed as a painter:

"While in vain the forms of beauty heaped,
A perfect spirit in himself he shaped."

THE "HOVELER."

Mr. Frank T. Bullen describes "hoveling" and the "hoveler." The words he derives as a Kentish corruption from the verb "to hover." He thus portrays the class:

"However strange the word may sound in a landman's ears, it is one of the most familiar to British seamen, especially among our coasters, although the particular form of bread-winning that it is used to designate is practically confined to the Kent and Sussex shores of the English Channel, having its headquarters at Deal. Briefly, a 'hoveler' is a boatman who follows none of the steady orthodox lines of boatmanship—such as fishing, plying for passengers, etc.—but hovers around the channel, a snapper-up of unconsidered trifles, a pilot, a wrecker, or, if a ghost of a chance presents itself, a smuggler."

WOMEN AS LETTER-WRITERS.

Miss Edith Sichel prefaces a study on this subject with the generalization:

"Letter-writing seems, indeed, an art especially invented to suit the talents of women, and (since their defects are often their graces) even to suit their foibles. Women are not creators; they are interpreters, critics; their best qualities, sympathy and insight, are the essence of criticism; and good letter-writing is criticism—of life, of people, of art, as the case may be. The quick perceptions and elusive grace that are natural to women, their habit of producing and their gift for expressing themselves, their mastery of detail, their power of subtle suggestion and of intuition, their very inability to sustain thought, and therefore to become heavy, their faculty for intimacy which sums up all the rest—these are so many qualifications for the writing of letters, and of personal letters in particular."

THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN REVIEWS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

THE December numbers of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* can hardly be said to maintain the general reputation of the leading French magazine, but no doubt the falling off is a trifling accident of the holiday month.

A FRENCH WOMAN IN NEW ENGLAND.

The talented and charming writer who signs her work Th. Bentzon describes her tour in the New England States of Maine and Massachusetts. She finds as profound a difference between Canada and the United States as there is between France and England. Her description of the governments both in Canada and in New England as theocracies is very curious, the Canadian theocracy being of course inspired by the Jesuit missions, while the New England theocracy drew its inspiration from such Puritans as Governor Andicott, who did not hesitate to cut out from the English flag the cross which was to him the sign of papist idolatry. Madame Blanc does justice to the political and literary associations of New England; she has much to say of Emerson, Hawthorne, Thoreau; nor does she conceal the terrible superstition of witchcraft which dominated the old Puritan settlers.

A PRINCESS OF MONACO.

M. de Ségur contributes a study of Marie Catherine de Brignole, Princess of Monaco, who was born in 1736 and died in 1813. She was not only of surpassing beauty, the fame of which spread to Paris and along the shores of the Mediterranean, but her intellectual gifts were quite as extraordinary. Her mother unfortunately had a bad temper and her father seems to have been a fool.

SIR EDMUND MONSON'S SPEECH.

In his *chronique*, in the second December number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, M. Charmes deals prominently with Sir Edmund Monson's astonishing speech at the banquet of the English Chamber of Commerce in Paris. M. Charmes naturally lays much stress on the somewhat meager disavowal of this speech, which was subsequently communicated to the Havas Agency, but he goes on to suggest that a passion for making speeches is a characteristic of the English race. Sir Edmund Monson, who certainly, if we study his previous career, has not erred on the side of talkativeness, took the opportunity to rebuke the English statesmen who have delivered some jingo speeches on the Fashoda question. M. Charmes goes on to ask where, when, and how has

France inflicted those pin-pricks of which we have heard so much lately? Of course he knows that in the English view the pin-pricks have been felt in Asia, Africa, Madagascar, Zanzibar, Tunis, and on the Niger; and his argument is that because the two countries have generally arrived at an agreement with which each side has, in accordance with diplomatic usage, expressed itself as being well content, therefore there has been no pin-prick. M. Charmes stoutly denies the idea, which he calls a legend, that France had been disagreeable to England. M. Charmes goes on to assure us that France is not at all frightened at the international combinations foreshadowed by Mr. Chamberlain at Wakefield, evidently thinking that it was the colonial secretary's intention to frighten France. Finally, it is impossible not to recognize the good-will of the French republic in sending to England so distinguished a successor to Baron de Courcelles as M. Cambon. It is noticeable that nothing can be more gratifying to Englishmen than M. Charmes' references to the affairs of Crete and his cordial agreement with Lord Salisbury's eulogy on Admiral Noel.

THE SOURCES OF ELECTRICITY.

M. Weiller, who is evidently an expert, contributes an interesting paper on the modern history of electricity in its applications. The year 1881 was a great landmark in its history, for it was then that the Paris congress completed the work begun by the British Association, and created a terminology of electricity which has since been used to denote and to measure the different kinds of electric power; then was established the precise meaning of the measurements of Volt, Ampère, and Ohm. M. Weiller gives an interesting account of the modern development in the direction of distributing electric energy over long distances, to effect which use has been made of waterfalls; he goes on to deal with electric railroads and tramways. Not so well known to the public are the great services which electricity renders in working metals. It has much cheapened the production of aluminum, and with its aid we can produce alloys of the nature of bronze with special qualities of hardness and resistance; in fact, electricity has reduced the price of aluminum in a few years from eighty francs to about four francs the kilogram. The growing industry of acetylene gas-lighting is directly due to the advance in electric metallurgy.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Among other articles may be mentioned one on the youth of the Comte de Lisle, by M. Tiercelin; a study of Richelieu in his diocese—that is to say, the years 1617 and 1618, by M. Anatole, a statesman who does not disdain to be also a historian; the conclusion of M. Lamy's description of the Emperor William's tour in the East; and a careful study of the recent strike in the building trade, by M. Grandmaison.

REVUE DE PARIS.

IN the *Revue de Paris* M. Chevalley has a most entertaining article on the bellicose poetry of England. He is quite convinced that what he calls the "recent explosion of jingoism" in England is the natural outcome not of the famous pin-pricks, but of those men of letters whose jingo muse has caused the whole nation to see red. M. Chevalley devotes much of his article to a study of Mr. Wedmore's excellent collection of "Poems of the Love and Pride of England," but he

reserves the privilege of examining other books by the way. He is struck by the part which the sea plays in English patriotic poetry, in which the sea and the country seem to be regarded as single entities, so that it is not so much the love of England that her poets sing as the empire of England on the seas. M. Chevalley willingly concedes to England a place among the first nations of the world in the eternal war which humanity wages against error, evil, and oppression; but he goes on to say that other nations who have done as much have not this overflowing self-satisfaction. In conclusion, M. Chevalley quotes an extremely unflattering description of England which Mr. Bernard Shaw puts into the mouth of Napoleon, and he actually adds that Mr. Bernard Shaw is the *enfant terrible* of British society, which both adores and fears him.

SOCIALISM AND LIBERTY.

M. Jaurès has a portentously long article on socialism and liberty, in which he defends the socialist idea from the charge of antagonism to liberty. He says that this error is based on the confusion of collectivist or communist socialism with state socialism, and he assures us that in the former is to be found the remedy for the excessive centralization, political, intellectual, and economic, from which France is now suffering. European socialists have not always held up their ideal as a remedy for over-centralization.

THE FRENCH FLEET.

M. Tournier has been inspired no doubt by recent events to discuss the naval strength of France. He begins by laying down that naval power is for France a historical necessity, an essential part of her greatness and of her prosperity, but he does not explain satisfactorily how France is to support both a strong army and a strong navy. He prefers to emphasize the necessity of a strong fleet in view of what he calls the insatiable ambition of England, which is everywhere entering into competition with France, and also in view of a possible combination of the fleets of the triple alliance in French waters. At the same time he realizes to the full the objections which experts have urged against the existing French fleet, its lack of homogeneity, and its fashioning of radically contradictory systems of naval construction and armaments, and he urges by way of remedy the exercise of ordinary common sense in the organization of the squadrons and the provision of second-class cruisers and of torpedo-boat destroyers.

NOUVELLE REVUE.

MME. JULIETTE ADAM'S organ is becoming more and more political in its scope and objects, and not unfrequently the clever editress manages to secure anonymous contributions from men who have at least the courage of their opinions. Such an article is that simply signed "B.," which criticises with a frankness rarely found among the French colonial party several of the later expeditions undertaken by the French Government, notably the disastrous conquest of Madagascar. On the other hand, the writer asserts that in the Dahomey expedition the French naval authorities, who had the real responsibility, proved that France is able to carry through a business of this kind more successfully—that is to say, with less loss of lives and less expenditure—than can Great Britain. It is quite evident that he holds that the salt of the French nation is to be found in the French navy.

RELIGION IN CHINA.

M. G. Mauger gives an account, which happens to be specially topical, of a mission to Schang, a station on the Blue River. The Breton officer whose diary forms the base of both articles gives some interesting and curious details about the Chinese Roman Catholic missions; but he admits that notwithstanding the heroic efforts of numberless missionaries, belonging indeed to every creed and to every nation, Christianity makes but small progress in China. Indeed, the French bishop, Monsignor Benjamin, declared to him that if he himself had been willing to pay for converts he could have had as many as he liked, but that genuine converts were rare. As to why the Chinese nature is so rebellious to the elementary principles of Christianity, M. Mauger—who seems a shrewd observer—puts it down to the fact that the Chinese entirely ignore the first principle of a future life; and when the idea is first presented to them they very much prefer the paradise of Mohammed to the Frenchman's or the Englishman's heaven, and thus Islam makes more converts than does any other Western form of religion. Of the three religions which are held in honor in China, M. Mauger evidently considers that of Confucius the finest; after the cult of Confucius Buddhism is the most popular. There are four hundred millions of Buddhists in China alone.

CHINESE REVOLUTIONS.

In addition to M. Mauger's two articles is a curious paper by M. de Pouvoirville dealing with China's past revolutions considered in relation to the future of the country. M. de Pouvoirville declares that the country is more or less governed by secret societies, the whole empire, from the highest to the lowest strata, being undermined by different associations in many cases affiliated one to the other. In one matter they all see eye to eye—each member is vowed to make a more or less vigorous effort to rid China of the "foreign devils." France, according to M. de Pouvoirville, cannot pursue a united policy in any portion of the whole world till the Dreyfus case is disposed of once for all. He winds up with the shrewd remark that although China may be dismembered, her conquerors, whoever they may be, will remain face to face with the really difficult problem of a population numbering hundreds of millions.

OTHER ARTICLES.

The historical student will find much to interest, indeed, to delight him in the two articles entitled "Paris in 1777," consisting of a number of letters addressed by an intimate friend of the King to Stanislas Poniatowski, of Poland. There are many vivid accounts of the literary and artistic society of pre-revolutionary France, and some amusing anecdotes of Diderot, Rousseau, and Madame Dudevant are given. The writer knew and saw familiarly Buffon, the naturalist, at whose house he used to dine with Gibbon.

Other articles include a learned critical account of Rembrandt, by M. V. de Swarte, written of course with a special view to the late Amsterdam exhibition of the great Dutchman's paintings and drawings; some recollections of the poet Stéphane Mallarmé, by M. C. Maclair; a few pages on the well-worn subject of George Washington and his relations with the French Canadians, by General Rébillot; and Mme. Juliette Adam's

bi-monthly analysis of the course of foreign politics as viewed by a Russophile-Anglophobe.

THE ITALIAN REVIEWS.

THE Italian reviews do not devote much space to the peace prospects of Europe. The only important article bearing on the Czar's rescript is from the pen of an Italian deputy, Signor Branca, in the *Nuova Antologia* (December 1). While hoping much from an international policy for Italy, he sums up the European situation from a distinctively Italian point of view. The classification of the six great powers he declares to be a thing of the past. To-day the four predominant powers of the world are England, Russia, Germany, and the United States. Two great causes of conflict loom in the near future: the rivalry of England and Russia in the far East and the disruption of the Austrian empire. Signor Branca is of opinion that the time may come when England will regret her present policy of encouraging the United States to intervene in international politics, and he questions whether "the immense British empire, scattered over five continents, may not, in less than a century, undergo a fundamental transformation by the growth of the various parts and their desire for complete autonomy." As regards Italy herself, he points to the South American states, whither vast numbers of Italians emigrate every year, as the natural field for her future colonial expansion. He sums up as follows:

"Fresh problems and unsuspected germs of conflict arise every day. The salvation of states, more especially of the minor ones, may depend upon a vigorous effort of human conscience to uphold the ideal of right and to circumscribe the dominion of force. To this vigilant work of peace and of progress Italian thought and Italian policy ought to contribute all their influence if the prestige of the country is to be regained and its future welfare secured."

To the same number Professor Lombroso contributes a learned and suggestive article on the causes—racial, climatic, and political—which contributed to the mediæval greatness of Venice, together with those which induced her decline. He introduces many of his favorite theories into the discussion, and from his conclusions he draws appropriate morals both for the United States, whom he regrets to see suddenly imbued with a desire for conquest, and for modern Italy, "from which glory, wealth, industry, justice, and prosperity are lacking more and more."

The *Civiltà Cattolica*, with some pardonable satisfaction, points out that whereas Catholics have always been accused of reactionary tendencies for advocating a certain measure of press supervision, to-day it is a so-called Liberal government which has been imprisoning editors wholesale and which has given the widest possible application to existing press laws. The same number (December 3) contains the annual appeal on behalf of poor communities of Italian nuns, whose property has been confiscated by the government, with the usual pathetic stories of want and poverty.

The *Rassegna Nazionale* has an interesting study of the moral teaching of Father Hecker, the apostle of "Americanism," whose orthodoxy of late has been so unfortunately impugned in certain ecclesiastical circles—an attack mainly based, it is only fair to add, on an inaccurate French translation of his writings.

THE NEW BOOKS.

RECENT AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION.

With Kitchener to Khartum. By G. W. Steevens. 12mo, pp. 340. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.50.

Mr. Steevens has furnished the most vivid and picturesque account of the Egyptian campaign of last summer that has yet been published. There is much in his book that has a special interest in connection with the various recent attempts to review our own war with Spain—notably the author's criticisms on the management of the campaign and the charges relating to the supplies furnished the troops. It is a journalist's book, subject to the limitations common to its class, but possessing also the merits of a well-written narrative from the pen of an eye-witness of the scenes it describes.

Corona and Coronet. By Mabel Loomis Todd. 12mo, pp. 421. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$2.50.

This volume contains Mrs. Todd's narrative of the Amherst expedition to Japan, fitted out by Mr. D. Willis James and son, to observe the eclipse of the sun, August 9, 1896. The trip covered more than ten thousand miles of sailing for the party, and at least forty-five thousand miles of deep sea voyaging for the *Coronet*. Prof. David P. Todd was the chief astronomer of the expedition. Mrs. Todd, in her account, deals less with the strictly scientific phases of the journey, although these are touched upon through the more familiar and obvious experiences of a very enjoyable excursion to the far East. Although Mrs. Todd modestly describes her book as an unscientific account of a scientific expedition, she really presents a great deal of fresh and important information about the islands of the Pacific which she visited. Parts of the book had already appeared in the *Nation*, the *Century Magazine*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Independent* and the *Outlook*. The volume is well illustrated.

The Land of the Pigmies. By Guy Burrows. Introduction by H. M. Stanley. 8vo, pp. xxx—299. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. \$3.

Mr. Henry M. Stanley bestows no slight praise on Captain Burrows' book when he says that it interested him so intensely that he read it through at a sitting. Mr. Stanley himself is one of the few Caucasians who are supposed to know something about the pigmies of equatorial Africa, but he admits that Captain Burrows was able to add materially to the world's stock of information about these curious folk. Captain Burrows has been since 1894 in the service of the Congo Free State. In this volume he treats almost exclusively of the natives and their ways. The illustrations, made from photographs and sketches by the author, are numerous and interesting.

Roundabout Rambles in Northern Europe. By Charles F. King. 12mo, pp. 361. Boston: Lee & Shepard. \$1.25.

Mr. King describes the travels of a family of six through Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Russia. The style of the narrative reminds us of the once-famous "Rollo" books, but the pictures go far to redeem this unfortunate quality. There are more than two hundred excellent half-tone reproductions from photographs. Two excellent features of the work are a list of poems connected with the places described and a list of the best books to be consulted by intending travelers.

Woods and Dales of Derbyshire. By James S. Stone. 8vo, pp. 180. Philadelphia: Geo. W. Jacobs & Co. \$1.

Doctor Stone has written a very entertaining and gossip volume about old Derbyshire, introducing numerous

quotations from classic English writers, and illustrating his text with numerous excellent reproductions of photographs.

The Story of Marco Polo. By Noah Brooks. 12mo, pp. 247. New York: The Century Company. \$1.50.

Marco Polo's journal of adventures has long been regarded as a classic, but, so far as we know, no recent attempt has been made to present the story in suitable form for young readers. Mr. Noah Brooks, however, has successfully accomplished just this. Mr. Brooks has a knack at this sort of thing, as is made evident by his numerous books of adventure for boys and girls. The threatened division of the Chinese Empire makes the book all the more interesting just at present, to say nothing of the general disposition among American readers to inform themselves on all matters connected with Oriental life.

Appletons' Dictionary of New York and Its Vicinity. Twentieth Year. Paper, 16mo, pp. 347. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 30 cents.

Appleton's well-known alphabetic guide to New York and its vicinity has now reached its twentieth year, and, in the present edition, deals for the first time with the territory of the Greater New York as constituting one municipality. Much of the material of the book has been rearranged; new articles have been inserted, old ones extended, and all the articles on the municipal departments have been rewritten. One of the new features of the book is an extended article on drives and bicycle roads, accompanied by maps. The general accuracy and excellence of the work have been thoroughly tested.

HISTORY.

The American Revolution: 1763-1783. By William Edward Hartpole Lecky. 12mo, pp. xxvi—518. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.25.

Professor Woodburn, of Indiana University, has arranged and edited in a single small volume the chapters and passages relating to America in Lecky's History of England in the 18th Century, appending many historical and bibliographical notes. If it be true, as it is so often alleged, that American school-books in the past have conveyed false and exaggerated notions of British despotism and tyranny, the reading of a book like this will do much to remove or avoid such harmful impressions. Mr. Lecky is generally conceded to be a fair and judicious historian, and, while the reader will find in his pages a sufficient defense for the underlying causes of the Revolution, he will at the same time approach the subject from the English side, and, as Mr. Woodburn very truly says, will gain from such a study a better conception of the place and importance of our Revolution in the history of the world, and a truer appreciation of the permanent merits of that Revolution, and of its promoters and participants.

The Ohio Archeological and Historical Publications, published for the Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society, at Columbus, Ohio.

The history of the State of Ohio has a very distinctive interest. In the movement that developed the great West, and that set in soon after the Revolutionary War, Ohio bore the most prominent part. We are now fairly in the midst of the period of centenary celebrations of the founding of Ohio towns; and in connection with these celebrations, no little historical data of permanent value has been made accessible. The Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society was formed in 1885, and its publications, which have now appeared in six uniform volumes, and which henceforth will probably appear at the rate of one volume a year, contain material of far more than local importance. One finds

preserved in these volumes such material, for example, as the remarkable historical addresses on the occasion of the centenary of Marletta. The third volume includes the centennial of Gallipolis, with valuable papers on the opening of the Scioto region. In the fourth volume are several chapters on the fixing of the Ohio boundary lines. In the fifth volume one finds a collection of public documents relating to the Ohio Territory, to the first constitutional convention, and to the admission of the State. The sixth volume has various papers apropos of the centennial of Jefferson County. Throughout nearly all the volumes one finds interesting data on the prehistoric remains that abound in Ohio, with accounts of mounds, earthworks, stone implements, etc. One of the most interesting special papers is an account of the Bienerhassetts, their life on their island in the Ohio River, and the ill-fortune that pursued them in consequence of their unhappy entanglement in the schemes of Aaron Burr. The author of this paper is Mr. E. O. Randall, the efficient secretary of the Society and editor of the publications.

The Provincial Governor in the English Colonies of North America. By Evarts Boutell Greene. 8vo, pp. 292. New York: Loughmans, Green & Co. \$1.50.

This seventh volume of the "Harvard Historical Studies" is devoted to a study of the powers and prerogatives of the chief executives of the royal and proprietary colonies in this country prior to the Revolution; though the writer has purposely excluded from his survey the years immediately preceding the Declaration of Independence, thus avoiding the complications of the Revolutionary era, and presenting the Colonial constitutions in their normal working. Professor Greene has produced a monograph of great value and interest to the student of American constitutional origins.

Historic Pilgrimages in New England. By Edwin M. Bacon. 12mo, pp. 490. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co. \$1.50.

In this volume an itinerary is skillfully laid out and followed among the historic landmarks of Pilgrim and Puritan days and of the provincial and Revolutionary periods in Massachusetts. Mr. Bacon acts as guide for a young Western student of New England antecedents among these various memorials of his ancestors. In the course of the journey a vast amount of historical and legendary lore is unearthed and sifted, and a real and permanent contribution is made to New England history. For any American who has the leisure, we cannot imagine a more enjoyable manner of passing the summer vacation, than to take Mr. Bacon's book and follow in the track of Percy Denison as he goes from one historic spot to another.

Historic New York. Edited by Maud Wilder Goodwin and others. 12mo, pp. 482. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.

The second series of the "Half Moon Papers" contains monographs on "Slavery in New York," "Tammany Hall," "Old Prisons and Punishments," "The New York Press and its Makers in the 18th Century," "New Amsterdam Family Names, and their Origin," "Old Taverns and Posting Inns," "The Doctor in Old New York," "Early Schools and Schoolmasters in New Amsterdam," "The Battle of Harlem Heights," "Breucklen," and "The Neutral Ground." The paper on "Bowling Green," by Mr. Spencer Trask, was noticed on its separate appearance several months ago. The volume is illustrated from paintings and old prints. The paper on the battle of Harlem Heights, by William R. Shepherd, Ph.D., is a scholarly and faithful study of that historic episode. All the papers are supplemented with notes and references to authorities.

A Primer of Heraldry for Americans. By Edward S. Holden. 16mo, pp. 117, with 24 plates. New York: The Century Company. \$1.

Professor Holden, in this little book, explains many points in heraldry which, to most Americans—even the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution—may have been more or

less obscure. In this country we have at last reached a stage in which a reasonable interest in matters of family coats of arms and genealogy is no longer considered a *prima facie* evidence of "un-Americanism." While this little primer on the subject does not pretend to be by any means exhaustive, it will serve as a convenient introduction to the subject. Its special merits are clearness of statement and illustration.

A Short History of the United States. By Mary Platt Parmele. 12mo, pp. 312. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 60 cents.

A Short History of England. By Mary Platt Parmele. 12mo, pp. 178. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 60 cents.

A Short History of France. By Mary Platt Parmele. 12mo, pp. 112. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 60 cents.

We noticed these brief histories several years ago, on the occasion of their first appearance. They are marvels of condensation and epitomizing.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of Henry Drummond. By George Adam Smith. 8vo, pp. 554. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. \$3.

So unusual a career as that of the late Professor Drummond demands an exceptional biography. Dr. George Adam Smith, the eminent theologian of Free Church College, Glasgow, was chosen by the family and friends of Professor Drummond as the authorized biographer, and to him were intrusted all the papers, journals, and letters that Professor Drummond left. It could hardly be expected that a biographer in full sympathy with Drummond's work as an evangelist would be able to give a picture of the man that should be wholly satisfactory to the scientist. To accomplish this, it would be almost necessary to have a duplication of Drummond's remarkable personality in his biographer. But, while Dr. Smith may have had less appreciation of the scientific than of the evangelistic side of Drummond, he has certainly shown excellent judgment in the selection of materials for the present volume. While he devotes much space to the great evangelical movements in which Drummond was so commanding a figure, Dr. Smith is more concerned to bring his readers into touch with Drummond himself as a man of intensely human interests and far-reaching sympathies. Even the admirers of Drummond's writings,—and they are numbered by the million,—will find in this biography a revelation of the real Drummond which will fascinate them even more. We should not close this brief notice without mentioning those features of the book that have special interest for the American reader. Drummond's diary of his expedition to the Rocky Mountains, and his chapter on the wonderful campaign among the American colleges in 1887 are both illuminating and inspiring.

Fridtjof Nansen. By Jacob B. Bull. Translated by M. R. Barnard. 12mo, pp. 192. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 80 cents.

This brief outline of Nansen's life and work was written especially for the young, and has been translated by one of the translators of Doctor Nansen's "Farthest North," from which several of the illustrations have been taken. The text is interesting, and worthy of a more attractive setting than the publishers have seen fit to give it. In externals, the book has much the appearance of a school primer of the ancient type. If children can be induced to look between the covers, they will find an interesting story—more and better illustrations would have greatly helped.

Washington the Soldier. By Henry B. Carrington. 8vo, pp. xx—481. Boston: Lamson, Wolfe & Co. \$2.50.

Confining himself to the military point of view, General Carrington considers the career of Washington in its relation to what he regards as the six cardinal principles of gen-

eralship, namely, strategy, grand tactics, logistics, engineering, minor tactics, and statesmanship in war. The author elucidates these several principles in simple and untechnical language, and succeeds in making even the strictly military side of Washington attractive to the general reader as well as to the professional soldier. Such a study of Washington in the light of modern military science is a timely novelty. The volume is well supplied with maps and portraits.

POLITICS, ECONOMICS, AND SOCIOLOGY.

The Dreyfus Case. By Fred. C. Conybeare. 12mo, pp. xvi—318. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.50.

We have several times noticed in our departments of "Leading Articles of the Month" and "Periodicals Reviewed" Mr. Conybeare's *National Review* papers on different phases of the Dreyfus case. All of this material has now been brought together in one volume, which probably constitutes as complete an exposition of the whole episode as it is possible to give at the present time.

State Purchase of Railways in Switzerland. By Horace Micheli. Translated by John Cummings. Paper, 12mo, pp. 70. New York: The Macmillan Company (for the American Economic Association.) 50 cents.

The last number in the series of "Economic Studies" published under the auspices of the American Economic Association is a translation by Dr. John Cummings of a detailed account of the movement for the nationalization of the Swiss railroads which culminated in the overwhelming referendum vote of one year ago. The paper was originally prepared for the *Musée Social*, of Paris, by its Swiss correspondent, M. Horace Micheli. It gives accurate information concerning this very interesting and significant movement.

Economics. By Edward Thomas Devine. 12mo, pp. 411. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.

This work differs in several ways from the ordinary text book of political economy. In the first place, it is intended to serve as an introduction to the study of social problems in general, rather than as an elementary manual of the science of economics. The author's discussion of the different divisions of the subject is less formal than is usually the case in books of this class. This is perhaps partly due to the fact that the volume has been prepared with special reference to the needs of university extension students, and others especially interested in charitable or social effort. At the same time it may be profitably used by high-school and college classes. The style is pleasing, and the method of statement clear and in general convincing. On the whole, the book is admirably adapted to the purposes which the writer had chiefly in mind in preparing it.

Anglo-Saxon Superiority: to what it is due. By Edmond Demolins. Translated by Louis Bert. Lavigne. 12mo, pp. xxx—343. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. \$1.

This work has reached a tenth edition in France, and even before it was translated into English, had a considerable vogue in Great Britain. It will interest Americans, not so much because of what the author has to say about the United States, but because it offers a point of view which to most Americans is entirely new. It exhibits the Anglo-Saxon as the Frenchman sees him. Many, if not all of the traits that M. Demolins has discovered in his typical Anglo-Saxon are to be found also in the American, and when due allowance is made for exaggeration, the average American will allow that this French artist has drawn a tolerably accurate portrait of Uncle Sam.

The City Wilderness. Edited by Robert A. Woods. 12mo, pp. 320. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.

The residents and associates of the South End House, of Boston, have united in making "A Settlement Study" of certain important economic, religious, and educational

phases of life in the "South End" of Boston. The volume which contains the product of their labors, under the editorship of Mr. Robert A. Woods, the head of the Settlement, is not unlike that issued a few years since by members of the Hull House Settlement in Chicago. Apart from the serious social and ethical considerations involved, the book has many features of interest. The writers of the different chapters treat their respective themes in an earnest and thorough manner, leaving almost nothing to be desired by way of concrete description and illustration. A half-dozen excellent maps, showing the sociological characteristics of the metropolitan section covered by the investigation, accompany the text. On the whole, Mr. Woods and his associates have succeeded in producing an entertaining as well as a useful and authoritative work.

SCIENCE.

The Sphere of Science. By Frank Sargent Hoffman. 12mo, pp. 268. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

Prof. Frank Sargent Hoffman, author of "The Sphere of the State," attempts in this volume to point out what it is that constitutes a science, and to set forth the grounds upon which every science rests, as well as the principles and rules that must be followed in order to construct one. He has chapters on "The Scientific Method," "Certainty and Probability in Science," "The Use of the Imagination in Science," "Analogy as an Aid to Science," and other related topics. The book serves a useful purpose in presenting a clear, compact statement of certain modernized views of the general subject.

Biological Lectures, Delivered at The Marine Biological Laboratory of Wood's Holl, 1896-1897. 8vo, pp. 242. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$2.15.

For several years in succession we have had occasion to notice the series of Wood's Holl biological lectures, which are given each summer at the Marine Biological Laboratory. We notice in the present volume a considerable latitude in the choice of subjects. Some of the lectures—for example, that on "The Variations and Mutations of the Introduced Sparrow," bear only a very distant relation to marine work. There is also a lecture on "The Methods of Paleontological Inquiry," and other topics connected with the general science of biology are discussed. In the concluding lecture of the volume, Professor Whitman describes "Some of the Functions and Features of the Biological Station." All of the lectures are by specialists, and their publication is certainly a boon to all American students of biology, to whom material of this nature is comparatively inaccessible, so far as publications in the English language are concerned.

Maryland Geological Survey. Vol. 2. 4to, pp. 509. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.

The first volume of the reports of the Maryland Geological Survey must have impressed all who saw it as a model publication of its class. The second volume, which has just appeared, goes far to confirm that impression. Its typographical appearance is especially noteworthy, and in the department of illustration excellent results have been achieved. A strong feature of the volume is the report on building-stones by Dr. George P. Merrill, who is regarded as the leading authority on the subject in this country. The report on maps and map-makers of Maryland is an interesting historical paper. Altogether, the State of Maryland is to be congratulated on the permanent value of this publication.

The Tides, and Kindred Phenomena in the Solar System. By George Howard Darwin. 12mo, pp. 396. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$2.

This volume contains the substance of the Lowell lectures on the tides, delivered by Professor Darwin in 1897. The work is of a popular character, the author avoiding as far as possible the use of technical language, and, for so abstruse a subject, succeeding remarkably well. Professor Darwin's book attempts an explanation of the practical

methods of observing and predicting the tides—a matter which is certainly of great interest to many persons. The latter portion of the work is devoted to questions in speculative astronomy. Portions of the work have already appeared in the *Century Magazine*, *Harper's*, and the *Atlantic Monthly*.

Electricity in the Diagnosis and Treatment of Diseases of the Nose, Throat and Ear. By W. Schepppegrell. 8vo, pp. 417. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$4.50.

In a field where quackery has had such a free range as in that of electro-therapeutics generally, we are at last fortunate in possessing a valuable monograph on the application of electricity to diseases of the nose, throat and ears. Most people are quite unaware to how great an extent electricity is now used as an adjunct of scientific medicine. It is not only a great help in making examinations, but is much used for cauterization, a process that was formerly both difficult and painful. It also serves in applying a kind of massage by means of a column of air to the sensitive mechanism of the ear. Doctor Schepppegrell explains these and many other practical applications of electricity in therapeutics in this exhaustive volume, which contains also a full bibliography of the subject, and more than 150 illustrations. The work is commended not only to the medical profession, but to all interested in the progress of electrical science.

DOMESTIC ECONOMY.

Home Economics. By Maria Parloa. 12mo, pp. 390. New York: The Century Co. \$1.50.

Miss Parloa aims to furnish in this volume a guide to household management, "including the proper treatment of the materials entering into the construction and the furnishing of the house." Miss Parloa's former books have dealt almost exclusively with the kitchen. In this volume she grapples with the general problems that confront the house-keeper. A great many helpful suggestions are offered concerning the selection and equipment of the house, the water supply, laundry, care of lighting appliances, fuel and fires, table service, etc., not to speak of the chapters on food and marketing, which are, perhaps, as important as any. There are many practical directions as to the care of furniture, polished floors, and wood finishes. All in all, the book is a valuable encyclopedia of domestic science.

Food and Feeding. By Sir Henry Thompson. 12mo, pp. 312. New York: Frederick Warne & Co. \$1.75.

Sir Henry Thompson's work on food and feeding had gone out of print, although several large editions had been published during the last few years. In the ninth and last edition considerable new matter is incorporated. Though prepared originally for English readers, much of the book has an application to conditions in other lands. The author has long been regarded as one of the few experts on cookery in the world.

The Building of it. By Walter J. Keith. Published by the author. Minneapolis, Minn. \$1.

Mr. Keith's architectural studies for moderate sized houses, which appeared a year or two ago in the *Ladies' Home Journal*, showed a high degree of skill and ingenuity. The present little book is intended as a practical handbook which will enable the builder of a home to understand the practical details which will enable him to supervise his contractors. It is a thoroughly practical book, systematically arranged, covering mason work, carpenter work, mill work, painting and finishing, ventilation, heating, plumbing, gas-fitting, electrical work and other details. Under the guidance of men like Mr. Keith, the average home in America is becoming a marvel of comfort and even luxury.

Model Houses for Little Money. By William L. Price. 16mo, pp. 193. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. 50 cents.

Inside of One Hundred Homes. By William Martin Johnson. 16mo, pp. 140. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. 50 cents.

Good Cooking. By Mrs. S. T. Rorer. 16mo, pp. 345. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. 50 cents.

The "*Ladies' Home Journal* Household Library" is a unique series of brief manuals for the aid and guidance of people who are daily confronted with problems in domestic economy that must be solved with the smallest possible expenditure of money, time, and strength. The fact that more than five hundred houses have already been built from Mr. Price's plans (since their publication in the *Ladies' Home Journal*) is sufficient evidence of the practical cast of his little treatise. Mr. Johnson's aim has been to gather and publish suggestions for the furnishing of dwelling houses, while Mrs. Rorer's book embodies the last word on wholesome and sanitary cookery.

LITERATURE AND MISCELLANY.

Little Masterpieces. Edited by Bliss Perry. Lord Macaulay. 16mo, pp. 210. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. 50 cents.

Little Masterpieces. Edited by Bliss Perry. John Ruskin. 16mo, pp. 200. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. 50 cents.

Little Masterpieces. Edited by Bliss Perry. Thomas Carlyle. 16mo, pp. 217. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. 50 cents.

The Doubleday & McClure Company's admirable series of ten volumes of the "Little Masterpieces" of modern literature is something quite out of the ordinary in the line of popular reprints of standard selections. The typography and binding are excellent. As for editing, which is chiefly the exercise of discrimination in the choice of materials, the task must have had peculiar difficulties in the cases of Macaulay, Ruskin, and Carlyle, but the sanity of Professor Perry's judgments as to the requirements of such a series may generally be trusted. Probably no one could have done the work more satisfactorily.

The Secret of Achievement. By Orison Swett Marden. 12mo, pp. 378. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co. \$1.50.

The editor of *Success* has written many very successful books for young people. Mr. Marden is a master in the use of anecdote, and this fact, doubtless, goes far to explain his popularity as an author. His books are full of stories from the lives of great men, living and dead. But all the stories are made to focus on the writer's main purpose, which is to inculcate a reasonable and healthful optimism in his readers. All of Mr. Marden's writings are calculated to stimulate their readers to greater energy and hopefulness in life.

Extemporaneous Oratory for Professional and Amateur Speakers. By James M. Buckley. 12mo, pp. 488. New York: Eaton & Mains. \$1.50.

This work is the outgrowth of lectures delivered several years ago by Dr. Buckley before theological seminaries and law schools. The fact that the lecturer was simultaneously requested to prepare a book by the faculty of a law school and by a committee appointed to prepare a course of study for Methodist ministers is some indication of the broad, practical utility which it was thought that such a book would serve. Few men are better qualified than the able editor of the *Christian Advocate* to give such intelligent and helpful advice in matters of this kind.

The Well-Bred Girl in Society. By Mrs. Burton Harrison. 16mo, pp. 213. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. 50 cents.

The Business Girl in Every Phase of Her Life. By Ruth Ashmore. 16mo, pp. 177. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. 50 cents.

Home Games and Parties. Edited by Mrs. Hamilton Mott. 16mo, pp. 188. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. 50 cents.

The "*Ladies' Home Journal Girls' Library*" addresses itself to all sorts and conditions of girls, including, we are glad to note, the girl who works for a livelihood.

Church Sociables and Entertainments. 16mo, pp. 168. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. 50 cents.

EDUCATION AND TEXT-BOOKS.

National Educational Association: Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the 37th Annual Meeting, held at Washington, D. C., July 7 to 12, 1898. 8vo, pp. 1,139. Published by the Association.

In this portly volume are contained the addresses upon educational topics by the ablest men and women actively engaged in that work as represented by the seventeen departments of the National Educational Association. Almost every conceivable educational topic is treated either exhaustively or cursorily in this volume, not to speak of several topics which do not appear to be closely related to the general work and purpose of the association, as, for example, "The Administration and Bookkeeping of a National Bank," "The Bookkeeping and Accounting of the Periodical and Publishing Business," "The Duties and Qualifications of the Congressional Reporter."

Ideals and Programmes. By Jean L. Gowdy. 16mo, pp. 102. Syracuse, N. Y.: C. W. Bardeen. 75 cents. *Commissioner Hume. A Story of New York Schools.* By C. W. Bardeen. 16mo, pp. 210. Syracuse, N. Y.: C. W. Bardeen. \$1.25.

Art for the Eye. By Ross Turner. Paper, 8vo, pp. 31. Boston: The Prang Educational Company. 25 cents.

Elements of Rhetoric. A Course in Plain Prose Composition. By Alphonso G. Newcomer. 12mo, pp. 393. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$1.

A History of English Critical Terms. By J. W. Bray. 12mo, pp. 345. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. \$1.

Language Lessons. By J. G. Park. 12mo, pp. 144. New York: American Book Company.

Selections from the Poems of Robert Burns. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary, by John G. Dow. 12mo, pp. xcvi+287. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.20.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Edward Gibbon. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Oliver Farrar Emerson. 12mo, pp. lxxv+279. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.20.

Macaulay's Essay on Milton. Edited and Annotated by Charles Wallace French. 16mo, pp. xlviii+128. New York: The Macmillan Company. 25 cents.

The Princess: A Medley. By Alfred Lord Tennyson. Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by Wilson Farrand. 16mo, pp. lviii+173. New York: The Macmillan Company. 25 cents.

Coleridge's Ancient Mariner. Kuble Kahn and Christabel. Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by Tuley Francis Huntington. 16mo, pp. xxxvii+109. New York: The Macmillan Company. 25 cents.

Shakespeare's Macbeth. Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by Charles W. French. 16mo, pp. xliii+185. New York: The Macmillan Company. 25 cents.

Carpenter's Geographical Reader. North America. By Frank G. Carpenter. 12mo, pp. 352. New York: American Book Company. 60 cents.

History Reader for Elementary Schools. By L. L. W. Wilson. 12mo, pp. 419. New York: The Macmillan Company. 60 cents.

Braided Straws. By Elizabeth E. Foulke. Square 12mo, pp. 135. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co. 40 cents.

Lessons for Beginners in Reading. By Florence Bass. Square 16mo, pp. 110. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 25 cents.

Lysias: Ten Selected Orations. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Appendices, by William H. Wait. 12mo, pp. 240. New York: American Book Company. \$1.25.

A Complete Latin Grammar. By Albert Harkness. Half leather, 12mo, pp. 463. New York: American Book Company. \$1.25.

A Short Latin Grammar. By Albert Harkness. 12mo, pp. 254. New York: American Book Company. 80 cents.

Eutropius. Edited for School Use by J. C. Hazzard. 12mo, pp. 243. New York: American Book Company. 75 cents.

Second Year in German. By I. Keller. 12mo, pp. 388. New York: American Book Company. \$1.20.

Traumereien. By Richard von Volkmann-Ieander. With Notes and Vocabulary by Idelle B. Watson. Boards, 16mo, pp. 151. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 40 cents.

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[All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

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|---------|---|---------|--|---------|--|
| AHR. | American Historical Review, N. Y. | Ed. | Education, Boston. | NIM. | New Illustrated Magazine, London. |
| AJS. | American Journal of Sociology, Chicago. | EdR. | Educational Review, N. Y. | NW. | New World, Boston. |
| AJT. | American Journal of Theology, Chicago. | EngM. | Engineering Magazine, N. Y. | NC. | Nineteenth Century, London. |
| ALR. | American Law Review, St. Louis. | EM. | España Moderna, Madrid. | NAR. | North American Review, N. Y. |
| AMonM. | American Monthly Magazine, Washington, D. C. | FR. | Fortnightly Review, London. | NR. | Nouvelle Revue, Paris. |
| AMRR. | American Monthly Review of Reviews, N. Y. | F. | Forum, N. Y. | NA. | Nuova Antologia, Rome. |
| AAPS. | Annals of the American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, Phila. | FR.L. | Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y. | OC. | Open Court, Chicago. |
| APS. | Appleton's Popular Science Monthly, N. Y. | GM. | Gentleman's Magazine, London. | O. | Outing, N. Y. |
| ARec. | Architectural Record, N. Y. | GBag. | Green Bag, Boston. | Out. | Outlook, N. Y. |
| A. | Arena, Boston. | GMag. | Gunter's Magazine, N. Y. | OM. | Overland Monthly, San Francisco. |
| AA. | Art Amateur, N. Y. | Harp. | Harper's Magazine, N. Y. | PMM. | Pall Mall Magazine, London. |
| AI. | Art Interchange, N. Y. | HM. | Home Magazine, N. Y. | PRev. | Philosophical Review, N. Y. |
| AJ. | Art Journal, London. | HomR. | Homiletic Review, N. Y. | PA. | Photo-American, N. Y. |
| Art. | Artist, London. | IJE. | International Journal of Ethics, Phila. | PT. | Photographic Times, N. Y. |
| AM. | Atlantic Monthly, Boston. | IntS. | International Studio, London. | PL. | Poet-Lore, Boston. |
| Bad. | Badminton, London. | IA. | Irrigation Age, Chicago. | PSQ. | Political Science Quarterly, Boston. |
| BankL. | Bankers' Magazine, London. | JAES. | Journal of the Ass'n of Engineering Societies, Phila. | PRR. | Presbyterian and Reformed Review, Phila. |
| BankNY. | Bankers' Magazine, N. Y. | JF. | Journal of Finance, London. | PQ. | Presbyterian Quarterly, Columbia, S. C. |
| BW. | Biblical World, Chicago. | JMSI. | Journal of the Military Service Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y. H. | QJEcon. | Quarterly Journal of Economics, Boston. |
| BSac. | Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O. | JPEcon. | Journal of Political Economy, Chicago. | QR. | Quarterly Review, London. |
| BU. | Bibliothèque Universelle, Lausanne. | Kind. | Kindergarten Magazine, Chicago. | RN. | Rassegna Nazionale, Florence. |
| Black. | Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh. | LHJ. | Ladies' Home Journal, Phila. | RefS. | Réforme Sociale, Paris. |
| BTJ. | Board of Trade Journal, London. | LH. | Leisure Hour, London. | RRL. | Review of Reviews, London. |
| Bkman. | Bookman, N. Y. | Lipp. | Lippincott's Magazine, Phila. | RRM. | Review of Reviews, Melbourne. |
| BP. | Brush and Pencil, Chicago. | LQ. | London Quarterly Review, London. | RP. | Revue de Paris, Paris. |
| CanM. | Canadian Magazine, Toronto. | Long. | Longman's Magazine, London. | RDM. | Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris. |
| Cass. | Cassell's Magazine, London. | LuthQ. | Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, Pa. | RRP. | Revue des Revues, Paris. |
| CasM. | Cassier's Magazine, N. Y. | McCl. | McClure's Magazine, N. Y. | RG. | Revue Générale, Brussels. |
| CW. | Catholic World, N. Y. | Mac. | Macmillan's Magazine, London. | RPP. | Revue Politique et Parlementaire, Paris. |
| CM. | Century Magazine, N. Y. | MA. | Magazine of Art, London. | RSoc. | Revue Socialiste, Paris. |
| CJ. | Chambers's Journal, Edinburgh. | Men. | Menorah Monthly, N. Y. | R. | Rosary, Somerset, Ohio. |
| CR. | Charities Review, N. Y. | Met. | Metaphysical Magazine, N. Y. | San. | Sanitarian, N. Y. |
| Chaut. | Chautauquan, Mendville, Pa. | MRN. | Methodist Review, Nashville. | SRev. | School Review, Chicago. |
| CR. | Contemporary Review, London. | MRNY. | Methodist Review, N. Y. | Scrib. | Scribner's Magazine, N. Y. |
| C. | Cornhill, London. | MidM. | Midland Monthly, Des Moines, Iowa. | SC. | Self Culture, Akron, Ohio. |
| Cosmop. | Cosmopolis, London. | MisH. | Missionary Herald, Boston. | SE. | Sewanee Review, Sewanee, Tenn. |
| Cos. | Cosmopolitan, N. Y. | MisR. | Missionary Review, N. Y. | Str. | Strand Magazine, London. |
| Crit. | Critic, N. Y. | Mon. | Monist, Chicago. | SunM. | Sunday Magazine, London. |
| Dem. | Demorest's Family Magazine, N. Y. | M. | Month, London. | TB. | Temple Bar, London. |
| DH. | Deutscher Hausschatz, Regensburg. | MunA. | Municipal Affairs, N. Y. | USM. | United Service Magazine, London. |
| DeutR. | Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart. | MM. | Munsey's Magazine, N. Y. | WR. | Westminster Review, London. |
| D. | Dial, Chicago. | Mus. | Music, Chicago. | WM. | Werner's Magazine, N. Y. |
| DR. | Dublin Review, Dublin. | NatGM. | National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C. | WWM. | Wide World Magazine, London. |
| ER. | Edinburgh Review, London. | NatM. | National Magazine, Boston. | WPM. | Wilson's Photographic Magazine, N. Y. |
| | | NatR. | National Review, London. | YR. | Yale Review, New Haven. |
| | | NEM. | New England Magazine, Boston. | YM. | Young Man, London. |
| | | | | YW. | Young Woman, London. |

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By William Conant Church.			
With portrait of General Otis.			

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THE LATE PRESIDENT FAURE OF FRANCE. •

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

*Our New War
in the
Philippines.*

The most absorbing news of the month of February for the people of the United States was that which came from the Philippine Islands. The army of Philippine insurgents, under the command of Aguinaldo and his coterie of native leaders, had precipitated a night attack upon the American forces in possession of Manila. Far from being off their guard and unprepared, the American troops faced the emergency with a coolness, promptness, and aggressive vigor that the assailants were wholly unable to resist. This conflict began late on the night of Saturday, the 4th. Not only was Maj.-Gen. Elwell S. Otis, with his brigade commanders, in perfect readiness for action, but Admiral Dewey was equally prepared to render most effective aid. It was necessary, of course, for the ships to wait until daylight Sunday morning; but as soon as possible after dawn the navy began a firing of deadly accuracy into the trenches of the insurgent army. In this business the monitor *Monadnock* was especially active, and the other vessels engaged were the cruiser *Charleston*, the gunboat *Concord*, and two gunboats that had been captured from the Spaniards, and now had real gunners on board.

*Aguinaldo's
Discom-
fiture.*

The rout of the insurgents was complete, and it was reported on Monday that the number of Filipinos killed, wounded, and taken prisoners would probably amount to 4,000; while about 50 American officers and men had been killed and about three times as many wounded. The total strength of the Filipinos under arms in the neighborhood of Manila was estimated at about 30,000, of whom some 20,000 are supposed to have engaged in battle. The men of the Eighth Army Corps under General Otis who participated in the fighting numbered about 13,000. Considerable masses of insurgent troops reentranced themselves at points lying several miles out of Manila, and the American army was obliged to follow

up the main engagement of Saturday and Sunday by battles which, if they had occurred otherwise than as subsidiary to so large an engagement, would have been deemed of no little importance. The upshot of the matter was that the insurgents, although fighting with intelligence and bravery, were wholly unable at any point to make a successful stand against the American soldiers, even though our troops were in much smaller numbers; and thus within a week the much-vaunted army of Aguinaldo had been thoroughly defeated, totally demoralized, and virtually dissipated and scattered. It had no resource left but guerilla fighting from swamps and hills.

The Eighth Army Corps, which has shown such magnificent fighting qualities, is made up in great part of volunteer regiments from the Western States and Territories, although the Tenth Pennsylvania and the First Tennessee are also in the Philippines. The regulars of the Fourteenth Infantry were conspicuous in the fighting and had their full



MAP OF THE BATTLEFIELD.

(From data supplied the New York Sun by Gen. F. V. Greene.)



ROAD TAKEN BY OUR TROOPS FROM MANILA TO CALOOCAN (WITH STEAM TRAMWAY LINE.)

proportion of the losses. A majority of the regiments at Manila were enlisted west of the Missouri River. The two divisions of the Eighth Army Corps are commanded by Maj.-Gens. Thomas M. Anderson and Arthur MacArthur. Each division is made up of two brigades, with Brig.-Gens. Harrison G. Otis, Samuel Ovenshine, Charles King, and Irving Hale in command. These are some of the excellent officers who—with many others competent to lead large bodies of troops—are now having experience of warfare which will give them great potential value to the United States in years to come. While scientific study such as our officers pursue at West Point and in the military school that General Otis himself established at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, is indispensable and must be henceforth cultivated more than ever, there is, after all, no great war school but war itself. To have led men in actual fighting is what makes a general. The tuition of the past year has vastly increased our strength for possible future warfare. Certainly we have no anticipation of war on a large scale; but the world's knowledge of our ability to fight—and, above all, its knowledge that we have the men who can handle fleets with deadly efficiency and lead soldiers into battle with the certainty of success—is the greatest factor in our security.

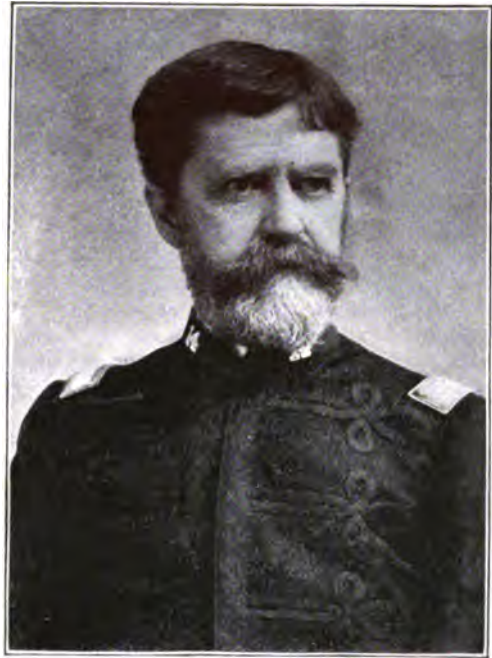
A Vindication of the American Army. The military facts about this unfortunate war between the forces of the United States and those of the Philippine insurgents are certainly important; and it

is proper in the highest sense that the admirable work of our soldiers, from General Otis down to the men in the ranks, should have the fullest credit and recognition. Any mistakes of organization or method in the Santiago campaign of last summer which might have seemed to reflect upon the army of the United States must be regarded as fairly atoned for by the machine-like precision and truly American efficiency of organization and management that characterized the fighting of last month in the Philippines. No one entitled to be taken seriously has ever cast aspersions upon the bravery of American soldiers, nor yet upon their unequaled individual excellence. In the Philippines, where our soldiers have had some long months for drill and discipline, and where our officers also have had due opportunity to become acquainted with their environment and the conditions under which warfare would have to be waged, there have been exhibited as fine military qualities as could be asked. The rebels were not fighting Spaniards.

Elsewhere in this number of the Review there will be found a sketch of General Otis, with remarks upon the account he has given of himself in these last few weeks. It is enough to say that General Otis, who, like Admiral Dewey, is a quiet, unostentatious man, is a credit to his country and to its armed services. He has made himself of great value not merely in the immediate fact of his victories over the Filipinos, but also in the enhanced respect for the quality and character of

the American nation that the whole civilized world has felt, in view of the spirit in which General Otis has risen to the situation and shown himself easy master of circumstances.

Aguinaldo Chiefly to be Blamed. When a frightful event like this bloody conflict of February 4 and the succeeding days occurs under circumstances deeply involved in political controversy, there is always a temptation to take a censorious tone and distribute blame with freedom and severity. But since what has happened cannot be undone, it must be the part of practical wisdom to accept facts and make the very best possible use of such lessons as the country can derive from a calm study of the situation. There need be no undue haste about rendering the final verdict of history upon the causes of the most destructive battle of all that have occurred since the war for the emancipation of Spain's colonies began just four years ago. Regular readers of this magazine will not fail to remember that we have always treated with sufficient respect and sympathy the efforts and desires of the Filipinos to rid themselves of Spanish rule; nor have we at any time joined in the chorus of contemptuous disparagement of Aguinaldo that has become so general in the American press. Nor are we even yet prepared to exclude the Philippine insurgents from all claim to human sympathy. There is something to be said from their point of view; and the people of the United States can always afford to give a patient hearing to all sides of questions which vitally concern



MAJ.-GEN. THOMAS M. ANDERSON.

this country. Nevertheless, although the impartial historian will doubtless find much excuse and perhaps some commendation for the Philippine insurgents as a whole, it must be said plainly that the principal blame for the conflict of February, 1899, will probably be visited upon Aguinaldo himself.



UNITED STATES SOLDIERS IN THE FORMER SPANISH FORT OF MALATE (WITH SPANISH CANNON).

It is scarcely sufficient to bring indictments for manslaughter against the United States Senate or any members thereof on the ground that the Senate was proceeding too deliberately in its action upon the treaty of Paris. The discussions in the Senate that involved the fate of the treaty took place partly in open session and partly behind closed doors, and we shall never be officially informed of everything that was said in the great debate. But we must beg our readers to believe, whether their sympathies were with the majority or with the minority, that the discussion was, upon the whole, an exceedingly credit-

able one, and that no patriotic American has any cause to blush or hang his head by reason of the position assumed on the one hand or on the other. This estimate of the debate is by no means due to indifference or to lukewarmness as to the questions involved. The treaty of Paris had been made with great deliberation. Our commissioners who made it were thoroughly representative of American public opinion, were of unimpeachable character and patriotism, were highly qualified and well advised in matters of constitutional and international law, and were thoroughly acquainted with the historical, political, and diplomatic phases of the questions with which they had to deal.

The Argument for Promptness. The treaty as they completed it and signed it was the best that could have been made under the circumstances for the two nations engaged in its negotiation. Its prompt ratification, in order that there should be no harmful period of suspense, was greatly to be desired. So long as the treaty remained unratified there still existed, in a technical and legal sense, a war between Spain and the United States. Many interests of many nations were in one way or another affected by the questions which this treaty was designed to settle. Fortunately, the cession of Porto Rico to the United States and the Spanish abandonment of sovereignty and military occupation in Cuba had been definitely provided for in the peace protocol, and thus it was possible to proceed in the West Indies as if the treaty had been ratified. In the Philippines, however, the case was very different. The peace protocol of August 12 had provided that the United States should occupy the city of Manila and the harbor and bay pending a definite settlement of the question of the future government of the Philippine Islands to be worked out in the subsequent treaty negotiations. Thus when the treaty commissioners met at Paris the one great question for discussion was the future of the Philippines, and the whole world looked on with keen interest. When that question was at length decided at Paris, all interests required that the decision be ratified and put into effect with the least possible delay. The Filipinos had a right to know their fate.

The Philippine Question Unlike the Cuban. For reasons that convinced the judgment of all the members of the American peace commission at Paris, while also convincing the President and all the members of his Cabinet, it seemed clearly best that Spain should be eliminated from the political future of the Philippine Islands, and that the United States should take the place of Spain and

proceed upon a legal title that the European nations would not dispute. If the Philippine article in the treaty had been modeled upon the Cuban article and had merely provided for the relinquishment of Spanish sovereignty, the resulting situation would have been an extremely



BRIG.-GEN. CHARLES KING, SOLDIER AND NOVELIST.

uncertain one. The United States would have been left in actual possession of the city of Manila. This country would not have acquired any claim, technical or otherwise, to any part of the Philippine Islands that it was not actually holding. Thus there would have been great danger, not merely theoretical, but most concrete and practical, that a game of grab would have set in, the end of which nobody could have foretold. The German navy would have made a seizure without any delay at Iloilo or elsewhere, on the theory that possession is nine parts of the law. And the success of the Germans at Kaio-Chau would have justified a like experiment in the Philippines. It is not necessary to portray at length what would probably have happened if the United States had not secured from Spain the sort of title that European powers recognize as valid. But the risk would have been serious.

The Only Chance for Filipino Freedom. The actual plan, if at all unfavorable to the future creation of a native Philippine government, was at least the only possible arrangement under which such a government had the ghost of a chance. Far from being full of imperialistic dreams and

ambitions, the people of the United States were, of all people on earth, the most entirely devoid of any such longings. Gentlemen like Mr. Carnegie, Mr. Schurz, and the solicitous Bostonians of the Anti-Imperialist League, have simply been so very much preoccupied with the expression of their own point of view that it has apparently not occurred to them to ascertain the opinion of the country. They have been combating what has had no existence except in their own excited imaginations. Nobody in the United States has shown any unseemly wish to lord it over the Malays. On the contrary, the ruling sentiment has been the feeling that it was undoubtedly the business of the United States to stand by those Malays and to see that they should reap some really substantial benefits from the disappearance of their Spanish oppressors. As matters stood, then, the only means by which the tranquillity of the Philippine Islands and the development of the Filipino race along the line of its supposed aspirations could be achieved, lay in the out-and-out cession of the islands by Spain to the United States. This was the necessary first step.

*The Logic
of
Ratification.*

It was, in our opinion, unfortunate that all of the Democratic members of the United States Senate could not see this as clearly as Senator Gray saw it. He, however, had been in the responsible position of helping to make the treaty. It is not for a moment to be supposed that there are any well-known Democratic members of the Senate who, if they had been in Senator Gray's place at Paris, would

not have reached exactly the same conclusion. Ratifying the treaty when the facts were rightly understood did not carry with it any decisions whatever touching the future policy of the United States in the Philippines. It was simply a preliminary to be observed before the country could proceed to have any policy at all. It was to be regretted that the Senators were not able to look at it in this light, so that they might have ratified the treaty first and talked about American policy afterward. That would have been the logical order of procedure. The Senatorial minority, however, did not look at it in that light. Certainly it will not be thought seriously discreditable that the Senate should hold the treaty a full month before reaching a vote. Minorities must be allowed to talk.

*No Excuse
for
Aguinaldo.*

The point to which this discussion of ours has been tending is simply this: All the circumstances of the delay at Washington were of a sort that ought to have made Aguinaldo the more friendly, rather than the less friendly, toward the United States. For, unquestionably, the Senatorial discussion only served to bring out ever more clearly the fact that there was no eagerness on the part of the people of the United States to exploit the Philippine Islands for their own purposes, regardless of the wishes and well-being of the native inhabitants. Aguinaldo and his friends, if they had been unselfishly desirous of promoting the best interests of the Philippine people, might well have awaited the deliberate processes of the

Senate with entire composure; for it was certain that if the treaty should be ratified and the United States should accept the cession of the Philippines, the natives would in the future have to deal with a just and liberal government. If, on the other hand, the United States Senate should have decided at the end of its remarkable debate to modify the Philippine article of the treaty, there was no reason to believe that the rights and interests of the natives would not be carefully safeguarded before the United States should have relinquished Manila. Thus in either case the Filipinos had no possible ground for making war against the United States.



A GLIMPSE OF PHILIPPINE FIGHTING.

Our presence in the islands had been a great boon to the inhabitants. It was reasonable that we should be allowed some time in which to develop and explain our plans and intentions.

An Untrustworthy Leader. The action of Aguinaldo and his generals in precipitating an attack on the American army does not of necessity prove that the Filipinos may not in due time become as fit for self-government as the Japanese themselves. But it certainly does demonstrate clearly the fact that the present insurgent leaders are not the men who could establish a Philippine republic in which the world at large would have confidence. In short, it has been shown beyond all controversy that there do not now exist in the Philippine Islands the elements out of which a suitable autonomous government could possibly be created. Aguinaldo has some qualities of a very exceptional sort, as was shown in the interesting character sketch of him that we published last month; but he is not a Washington nor yet a San Martin or a Bolivar. He and his young associates do not rank favorably, in our judgment, with the best of the contemporaneous young Cuban leaders, some of whom are described in a sketch that will be found elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. If he had been a wiser and more unselfish man he would have seen plainly that Admiral Dewey, who had brought him back to the Philippines last May, and but for whom the Filipino insurrection was hopelessly dead, was entitled to his complete and unlimited confidence and co-operation.

The Filipinos as Revolutionists. The Filipinos have no such claims on the score of their revolutionary record as the Cubans. The Philippine population is almost, if not quite, six times as great as that of Cuba; but the Philippine insurrection of 1896 did not occur until Spain was well pre-occupied in Cuba and was sending the great bulk of her troops to that island. Thus the Cuban patriots, led by Gomez and his associates, were fighting against an army of 200,000 Spanish soldiers. The Filipinos, on the contrary, with their vastly larger population to array against the Spanish, had to face a comparatively small European army. A good many of the native troops enrolled under Spanish officers went over to the camp of the insurgents. Nevertheless, the Spaniards, under Gen. Primo de Rivera, completely quelled the insurrection, and Aguinaldo and the other insurgent chiefs by agreement left the islands. We have no disposition to reflect upon the courage or pertinacity of

these insurgents. Yet it is proper to remark that they renewed the rebellion only after the United States had virtually paralyzed the Spanish power in the islands. In Cuba, on the contrary, the insurgents had fought against enormous odds for more than three years when the United States went to war, and it was undoubtedly their purpose to go on single-handed if the United States had not come to their aid. Aguinaldo's insurgent army in the Philippines is one that has been recruited and armed, in the main, since the capture of Manila by the United States. A very considerable part, indeed, of Aguinaldo's forces had been gathered after the signing of the peace protocol. Aguinaldo had pretended that while the United States would be highly welcome in the Philippines, the islands would not willingly pass into the hands of any other power. He was therefore holding together an army in order to be able to resist any other disposition that Spain might attempt to make in case the United States should prefer to withdraw. His attack upon the army of the United States was clearly an act of treachery, and his intelligence is too great to admit the charitable supposition that this attack was due to a misunderstanding. His complete failure will have forfeited the confidence of the Philippine people. On the other hand, the humane treatment of the many hundreds of insurgent war prisoners captured by the American army will have served a very useful purpose in showing the natives that the Americans know how to be kind as well as firm.

The Right Man is On Hand. General Otis is perhaps the best man in the American army for the particular situation that has to be faced at the present time in the Philippines. He understands how to deal with men as well as he under-



DEWEY TO OTIS: "WHAT NEXT?"
From the Journal (New York).

stands the art of warfare. Under his general authority, with the loyal coöperation of the other able officers associated with him, the hardy Western volunteers who make up the greater part of our army in the Philippines have been so trained and disciplined that they are very possibly the most efficient soldiers at the present moment that can be found anywhere in the world. General Otis' long experience in the West had made him thoroughly acquainted with every element of the population. He knows how to deal with cowboys and he has had his fill of Indian fighting. His experience with Indians serves him in excellent stead in fighting the Filipinos, whose methods are in some respects not unlike those of our own aborigines. General Otis is undoubtedly the most conspicuous figure that the activities of the American army in the past year have brought into prominence. He is a man of untiring energy, of sterling character, of thoughtful and studious tastes, and of very superior intellectual endowments. The American army may well be proud of him, and the country may feel some

such confidence in him as it feels in Admiral Dewey. His position has not been embarrassed by any attempt to hamper him with instructions from Washington. He will be thoroughly justified, from every point of view, in continuing energetic measures until the insurrection is entirely suppressed. He and his troops were as lawfully and rightly occupying their quarters at Manila as if they had been in camp at San Francisco. Aguinaldo's attack was abominable and wanton in its treachery, and it has merited severe punishment. The complete pacification of the islands will probably be brought about at a much earlier day for this clearing of the atmosphere.

The Taking of Iloilo. The lesson which the Tagal insurgents received on the outskirts of Manila doubtless served to render the capture of Iloilo much easier than it otherwise would have been. The Visayan insurgents were in possession of that great seaport, and they had assembled for its defense an army of a good many

thousand men. Brig.-Gen. M. P. Miller had been sent by General Otis to take Iloilo, with the Eighteenth United States Infantry, the Fifty-first Ohio Volunteers, Battery G of the Sixth United States Artillery, the First California Volunteers, and the First Tennessee Volunteers. Some of our men had been obliged for many days to remain on board the transports. It had not been thought desirable to bombard Iloilo or proceed with violent measures while the peace treaty was still unratified. After the events of February 4, 5, and 6 at Manila, however, and the cabled news of the ratification of the treaty



ILOILO, THE SECOND CITY OF THE PHILIPPINES, SHOWING THE HARBOR AND ITS DEFENSES.

at Washington on the 6th, word was immediately sent by General Otis to General Miller which gave a new face to the situation. The insurgents received an ultimatum, by the terms of which they were to evacuate Iloilo before the evening of the 11th, under penalty of bombardment and assault. On the specified day, after a brief bombardment, the insurgents fired the native part of the city and withdrew. The American army and navy suffered no losses, and the American flag was duly raised over the second port of the Philippine Islands. The non-combatant part of the native population, including influential merchants, will have welcomed the advent of an American administration; and with their influence it is to be believed that no great time will be required to induce the scattered insurgent bands in the Visayas as well as in Luzon to give up the hopeless fight. The native movements are not unified, and Aguinaldo was not in authority over the insurgents who held Iloilo. There is no rational basis for further resistance.

*A Campaign
Throughout
the Islands.*

Nobody could have imagined a year ago that, as a result of our righteous determination to protect the *recontrados* in Cuba, we should within a twelve-month have entered upon a thorough-going campaign against the native races for the possession of the numerous islands of the Philippine archipelago. Yet that is what is now taking place; and although it is easy to phrase the kind of sarcasms and ironies that the critics of President McKinley's policy are employing, one may search in vain for a man who can frame a practical and sensible argument against doing precisely what is now being undertaken. With an ample supply of light-draught gunboats for entering the many shallow harbors of the chief local ports of Luzon, Panay, Negros, Mindanao, and various other islands, and with the considerable reinforcements of soldiers, ships, and military and naval supplies that have been sent, our fully trusted leaders, Dewey and Otis, will pursue a swift and firm course in establishing the authority of the United States. Whereupon there will follow the best times for the Filipinos that they have ever known. President McKinley's speech at Boston on February 16 before the Home Market Club was not only an eloquent defense of his policy, but a perfectly sane and satisfactory account of the situation. There is not the slightest reason to hesitate, to doubt, or to be half-hearted. This country is doing its duty, and the results will vindicate the policy pursued. Before the end of the present month General Otis will have twenty-five thousand soldiers, and the rebellion will be brought to an end in very short order. What Mr. Kipling calls the "white man's burden" will be borne manfully by the Americans now sweltering in the tropical heat of Luzon.



GORMAN AS THE BLIND LEADER OF THE BLIND ANTI-EXPANSION DEMOCRACY.

From the *Herald* (New York).

*The Treaty
in the
Senate.*

The peace treaty was duly ratified on February 6 by a vote which gave the necessary two-thirds of the Senate and one to spare. The opponents of ratification were nearly all Democrats; the exceptions were Senators Hale, of Maine, and Hoar, of Massachusetts. Rightly or wrongly, the country for more than a year has looked upon



SENATOR GORMAN, WHOSE LAST EFFORT BEFORE RETIRING TO PRIVATE LIFE WAS TO DEFEAT THE PEACE TREATY.

Senator Hale's position as a purely personal one, unrelated to any consistent principles of public action. The witty remark that Boston is "not a place, but a state of mind" has been very frequently repeated in connection with the peculiar polemics that certain Bostonian and Massachusetts people have fulminated against the treaty; and in that same sense it would seem to be true that Senator Hoar's negative vote, like his brilliant and memorable speeches in the debate, was the expression of a certain phase of intellectual activity, bearing no close relation to practical affairs or concrete statesmanship. Those Democrats in the Senate who possess a particularly clear grasp upon foreign affairs, like Senator Morgan and Senator Gray, strongly supported the treaty. The opposition was led by Senator Gorman, of Maryland, whose views on large matters of public policy had never previously been regarded as of conclusive weight. Mr. Gorman, who for so many years was the arbiter of Demo-

cratic politics in Maryland, had lost his prestige at home, and having failed of reelection was about to retire from public life on March 4. His attempt to defeat the treaty was generally regarded as an effort to reinstate himself as a leader of the national Democracy upon an issue which might lift him into prominence as a Presidential candidate next year in rivalry with Mr. Bryan, who had very sensibly from the beginning perceived and stated that the only logical thing to do was to ratify the treaty first and then proceed afterwards to discuss the question of a Philippine policy.

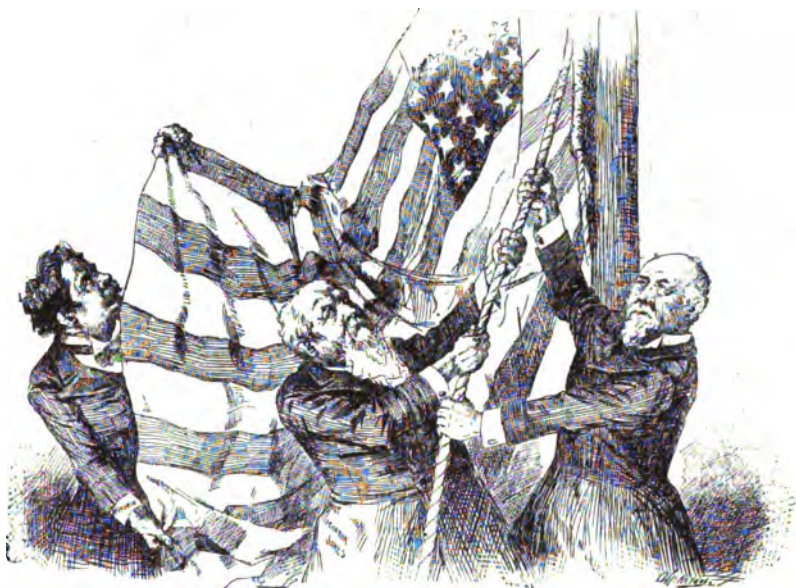
*The
McEnery
Resolution.*

At the last moment, when the fate of the treaty hung in the balance and its opponents believed that they had securely rallied the requisite number of votes to defeat it, Mr. McEnery, of Louisiana, and Mr. McLaurin, of South Carolina, came over to the side of ratification. They were induced to change their position by the assurance which certain friends of the treaty gave them that a resolution introduced some time previously by Mr. McEnery would be accepted by the Senate. Various resolutions had been debated for several weeks, having for their purpose the expression of the views of the Senate touching the future policy of the United States in the Philippines. Of all these, the one that was acquiesced in was the least objectionable and clearly the most nearly in accord with the sentiments of Congress and the country. In accordance with private and informal agreements, Senator McEnery's resolution was passed in the Senate by the small vote of 26 to 22 on February 14. It reads as follows:

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That by the ratification of the treaty of peace with Spain it is not intended to incorporate the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands into citizenship of the United States, nor is it intended to permanently annex said islands as an integral part of the territory of the United States; but it is the intention of the United States to establish on said islands a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants of said islands, to prepare them for local self-government, and in due time to make such disposition of said islands as

will best promote the interests of the citizens of the United States and the inhabitants of said islands.

It should be borne in mind that this vote has no binding significance, and represents merely the sentiment of those individual Senators who actually voted. They might exactly as well have stated their views in the newspapers, so far as any determination of the country's policy is concerned. The present Congress expires, by limitation, on March 4. Its successor, chosen last November, was elected with very considerable



SENATORS M'LAURIN, M'ENERY, AND JONES, WHOSE UNEXPECTED SUPPORT SAVED THE TREATY.—From the *Herald* (New York).

reference to the issue raised by what is called the "expansion" policy. Its actions will doubtless have a good deal to do with determining the nature of the American administration of the Philippine Islands. But nothing could well seem more fatuous and useless than for a few individuals at the present moment, before the country has had an opportunity fairly to acquaint itself with the Philippine situation, to endeavor to lay down the lines of the country's permanent policy. There is nothing sensible to do but to proceed step by step. Posterity will be very much better prepared to settle its own questions than are the present members of the United States Senate to shape future events. The McEnery resolution, however, shuts no doors and undoubtedly expresses the present views of a large number of people. Certainly nobody proposes to admit the Philippines, as a whole or in parts, into the American federal union. The McEnery resolution was not voted upon by the House.



THE MANILA CITY HALL, WHERE AMERICANS NOW ADMINISTER THE MUNICIPALITY.

In due time we shall probably learn to what extent the Philippine delegation to this country, led by Agoncillo, had been responsible for precipitating the conflict of February 4-5. It is alleged that Agoncillo had sent a telegram advising the attack, with the idea that the American troops would be off their guard and would thus meet with heavy reverses. Such a blow, it was supposed, would add so much to the strong feeling already manifested against the expansion policy as to prevent the ratification of the treaty without radical amendment of the Philippine article. If the Filipinos could, for instance, inflict such punishment upon the American troops at Manila as the Abyssinians had inflicted upon the Italians several years ago, it was to be inferred that the United States would have as little appetite for further adventures in Asiatic waters as the Italians had shown for African empire after their chastisement. The first news of the clash found Agoncillo prepared to leave this country; and he hastily withdrew to Montreal, where he established himself and proceeded to communicate from time to time with the Philippine juntas in Europe, at Hong Kong, and elsewhere. Agoncillo, like most of the Filipino leaders, is very young, and makes the impression of cleverness rather than of trustworthy and responsible character. He was never officially recognized at Washington, and this fact, it is said, greatly piqued his vanity. Obviously, until after the

ratification of the treaty between the United States and Spain Agoncillo was merely a rebellious Spanish subject, and there was no legal basis upon which the Government of the United States could have any diplomatic dealing with him. He was, however, brought into rather close relations with a greater or less number of those well-meaning but sadly misin-

AGONCILLO ALSO RAN—TIME, A MILE A MINUTE.
From the Tribune (Minneapolis).

formed American visionaries who were preaching the doctrine that President McKinley's policy meant a wicked enslavement of the Filipinos, and that it was our duty at once to recognize Aguinaldo, Agoncillo, and the rest as the responsible heads of an actually established "*Republica Filipina*." These American citizens meant no harm; but they were actually engaged in a mischievous business, because they were helping to give this inexperienced and imperfectly educated young Malay stranger a wholly false conception of the real feeling of the people of the United States. Whether or not he urged Aguinaldo to precipitate hostilities, it is undoubtedly true that Agoncillo's advices from this country gave the insurgent leaders, who were carrying on their operations at Malolos, in the island of Luzon, an entirely mistaken idea. Agoncillo made considerable use of the printing-press while at Washington, and although his memorials to the Secretary of State and to the Senate were ignored in official quarters, they were given to the newspapers and distributed in pamphlet form. They do not compare favorably with the manifestoes that the Cuban delegation was wont to issue.



MARTI BURGOS

(Of the Filipino delegation.)



FELIPE AGONCILLO.

The
Size of
Our Army.

The fact that the rapid expansion of the army last spring was due to the patriotic impulse of

men who enlisted for the war has made it obvious that a corresponding shrinkage must occur when the war is technically declared at an end. Within a few days or weeks the exchange with Spain of formal notices of treaty ratification will be regarded as legally completing the period of war. But there will still be needed a good many more soldiers than the number that had been comprised in the maximum legal strength of our regular army previous to the war. It was supposed a few weeks ago that there would be no

difficulty in carrying a measure through Congress providing for a permanent increase in the army. The so-called Hull bill, bearing the name of Mr. Hull, of Iowa, chairman of the House committee in charge of army matters, has had the support of the President and the War Department. Under its terms the President would have authority to enlist an army up to a maximum of 100,000 men. The bill passed the House on January 31 by a vote of 168 to 125; but it found the Senate obstinate, in spite of the efforts of Senator Hawley, chairman of the committee. There is manifest throughout the country a very great desire to keep the army down to the smallest possible limits. It



J. LUNA.

(Of the Filipino delegation.)

has become evident that with the exercise of good judgment in dealing with Cuban matters, we shall be able rapidly to turn over to the Cuban people the maintenance of order, so that American troops may be safely withdrawn in a short time. A strong force will be required in the Philippines

for a limited period; but after a reasonable opportunity has been given the Filipinos to understand the spirit and purpose of American methods, we shall need large bodies of United States troops there no more than the English need European armies to govern the Straits Settlements or the Dutch to maintain authority in Java. What we do need unquestionably is a moderate increase in the size of our standing army, a very great improvement in the efficiency of our militia organization, a material increase in the number of young men educated as officers, the employment of regular officers to some extent in connection with the National Guard organization, and, in short, the maintenance of an effective army skeleton which can be rapidly filled up in case of war. The approach of the end of the session had, as this number of the REVIEW was being closed for the press, occa-



THE ARMY BILL HAS THE COUNTERSIGN—WILL IT PASS HIM?

From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

sioned considerable anxiety lest the differences of opinion in Congress should prevent the passage of any army bill whatsoever. President McKinley had declared that in such a case he would be obliged to at once call the new Congress to Washington in extra session, inasmuch as the exigencies of the situation absolutely required some army legislation. The practicable thing would have been to pass the Hull bill, in view of the fact that it could be amended at any time in the future. The opponents of the Hull bill proposed as a substitute to allow the President to keep the regular army up to its present strength of about 62,000 men for two years longer, and to enlist 35,000 native troops under American officers in the islands now occupied by our forces. It seemed probable as we went to press that a compromise would be adopted. The people do not want politics in army legislation any more than in navy bills; and permanent reorganization might well await the reform of the War Department.

*The
Nicaragua
Canal.*

Another of the measures which it had been confidently expected that this Congress would pass was the bill providing for the construction of the Nicaragua Canal under the auspices of the Government. While a very great majority of both houses were strongly in favor of the canal, there were powerful adverse interests at work

which succeeded in getting the measure entangled in the meshes of controversy over matters of detail. Transcontinental railroads have always been the most dangerous enemies of the project, and they know how to work for confusion and delay without appearing upon the scene. It is to be hoped that the further delay of the canal undertaking may result in the adoption of the ideal method of construction and control. More important to the United States than the annexation of the Philippines or Hawaii or Porto Rico would be the annexation of a strip across the Central-American isthmus, including Lake Nicaragua and a few miles of shore line on both coasts. The army and navy of the United States might then with the utmost care and deliberation decide upon the best plans for a canal; and it should be directly constructed by the Government. Far from being a burdensome expense, it would be a magnificent investment. Senator Morgan had succeeded, late in February, in having his canal bill attached as a rider to the regular river and harbor appropriation bill. But with Speaker Reed as the unyielding opponent of the canal plan, the immediate prospect seemed forlorn.

*The Easy
Punishment
of Eagan.*

The court-martial which tried Eagan, the commissary-general, for conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, found him guilty. The penalty prescribed by law for his offense is dismissal from the army. The President of the United States has power to mitigate the penalty, and Mr. McKinley exercised that power. Eagan, instead of being dismissed, was suspended for the five or six years that remained before he would go upon the retired list by reason of having reached the limit of age. He retains the title of commissary-general, draws the full salary of the office, \$5,500 a year, and is exempt from all obligation to render any service. The work of the commissary-general must now be done for a term of years by a man who will enjoy neither the full rank nor the full salary. This man, as it happens, is Col. John F. Weston. He has the reputation of being a man of education and ability, with especial scientific qualifications for the business of supplying the army with food. The country has not shown any approbation of Mr. McKinley's lenient treatment of so flagrant an offender as Secretary Alger's commissary-general. That leniency has only served to increase the uneasiness of the country over what is deplored as an alarming political domination at Washington that is endangering the morale and reputation of the army and making competent officers feel that they are not safe unless they are personally protected by political patrons.

*The Army
Commission's
Report.*

The army inquiry commission, which began its work some months ago by appointment of the President and permitted itself to be used as the vehicle through which Eagan gave forth his elaborate vulgarities, made its report on February 8. The inquiry had been undertaken, as was supposed, for the purpose of subjecting the management of



Photo by Prince.

COL. JOHN F. WESTON, WHO SUCCEEDS TO EAGAN'S DUTIES.

the war to a close and critical scrutiny. The War Department of the United States is a branch of the most powerful executive government on the face of the earth; and in a period of foreign war this particular department is potent beyond all the others. The people best qualified to throw light upon mistakes and misdeeds in the management of the war were, for the most part, officers and soldiers; but these members of the army are so completely at the mercy of the War Department that it requires no little courage to say anything in the way of criticism. A board of inquiry like that appointed by the President can accomplish nothing of use to the country unless it makes its first solicitude the protection and encouragement of those witnesses who might throw light upon the matters to be investigated. This is exactly what President McKinley's commission did not

do. Unfortunately, from the very outset it acted as if its one object was to protect the War Department against aspersions. So extraordinary seemed its zeal and its bias against fault-finders where it ought to have been at least as fair as a tribunal of justice, that its labors produced the very opposite effects from those that it appeared to desire. The management of the war was in most respects, as we have always believed, exceedingly creditable to Mr. McKinley and to the administration. But the methods by which this commission has sought to help the reputation of the administration have been damaging rather than helpful. It would scarcely seem worth while to review in detail the findings of the commission, for they will not settle any controverted questions. Probably the one thing that will give this commission a lasting place in the history of the war will be its praise of the army beef in the face of testimony from a great host of officers who were in immediate command of many thousands of men, to the effect that their soldiers were furnished with canned beef that was not only lacking in nutrition, but was positively nauseating, and the direct cause of a good deal of army sickness.

*The
New "Beef"
Inquiry.*

The beef question is one upon which General Miles has apparently staked his military reputation. It has now gone to a regular army board of inquiry, to which it ought at the very outset of the complaints to have been committed. This board is composed of the following officers: Maj.-Gen. Jas. F. Wade, Brig.-Gen.



MAJ.-GEN. JAMES F. WADE, OF THE "BEEF" INQUIRY BOARD.

George W. Davis, Col. George Gillespie, Lieut.-Col. George B. Davis, recorder. It began its investigation on February 17. The War Department has felt very bitter toward General Miles, and deeply aggrieved because he gave to the newspapers his collection of testimony from army officers, showing the badness of the so-



Photo by Aime Dupont.

GEN. GEORGE L. GILLESPIE.
(Member of the army board of inquiry.)

called "canned roast beef" that had been furnished to their troops. But the matter was a serious one, and it concerned the public. If General Miles had not given this testimony to the newspapers and thus created a great body of public opinion demanding some action, there is some reason to fear that the military inquiry would not have been ordered. The public judges fairly in these matters; and good, rather than harm, is to be expected from the fullest publicity. The trouble is that the country has lost confidence in the War Department, irrespective of "beef."

It is not practicable for the whole 70,000,000 people of the United States, the 50,000,000 of Germany, and the 40,000,000 of Great Britain to enter very deeply into the merits of the dispute in Samoa as to whether Mataafa ought to be king or the young heir of the late Malietoa. And yet the question in some sense concerns all of the 160,000,000 progressive and enterprising people who have taken it upon themselves, under a tri-

partite arrangement, to oversee the governmental affairs of that little group which used to be known as the Navigator's Islands, and which is commonly called Samoa. These islands lie on a direct line between Hawaii and New Zealand, at the half-way point. The Germans, who are intensely hungry for islands and colonies, have for some time been trying to gain the upper hand in Samoa, and a few weeks ago they behaved in a very extraordinary manner. Mataafa, who had made himself troublesome as a rebel chief and rival claimant, had been sent away to another group of islands some years ago. He was allowed, however, to come back last year, under promise not to conspire or make trouble. He did not keep the promise, it is said, and when Malietoa died and the tribes were face to face with the choice of his successor, Mataafa was prepared to make it appear that he was the elect of the nation. This was disputed by the supporters of the son and heir of the late King, and in accordance with the tripartite treaty the rival claims had to be submitted to the chief justice of the islands, whose decision was to be final and accepted on all hands. Now it happens that the chief justice is an American—Judge William Chambers, of South Carolina. The direct representatives of the treaty powers are the three consuls, besides which the Germans control the office of the president of the municipal council of the capital town, Apia. The Germans had formerly been opposed to Mataafa and his pretensions, but more



IS THIS AN ANGLO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE?
KING MALIETOA TANUS: "Don't you do dat, Samoa!"



CHIEF JUSTICE CHAMBERS, OF SAMOA.

recently they had taken him up as their *protégé*. The English and Americans, on the other hand, while perfectly ready to accept the decision of Justice Chambers, were undoubtedly disposed to favor Mataafa's young rival, Tanus Malietoa. Full descriptions have appeared of the momentous scenes in the court-room of Justice Chambers while the tribesmen, with their advisers and legal counsel, were setting forth the claims of the respective candidates for the kingship. Justice Chambers decided against Mataafa on December 31. Whereupon the Germans incited the followers of Mataafa to make war upon the adherents of Malietoa II., the latter being unprepared for hostilities. The Germans had a warship in port and so had the English, while, unfortunately, the Americans had none. The captain of the English warship landed marines and guarded the chief justice and the English and American inhabitants.

*The Sequel
Yet to
Appear.*

A United States vessel was promptly ordered to Samoa, and it remains to be seen what the sequel will be. The important thing is that the three powers which have agreed to protect Samoa should send there thoroughly good and able men. There is every reason thus far to believe that in Consul-General Osborne and Chief Justice Chambers the United States is very satisfactorily represented, while England also has had an excellent consul in Mr. Maxse and an eminently efficient naval commander in Captain Sturdee, of the *Porpoise*. It is not so certain that Germany is creditably

represented. In one of the Samoan islands the United States owns a valuable harbor, Pango Pango, which it is proposed to utilize at an early day as a coaling-station. It seems probable that the treaty of Berlin, made in 1889, will have to be revised in order to remove the liability to friction. The German, English, and American governments are all investigating the facts, and the German Government is said to have given assurances that if the Germans at Apia have exceeded their rights under the treaty they will not be supported at Berlin. English commercial interests are much larger than our own in the Samoan islands, and the English residents are perhaps ten times as numerous as the American. We shall in any case retain our hold upon Pango Pango harbor, and it is scarcely likely that our Government will be disposed to relinquish its share in the protectorate of the group. It ought not to be possible, however, that the practical working of a little arrangement for the joint oversight of a few thousand South Sea Islanders could endanger for a single moment the good relations between great powers. And yet under existing conditions there is real danger. The recent strife reached a point where warships in the harbor might easily have been brought into action against each other. The Germans have hoped that the obvious annoyances of the tripartite arrangement might dispose England and the United States to withdraw and allow Germany to annex the group; but this solution is not very likely to be adopted.

*Germany
and the
United States.*

Samoa can and must be made an example of contentment, peace, and good order, with reasonable liberty for native habits and customs, under general control of the white race. American influence has accomplished marvels in Hawaii; English direction has completely transformed the Fiji group; Germany has been notably successful in the Marshall Islands; and it would be a pity if these three great civilizing powers, any one of which could take excellent care of Samoa, should make bad work of it when they attempt to do it in coöperation with one another. In the Reichstag at Berlin on February 11 the foreign minister, Baron von Bülow, made a noteworthy speech on the relations of Germany to the United States. It had to do principally with trade questions and the interpretation of commercial treaties. The Germans have naturally been somewhat disturbed over the enormously rapid growth of the foreign trade of the United States, and particularly over the relative decline of the sale of German goods in America. Our differential tariff levied upon European beet-sugar to

countervail the bounty paid to the producers by the German and other governments has been particularly offensive to the German agrarian party. Baron von Bülow's discussion of that subject, however, is not so interesting to Americans as his remarks upon other matters. Speaking of the German squadron in the Philippines, he declared that Germany was



BARON VON BÜLOW, GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER.

guided solely by the legitimate obligations imposed in protecting German subjects and German trade at Manila, and that Germany was never for a single moment disloyal to the duties of an honorable neutrality. He denied in the most emphatic manner the reports that Germany had in any manner lent aid to the Filipinos against the Americans. He declared that the intercourse between the German and the American naval officers at Manila was characterized by a spirit of mutual courtesy. He proceeded as follows: "After the conclusion of the war our ships withdrew from the Philippines, with the exception of a single cruiser. We do not believe that the safety of German citizens was jeopardized under American protection, and we also hope to see an uninterrupted further development of our trade in the Philippines and the West Indies under American rule." Baron von Bülow reviewed in a very interesting manner and with considerable eloquence the long course of friendly relationship between the United States and Germany, and proclaimed in robust and strong terms that there had been nothing in the political atti-

tude of the American Government that gave Germany any cause for objection, and he could see no point where German and American interests were likely to meet in hostility at any time in the future. Prince Herbert Bismarck participated very prominently in the debate that followed Baron von Bülow's formal speech, and assumed an attitude unexpectedly friendly to the United States. Those of us in this country who would comprehend the German position must always bear in mind the fact that the foremost questions in Germany at present are economic ones. The German nation has grown very rapidly in population during the past quarter century, and has developed more rapidly still in manufactures and commerce. The eagerness among the Germans for opportunities to extend foreign trade seems well-nigh ferocious. It is reported, perhaps without any warrant, that Herbert Bismarck is to be sent to Washington as German ambassador. There is ample evidence that Germany wishes to undo the mischief of last year, and regain the American good will.

*Laws
for
Hawaii.*

The annexation of Hawaii must naturally have called for a certain amount of law-making at Washington. The desired measure, a very comprehensive one, for the establishment of a territorial form of government in Hawaii, was framed some months ago by the commission composed of Americans and Hawaiians, the appointment of which was duly noted by the Review at the time. This measure was duly introduced as a bill, referred to the House Committee on Territories, and favorably reported. But so great has been the congestion of business in Congress that there seemed no prospect whatever that the Hawaiian bill could possibly be reached before the expiration of the present body on March 4. The Hawaiian government is in most admirable hands; but the new status produced by annexation raises a great number of legal questions which can scarcely be satisfied except by legislation at Washington. Justice Frear and several other distinguished Hawaiians have spent the winter at Washington, doing all in their power to promote enactments in pursuance of the accomplished fact of annexation. But nothing short of war can arouse Congress to a recognition of emergencies, and everybody believes that Hawaii will manage somehow to tide over minor embarrassments and keep the wheels of administration running smoothly until the Fifty-sixth Congress can dispatch some of the unfinished business passed on to it by the Fifty-fifth. It is possible, of course, that the Hawaiian bill may yet be passed at the eleventh hour.



M. ÉMILE LOUBET, NEW PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

*The New
President of
France.*

The ever-increasing strife over the Dreyfus question and the daily talk of monarchical revolution in France were interrupted on Thursday night, February 16, by the sudden death of President Faure, resulting from a stroke of apoplexy. The prediction was at once rife that the occasion would be seized for a Bonapartist pronunciamento and the entry of a pretender on horseback. Quite contrary to such dire forebodings, however, a lucid interval of calm good sense was providentially vouchsafed to the French nation. The torn and sundered Republican factions saw the necessity of agreeing without delay upon a presidential successor; and they reached a sound conclusion in a spirit of fine patriotism for which no words of praise are too strong. The candidate agreed upon was M. Émile Loubet, President of the Senate. Loubet comes from the Rhone Valley, in southeastern France, and is a lawyer by profession; but he has been in public life, first as a member of the Chamber of Deputies and afterward as a Senator, for almost a quarter of a century. He was a cabinet minister in the early part of 1888 and was prime minister in 1892. The ministry of which he was the head went into retirement in the strife over the Panama collapse. Like his pre-

decessor, M. Faure, the new president is a man thoroughly respected by all parties for personal integrity, all-around abilities, and those domestic virtues that the French people, contrary to a false impression entertained in other countries, so highly esteem in a public man. The most important thing to be noted about President Loubet is his well-known belief that the Dreyfus case ought by all means to be revised, and that the civil order should prevail over the military in times of peace. The election was held on Saturday, February 18, at Versailles, and out of 817 ballots that were cast, 483 were received by the successful candidate. The anti-Dreyfus elements, now known as the "anti-revisionists," had combined upon M. Méline as their candidate and polled 279 votes for him. The remaining 50 or 60 votes were cast for various candidates. The success of the revisionists was greatly to be desired. There had been a desperate controversy, waged in the Chambers as well as outside, over the question whether the entire body of judges belonging to the Court of Cassation should take the Dreyfus case out of the hands of that section of the court which ordinarily deals with criminal matters. This question, though important, does not necessarily touch vital principles.

*King Oscar
and Prince
Gustave.*

The health of King Oscar of Sweden has for some time been impaired, and on January 21 he had attained the ripe age of three-score and ten. Whereupon, having borne the burdens of the very active and responsible headship of two ever-quarreling states



KING OSCAR OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY.
(Retired temporarily on account of ill-health.)

for more than a quarter of a century, he decided to step aside and give his oldest son an opportunity to try his hand. King Oscar's retirement was "provisional," and his return to the throne was announced on February 20. But the Crown Prince Gustave, who was forty years old last June, will probably continue henceforth to aid his father in public tasks. Although the difficulty is on a much smaller scale, the strain between Sweden and Norway bears some resemblance to that between the discordant halves of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy; and King Oscar in certain respects has had an even more unhappy experience than the Emperor Francis Joseph. Oscar has been amply entitled to respect for his personal character and his high attainments, both as a statesman and as a scholar and man of letters. In Sweden he has always enjoyed the utmost consideration. But the Norwegians have regarded Oscar as belonging to the Swedes rather than to themselves, and would have preferred to set up an independent republic. Humble rev-

erence for kings is a state of mind that is not easy for the Norwegians to assume. It remains to be seen what luck Prince Gustave will have in coming years in his attempts to reconcile Norway to the union with Sweden.

*Affairs
in Spain.*

The Spanish mind seems to be adjusting itself to the changed conditions that 1899 brings, with a good deal of practical sense and with some slight perception of the humorous side of a situation that certainly has its less serious aspects. Our friends throughout the Iberian peninsula are taking a vast deal of comfort out of exaggerated reports of the difficulties that Uncle Sam is thought to be encountering in the ex-Spanish colonies. Spain's ministerial departments number one less



THE CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY.
(Recently acting as prince regent.)

than last year; for the great Colonial Office, with its big building in Madrid and its elaborate executive organization, has retired from business and closed the shop, so to speak. The soldiers that have been exposed to so many hardships for three or four years in Cuba and for more than two years in the Philippines have nearly all been "repatriated"—to use a word that we have lately taken over from the Spanish. There is still much anxiety, however, in Spain about the prisoners which the Filipino insurgents had not given up last month, although General Otis' vic-

tories have enabled many of these prisoners to escape and to reach Manila. All the Spanish newspapers have been prating in their wonted rhetorical fashion about "reconstruction and reform" at home; and it is now freely admitted that the loss of the colonies is to be viewed not altogether as a disaster, but also as a relief. Señor Sagasta has managed to keep the reins of power in his hands, and the Carlist conspiracy does not seem as formidable as a month ago. The Cortes assembled on Monday, February 20, with the expectation that Sagasta and the cabinet would make a full explanation of all that had happened in recent months, including the circumstances of the peace treaty of Paris. Poor Señor Rios, who had no wish whatever to head the Spanish treaty commissioners, and who rendered his country the very best services in his power at Paris, has been compelled to resign his position as president of the Senate on account of the unpopularity which has resulted from his signing away the colonies which Spain had inevitably lost. There is no possible reason why Rios should be made the scapegoat, yet such is the way of Spain. Each of the naval captains whose ships were lost at Manila and Santiago is to have the opportunity to make his explanations before a court-martial. The Spanish press admits that the Americans are effecting sanitary reforms in Cuba in a jiffy that Spain had neglected for centuries.



SPAIN TO MCKINLEY: "Go on, don't be discouraged, I've got rid of my troubles, and yours won't last more than a hundred years or so."—From *Don Quixote* (Madrid).

The Cause of International Peace.

The question of the disarmament conference continues to hold a prominent place in Europe. Lord Salisbury's acceptance of the Czar's invitation has given satisfaction to the friends of the peace movement in England, as well as to the government of Russia. The Vatican has pronounced its blessing upon the cause, and is giving active assistance. Mr. W. T. Stead has been carrying on an incessantly active crusade all over England, arousing public opinion in favor of disarmament and aiding in the organization of local committees. The movement is one which is appealing strongly to the working classes, because they are the principal sufferers from the burdens of militarism. They are beginning to see that a moderate proportion of the vast sums now yearly expended upon war appropriations would suffice to inaugurate a scheme of old-age pensions that would go far toward abolishing poverty. The marked courtesy of Germany, on the one hand, and England, on the other, toward France on the occasion of President Faure's death, is a good sign and must in a measure make for peace. The relations of the United States with all nations were never more satisfactory than at the present moment. The impression that we are at odds with Germany has no foundation. There are no difficulties whatever, apart from arguments about tariffs, sugar differentials, meat inspection, and like questions affecting the trade of two eager, energetic, commercial nations. It is to be hoped that mutual concessions may remove all these points of commercial friction, but, meanwhile, it is absurd to suppose that anything endangers peace and amity between these two great nations. The Joint High Commission for the settlement of questions between Canada and the United States had not completed its work when these pages were written, and it was understood that the Alaska boundary question was proving a hard one to settle. But the commission will at least have accomplished a great deal, and, meanwhile, the relations between the two English-speaking powers were never so good as at present. Our new ambassador to London, Mr. Choate, was the recipient of very flattering attention as he said farewell in New York last month, and he was assured of as hearty a welcome at London as any ambassador has ever received in any land.

Trouble in Macedonia.

The settlement of the Cretan question by virtue of the joint action of the powers, and the appointment of Prince George of Greece as governor bids fair to prove entirely satisfactory. Meanwhile, the position of Macedonia, where the Turks still rule unrestrained, as they formerly ruled in Bul-

garia and Bosnia, is so extremely bad that a furious outbreak seems imminent. It is all the more important, therefore, that the great powers hold their peace conference, improve at all points their mutual relations, and jointly deal with the Macedonian difficulty to the end of bringing about some such happy transformation as has been accomplished in Bosnia and as may be hoped for in Crete.

War and Invention. One of the proposals of the tentative programme of the peace conference drawn up by the Russian government takes the line of forbidding the use of new inventions and improved mechanical ideas in the wars of the future. At the very moment when this proposal was sent out the French were plumbing themselves upon their success in perfecting a really workable type of submarine torpedo boat; the English were celebrating the launching of the hugest and most powerful warships ever built, and were improving the mechanism of war in all possible ways; and the German Emperor was winning the praise of experts for a new style of rifle that he had invented and that was expected to yield particularly deadly results. Whatever the peace conference may accomplish, it will certainly fail to get the nations to use obsolete weapons in future wars, or to undertake to fight with their hands tied behind their backs. The horrors of war are not to be lessened by persuading people to revert to the days of bows

and arrows, and other primitive weapons. On the contrary, it is more probable that the fearful advance of invention in the field of destructive apparatus for war will make war less and less feasible for civilized peoples, and will hasten the advent of perpetual peace.



HON. NATHAN B. SCOTT.

(Senator-elect from West Virginia.)



THE PEOPLE ARE WILLING.

WISCONSIN LEGISLATURE: "Yes, turn the Senatorial election over to the people. I don't care to tackle the job again."

Parties in England. In England, where Parliament is in session once more, the Conservatives hold their prominence and prestige by virtue of a series of really remarkable successes. Lord Kitchener's wonderful triumph; the backdown of the French over the Fashoda matter; the new agreement with Germany, by virtue of which England has leased Delagoa Bay, outwitted President Kruger, of the Transvaal, and virtually settled the South African difficulty; above all, the popularity of the new policy of Anglo-American friendship; and last, but not least, the successful launching of the Irish local government measure—have given the Conservatives a strong claim upon the support of the country. Foreign questions have been uppermost; and the bulk of the Liberals, with Lord Rosebery at their head, have supported the Salisbury administration in external matters. Sir William Harcourt has virtually retired from active participation in the guidance of the Liberal party, and has not succeeded very well in making his crusade against the ritualists of the established church a dominating party issue. Mr. John Morley, who is entirely out of sympathy



HON. WILLIAM A. CLARK.
(Senator-elect from Montana.)

with Lord Roseberry and the imperialist wing of the Liberals, has begun to write the life of Gladstone and will leave the Liberal party to its fate. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the new Liberal leader in the House of Commons, has made a good beginning. We shall have more to say about Irish questions, and other matters of British domestic policy, next month.

Senatorial Elections and Deadlocks. The month of February provided its full share of the melancholy object lessons that are creating a great sentiment in favor of the direct election of United States Senators by the people. As we go to press, the scandalous deadlock at Harrisburg, Pa., remains unbroken, although Senator Quay's reelection now seems extremely improbable. The untiring Addicks, moreover, whose ambition to reach the United States Senate has occupied the almost exclusive attention of Delaware legislatures for years past, still holds his minions in shaken phalanx, with the consequence that a Republican legislature must select Addicks or a Democrat. It happens that the Democrat in question is none other than the present incumbent Senator Gray. It is hard to think of so valuable a statesman as Senator Gray retiring to private life in deference to the ambition of Mr. Addicks.

The best possible service that the anti-Addicks Republicans of Delaware could render to the Republican party would be to join the Democrats in voting for Mr. Gray. In California the scandals that have enveloped the still unsettled senatorial struggle have compelled the Speaker of the Assembly to resign his position. U. S. Grant, Jr., at last accounts, continued to hold the top place in the list of candidates. In Montana, after a hard fight and sensational charges of bribery, the mining millionaire, Mr. William A. Clark, was elected to succeed Mr. Mantle. Eleven Republicans aided his election. The new senator is for sound money, and is announced as favoring the expansion policy. The Hon. Nathan B. Scott, Republican, has been chosen by the West Virginia legislature to succeed Senator Faulkner, a Democrat. The Hon. Roger Q. Mills, of Texas, will no longer appear in the Senate, and in his place will be found the popular ex-Governor Charles A. Culberson. The Wisconsin Republicans, after a protracted contest, agreed upon Joseph V. Quarles, who accordingly succeeds Senator Mitchell, Democrat. The State of Washington has elected Mr. Addison G. Foster, Republican, to the seat from which Senator John L. Wilson retires. Hon. P. J. McCumber has been chosen from North Dakota. In several other States there have occurred reelections of existing Senators.

The Congressional Library Plan. The country has come to feel a great pride in the Congressional Library at Washington, which seems to be in process of transformation into a national library corresponding with the British Museum and the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of France. So long as the library was housed in its cramped quarters in the Capitol building it did not receive much consideration. But since the removal into its magnificent new home—the finest library building by far in the whole world—its possibilities have become a matter of common note. For that reason the question of the appointment of its chief executive officer, to succeed the late John Russell Young, has been deemed a matter of importance to the intellectual and educational world. It was regarded as desirable that this office should be kept as free from politics as a university presidency. That President McKinley was fully appreciative of the situation became evident when it was known that he had offered the position to Mr. Herbert Putnam, of the Boston Public Library. Mr. Putnam is the chief executive of a system that makes more than 700,000 volumes serve as a highly important part of the work of education and culture that is going on in the most enlightened of American cities; and there is no



HON. SAMUEL J. BARROWS.
(The new librarian of Congress.)

man in the country, perhaps, of whom it could be said with equal certainty that he could make the Congressional Library a magnificent success. But Mr. Putnam decided to remain in Boston; and Mr. McKinley's next choice fell upon the Hon. Samuel J. Barrows, also of Massachusetts. Mr. Barrows completes his first term as a member of Congress on the 4th of the present month. He was born in New York City in 1845 and has had a career remarkable for its varied experiences. The summing up of this career as given in the Congressional Directory is worth reprinting here; and we give it in full, as showing what a city boy can do who has his own way to make and who is determined to overcome obstacles. We have entered upon the period of great town populations, and it would be disheartening indeed to imagine that no young man dependent upon his own energies could make his way to high position unless he had obtained a start on a farm! Mr. Barrows began as a New York City office-boy, and the record runs as follows:

Samuel June Barrows, of Boston, was born in New York City May 26, 1845; after a primary-school education he entered, at nine years, the employ of R. Hoe & Co., New York, as errand boy and telegraph operator; with the exception of one year spent at the public schools, he remained nine years with this firm; studied at night school; learned shorthand; enlisted in the navy at nineteen, but was not mustered in on account of ill-health; practiced as a stenographer; was reporter for the *New York Sun* and *New York World*; in 1867 became phonographic secretary to William H. Seward,



MR. HERBERT PUTNAM.
(Librarian of the Boston Public Library.)

then Secretary of State; remained in the Department of State until 1871, and served part of the time in the Consular Bureau and Bureau of Rolls; accompanied Chaplain Newman, of the Senate, to Utah in 1870, and reported the debate with the Mormons; entered the Harvard Divinity School in the fall of 1871 and was graduated with the degree of B. A.; while at Harvard was Boston correspondent of the *New York Tribune*; accompanied as correspondent of the same paper the Yellowstone expedition in 1873, under the command of General Stanley, and the Black Hills expedition in 1874, commanded by General Custer; took part in 1873 in the battles of Tongue River and the Big Horn; spent a year at Leipsic University and studied political economy under Roscher; was settled as pastor of the First Parish, Dorchester (Boston), Mass., in 1876; resigned in 1881 to become editor of the *Christian Register*, which position he held for sixteen years; spent the year 1892-93 in Europe studying archaeology in Greece and visiting European prisons; was secretary of the United States delegation to the International Prison Congress at Paris in 1895, and prepared the report transmitted by the Secretary of State to Congress; was appointed by President Cleveland in 1896 to represent the United States on the International Prison Commission; has been for fourteen years chaplain of the Fifth Regiment Massachusetts Militia; was elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress as a Republican, receiving 17,747 votes, against 14,259 votes for Boardman Hall, Democrat, 2,612 votes for W. L. Chase, Independent Republican, and 5 votes scattering.

Mr. Barrows' appointment was satisfactory to the librarians and educational people of the country, who believe that a man of his type and qualities will know how to take good counsel and make use of the best results of technical library experience.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From January 20 to February 18, 1899.)



REAR-ADMIRAL BUNCE.

(Whose last active duty was the command of the Brooklyn Navy Yard.)



COMMODORE PHILIP.

(Who succeeds Admiral Bunce [retired] in command of the Brooklyn Navy Yard.)

THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN—PROCEEDINGS CONNECTED WITH THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF CUBA, PORTO RICO, AND THE PHILIPPINES.

January 23.—Gen. Robert P. Kennedy, of Ohio, Lieut.-Col. Curtis Guild, Jr., of Massachusetts, and Charles W. Watkins, of Michigan, are appointed by the Secretary of War to serve as a colonial commission.

January 26.—An agreement is reached between General Brooke and General Wood to the effect that the Santiago customs receipts are not to be used in other provinces, but are to be mortgaged to defray the cost of works now in progress in Santiago....The Twentieth United States Infantry leaves San Francisco for Manila.

January 30.—A steamer arrives at Barcelona with 1,250 Spanish soldiers from Cuba, 350 of whom are seriously ill, 56 having died on the voyage.

February 2.—General Gomez gives assurance that he will cooperate with the authorities of the United States to secure the disbanding of the Cuban insurgent army on payment by the United States of \$3,000,000. . . . The United States transport *Buffalo* arrives at Manila with reinforcements.

February 4.—The Filipinos make a night attack on the American lines near Manila and are driven back with great loss; the Americans lose 49 killed and 148 wounded.

February 5.—At daybreak Admiral Dewey shells the positions of the Filipinos about Manila; their casualties are very heavy, probably 2,000 being killed, as many more wounded, and 4,000 being made prisoners; the United States troops participating in the two days' fighting are the Fourteenth Infantry (regulars), the Third and Sixth Artillery, the Utah Light Artillery (volunteers), the First Washington, First Nebraska, First Idaho, First South Dakota, First Colorado, First California, First Tennessee, First Wyoming, First Montana, and Tenth Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry.

February 6.—General Henry, military governor of Porto Rico, dissolves the insular cabinet....The last of the Spanish soldiers in Cuba, with ex-Captain-General Castellanos, leave the island, and evacuation by Spain is complete.

February 7.—The Philippine rebels in the vicinity of Manila are reported in full retreat; the American lines are extended nine miles beyond the city.

February 8.—Aguinaldo, the Philippine rebel chief, asks for a truce and a conference with the American commanders.

February 9.—Henry Curtis, of Iowa, is appointed in place of Lieut.-Col. Curtis Guild, Jr., as one of the three colonial commissioners of the War Department....In Porto Rico General Henry appoints Francisco Acuna to be secretary of state, Dr. Coll secretary of finance, and Federico Degetan secretary of the interior.

February 10.—The American forces bombard and capture the town of Caloocan, near Manila, a stronghold of the Philippine insurgents....The treaty of peace with Spain, having been ratified by the United States Senate, is signed by President McKinley.

February 11.—The city of Iloilo, P. I., is bombarded and taken by the American forces under General Miller after a brief resistance by the Filipinos; fires started by the latter are put out by the American troops....The American troops again attack the Filipino insurgents north of Manila and drive them into the interior; the American loss is 4 killed and 32 wounded; the *Monadnock* and the *Charleston* shell the insurgent camp from the bay.

February 12.—The American forces under General Miller capture the town of Jaro, near Iloilo.

February 14.—The California, Washington, and Idaho volunteers and the Sixth Artillery engage the Filipinos on the outskirts of Manila and force them back into the jungle.



VICE-ADMIRAL SIR H. F. STEPHENSON, R.N.

(Who has retired from command of the Channel Squadron.)



VICE-ADMIRAL SIR H. H. RAWSON, R.N.

(Who succeeds to the command of the Channel Squadron.)



HON. JOSEPH V. CHARLES.

(Senator-elect from Wisconsin.)

February 16.—At a banquet of the Home Market Club in Boston President McKinley defines the policy of the United States in dealing with the Philippines.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS.

January 20.—The House passes the post-office appropriation bill; Speaker Reed appoints Representative Sereno E. Payne (Rep., N. Y.) chairman of the Ways and Means Committee.

January 21.—The Senate, by a vote of 48 to 6, passes the Nicaragua Canal bill, so amended as to provide that no payments shall be made to the Maritime Canal Company unless the President shall decide to construct the canal under the company's concessions, and authorizing the President to negotiate for canal concessions elsewhere if Nicaragua and Costa Rica should refuse such concessions as would secure to the United States complete control of the canal.

January 23.—The Senate, in executive session, discusses the promotions of Admirals Sampson and Schley.... The House, by a vote of 93 to 78, passes the bill extending the United States navigation laws to Hawaii.

January 24.—The Senate considers the peace treaty.... The House begins consideration of the Hull bill for the increase of the army.

January 25.—The Senate passes the bill providing for the erection of a building for the Department of Justice at a cost of \$1,000,000.

January 26.—The Senate considers the pension appropriation bill.... The House continues debate on the army reorganization bill.

January 27.—The Senate passes the pension appropri-

ation bill; Mr. Platt (Rep., N. Y.) speaks in opposition to the Vest anti-expansion resolution.... The House continues debate on the army reorganization bill.

January 28.—The Senate passes the diplomatic and consular appropriation bill.

January 30.—In executive session of the Senate correspondence concerning the peace treaty is read.

January 31.—The House of Representatives, by a vote of 166 to 126, passes the army reorganization bill.

February 1.—The House begins consideration of the river and harbor appropriation bill.

February 2.—By a vote of 160 to 7 the House passes the river and harbor appropriation bill.

February 4.—The House passes the Military Academy appropriation bill.

February 6.—The Senate ratifies the treaty of peace with Spain by a vote of 57 to 27; Messrs. Allen, Butler, and Harris, Populists; Cannon and Teller, Silver Republicans; Jones, of Nevada, and Stewart, Silver; Kyle, Independent, and ten Democrats—Messrs. Clay, Faulkner, Gray, Kenney, Lindsay, McEnery, McLaurin, Morgan, Pettus, and Sullivan—vote with the Republicans for the treaty, while two Republicans, Messrs. Hale and Hoar; two Populists, Messrs. Heitfeld and Turner, and one Silver Republican, Mr. Pettigrew, vote with the Democrats against it.... The House passes the census bill.

February 8.—The Senate passes the Indian appropriation bill.

February 11.—The Senate passes the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill.

February 13.—The Senate passes a bill to revive the grade of admiral in the navy and the agricultural appropriation bill.... The House considers the sundry civil appropriation bill.

February 14.—The Senate, by a vote of 26 to 22, passes the resolution of Mr. McEnery (Dem., La.) declaring



HON. P. J. McCUMBER.

(Senator-elect from North Dakota.)

against the policy of a permanent annexation of the Philippines.... In the House Mr. Hepburn (Rep. Iowa.) offers the Nicaragua Canal bill as an amendment to the sundry civil appropriation bill.

February 15.—By a vote of 137 to 109 the House in committee of the whole sustains the ruling of the chair that the Nicaragua Canal bill as an amendment to the sundry civil appropriation bill is out of order.

February 16.—The Senate passes the Military Academy appropriation bill.... The House strikes out, on a point of order, the item in the sundry civil bill appropriating \$20,000,000 for the payment to Spain under the terms of the peace treaty.

February 17.—The Senate passes the naval personnel bill.... The House passes the sundry civil appropriation bill, having sustained Speaker Reed's ruling against the Nicaragua Canal amendment.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

January 24.—The Texas Legislature elects ex-Gov. Charles A. Culberson (Dem.) United States Senator; the New Jersey Legislature elects John Kean (Rep.) United States Senator; Senator Clark (Rep., Wyo.) and Stewart (Silver, Nev.) are reelected by the Legislatures of their respective States.

January 25.—The West Virginia Legislature elects Nathan B. Scott (Rep.) United States Senator.... The court-martial trial of Commissary-General Eagan on charges of conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman in making certain statements concerning General Miles is begun in Washington.

January 28.—The Montana Legislature elects William A. Clark (Dem.) United States Senator, 11 Republican members voting for him.... President McKinley appoints Representative Sereno E. Payne (Rep., N. Y.) on the Canadian-American commission to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Representative Dingley.

January 30.—Speaker Wright, of the California Assembly, resigns the speakership after a motion to expel him, on account of bribery charges, is defeated by a vote of 60 to 10.

January 31.—The Wisconsin Legislature elects Joseph V. Quarles (Rep.) United States Senator.... In the caucus of Republican members of the Washington Legislature Addison G. Foster is nominated for United States Senator.

February 1.—The War Department orders the muster-out of nearly 15,000 volunteer soldiers.

February 2.—A Republican caucus of members of the House of Representatives votes to refer the subject of banking and currency reform to a committee to report at the first session of the next Congress.

February 6.—As the result of an official investigation it is found that more than 10,000 cans of meat sent to Cuba by the Government are unfit for food.

February 7.—President McKinley sentences Commissary-General Eagan to suspension from duty for six years.

February 8.—The commission appointed to investigate the conduct of the war with Spain makes its report to President McKinley.

February 9.—An army court of inquiry, consisting of Generals Wade and Davis, Colonel Gillespie, and Lieut.-Col. George B. Davis, is appointed to investigate the charges of General Miles in relation to the beef supply.

February 11.—President McKinley nominates Horace A. Taylor, of Wisconsin, for Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

February 15.—The Democratic State Committee of Minnesota passes a resolution reaffirming the Chicago platform of 1896.... President McKinley nominates Representative Samuel J. Barrows, of Massachusetts, for Librarian of Congress and George W. Wilson, of Ohio, for Commissioner of Internal Revenue to succeed Senator-elect Nathan B. Scott, of West Virginia.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

January 20.—M. Méline replies in the French Chamber of Deputies to accusations in connection with the Dreyfus case.... In the Hungarian Chamber of Magnates a motion calling for the intervention of the crown in the present crisis is rejected by 90 votes to 69.

January 21.—Lord Kitchener is appointed governor of the Soudan.

January 22.—In Belgium a cabinet crisis exists on account of differences between King Leopold and some of his ministers over the electoral system.

January 23.—King Oscar, of Sweden and Norway, owing to ill health, intrusts the government to Crown Prince Gustave.



HON. ADDISON G. FOSTER.

(Senator-elect from Washington.)

January 25.—The Italian Chamber reassembles and discusses the Franco-Italian convention.

January 27.—By an imperial decree published in Finland, the knowledge of Russian is made obligatory on all the high officials of Finland.

January 28.—The Bulgarian Cabinet resigns on the question of Macedonian autonomy.... The Australian premiers and the premier of Tasmania meet in conference at Melbourne to consider the question of federation.

January 30.—The French Chamber of Deputies refers

to a committee the bill requiring retrials to go before the entire Court of Cassation.

January 31.—M. Grekoff forms a new Bulgarian ministry.... A debate takes place in the German Reichstag on the bill to appropriate 8,500,000 marks to the maintenance of Kiao-Chau; the second reading passes.... In the French Senate the commercial convention with Italy passes by 248 votes to 40.

February 1.—Lord Hallam Tennyson is appointed governor of south Australia.

February 2.—The Australian colonial premiers, in conference at Melbourne, reach a unanimous agreement on the federation bill.

February 4.—The Spanish cabinet votes to abolish the office of minister of colonies.

February 5.—Street riots arising from the Dreyfus agitation take place in Marseilles and Algiers.

February 6.—Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is chosen leader of the Liberal party in England, to succeed Sir William Vernon Harcourt.

February 7.—The British Parliament meets.... John Dillon resigns the leadership of the Irish Parliamentary party.

February 8.—The trial-revision bill is submitted to the French Chamber of Deputies.

February 9.—The British House of Commons, by a vote of 221 to 89, rejects an amendment to the customary address to the throne relating to "lawlessness in the Church."

February 10.—By a vote of 332 to 216 the French Chamber of Deputies adopts the trial-revision bill.

February 13.—The British House of Commons rejects by decisive majorities resolutions aiming at a limitation of the powers of the House of Lords.

February 15.—Nicaragua is declared in a state of siege by President Zelaya.

February 18.—M. Émile Loubet is elected President of the French republic by 483 votes in the National Assembly, against 270 votes cast for M. Méline.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

January 21.—In the Prussian Diet an official statement is made concerning the Danish expulsions from North Schleswig.... Secretary Hay holds conferences with the British and German ambassadors to the United States regarding the Samoan difficulties.

January 22.—A British warship is ordered from New Zealand to Samoa.

January 25.—The court established for the arbitration of the boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela holds its first formal session in Paris.

January 26.—The Macedonian Christians publish a memorial to the European powers against murder and robbery by the Turks.

January 31.—Germany gives assurance to the United



TWO PORTRAITS OF SIR HENRY HAWKINS.

(Sir Henry Hawkins has recently resigned from the English High Court of Justice. See page 358 of this number.)

States that the conduct of her agents in Samoa will be investigated.

February 3.—France protests to the Porte against Germany's acquisition of a station on the Sea of Marmora.

February 11.—The British cruiser *Intrepid* is ordered from Kingston, Jamaica, to Bluefields in consequence of the Nicaraguan revolution.

February 12.—It is announced that Great Britain admits the claim of France to an outlet on the Nile.

February 15.—The British Government appoints a tribunal to arbitrate the Argentine-Chile boundary dispute.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

January 22.—The Rev. Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis accepts the call to Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.

January 23.—The New York Stock Exchange does the largest day's business in its history, 1,527,644 shares of stock changing hands.

January 25.—The dock laborers' strike spreads from Colon to Panama.

January 26.—The Rubber Goods Manufacturing Company is incorporated in New Jersey, with a capital of \$50,000,000.

January 29.—A memorial tablet to José Martí, the Cuban revolutionist, is unveiled at the house in Havana in which he was born.... An explosion of gas in a mine near Cartagena, Spain, causes the death of 14 miners.

January 31.—Ten thousand British Protestants join in a great London demonstration to denounce ritualism in the Church of England.

February 1.—A "trust" consolidating most of the Kentucky distilleries is formed.

February 2.—The Czar of Russia gives about \$500,000 for the relief of peasantry suffering from famine, the total gifts for this purpose from his private purse now amounting to \$750,000.

February 7.—The United States battleship *Iowa* arrives at San Francisco.

February 9.—The United States gunboat *Nashville* brings the body of Gen. Calixto Garcia, the Cuban revolutionist, to Havana.... Intense cold everywhere in the United States east of the Rocky Mountains.

February 10.—The executive mansion at Frankfort, Ky., is burned.

February 12.—The corner-stone of the reservoir dam at the top of the first Nile cataract at Assouan is laidSeventeen women patients in the South Dakota State Insane Asylum at Yankton are burned to death in a fire which destroys one of the cottages of the institution....A snow avalanche at Silver Plume, Colo., kills 12 Italian laborers.

February 13.—A severe snow-storm blocked traffic in all the great Eastern cities of the United States; train service is abandoned at New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington; the storm is general throughout the country, the temperature being unusually low....Earthquake shocks are felt at points in Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, and Ohio.

February 15.—The graves of those killed in the explosion of the battleship *Maine* at Havana are decorated on the first anniversary of the event....The great machine-shop in the Brooklyn Navy Yard is destroyed by fire, causing the loss of many valuable engine plans and patterns.



THE LATE REV. C. S. ROBINSON, D.D.
(A leading Presbyterian hymnologist)

OBITUARY.

January 21.—Rev. Arthur D. Bradford, one of the early abolitionists, 80.... Prof. David Henry Sanders, a well-known Baltimore musician.

January 22.—Gen. Michel Annen-Koff, the distinguished Russian engineer, 61.Cardinal A. F. dos Santos Saloa, bishop of Oporto, 69.... Earl Poulett, 72.... Gen. Frederick W. Partridge, of Illinois, a veteran of the Mexican and Civil Wars, 75.... Judge E. W. Woodbury, framer of the first prohibitory law in Maine, 81.

January 23.—Ex-Gov. Romualdo Pacheco, of California.... John Goundry Holborn, M.P., 56.

January 25.—Judge Henry Warren Williams, of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, 69.... M. Adolphe Philippe d'Ennery, a leading French playwright, 88.

January 26.—Ex-Attorney-General Augustus Hill Garland, 66.... Sir John Nugent, 94.

January 27.—Dr. Robert Brinckerhoff Fairbairn, a

well-known theological writer of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 81.... Chief Simon Pokagon, of the Potawatomie Indians, 74.... Evan Jones, one of the leaders of the Populist party.

January 28.—Gen. George Sears Greene, believed to have been the oldest surviving graduate of West Point and the oldest commissioned officer in the United States, 98.... Ex-United States Senator James H. Slater, of Oregon, 73.

January 29.—Dr. R. Fruin, the Dutch historian, 75.

January 30.—Rev. Myron Winslow Reed, of Denver, Colo., 62.



Courtesy of *The Churchman*.

THE LATE BISHOP WILLIAMS.
(Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America.)

January 31.—Rev. Dr. Charles Albert Berry, of Wolverhampton, Eng., 47.Princess Ferdinand of Bulgaria, 29.... Sir Francis Clare Ford, formerly British ambassador at Rome, 69.... Harry Bates, English sculptor, 48.

February 1.—Rev. Dr. Charles Seymour Robinson, editor and compiler of hymn-books, 70.

February 3.—Rt. Rev. William O'Hara, Roman Catholic bishop of Scranton, Pa., 82....

Edmund Aylburton Willis, landscape painter, 90.

February 4.—Frau Amalie Schneeweis Joachim, the eminent alto, 60.

February 5.—Col. James A. Sexton, commander-in-chief of the G. A. R., 55.

February 6.—Gen. Count Georg Leo von Caprivi, former chancellor of the German empire, 68.... Irving Browne, a well-known American legal writer, 64.

February 7.—Rt. Rev. John Williams, bishop of Connecticut and presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, 81.... Capt. Thomas H. Crawford, of Kentucky, a Mexican War veteran, 78.

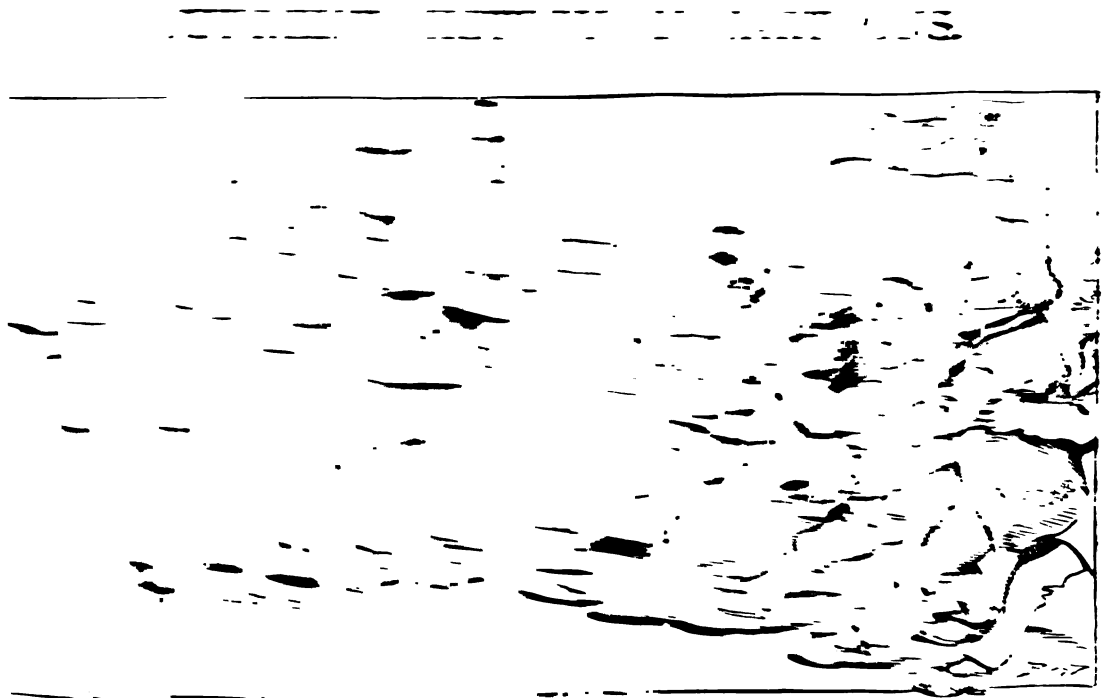
February 10.—Madame Candelario, last survivor of the massacre of the Alamo in 1836, 114.... Dr. James Etheridge, one of the oldest practicing physicians in Chicago, 55.

February 13.—Hugh Ryan, the well-known Canadian railroad contractor, 67.

February 15.—Henry Jones ("Cavendish"), the leading whist authority of his time, 67.... John A. McMurtree, the millionaire railroad contractor of Colorado, 50.... Patricio Milmo, one of the richest foreigners in Mexico, 75.... Sir Joseph William Chitty, of the British Court of Appeal, 70.

February 16.—M. Félix Faure, President of France, 58.

February 17.—Lewis Miller, president of the Chauquan Assembly, 70.



WHO IS TO BLAME

"ANDERSON: "A lot of the blame for the [unclear] and encouragement you have given Minneapolis."



THE MONUMENT OF FATE

UNCLE SAM: "And to think it was I who gave him the gun." From the Tribune, Minneapolis.



ALGER AND EAGAN RECEIVING THE TRIBUTES OF AN APPRECIATIVE PUBLIC.—From the *Journal* (New York).

THERE is no disguising the fact that there is a great contest going on between public opinion represented by General Miles, and the War Department at Washington. It does not follow that the public is correct, however, in saddling all the blame for war-department scandals upon Secretary Alger. Even if he were gone, there would remain a vicious system under which far less conspicuous department personages than the Secretary would continue to play their personal and political games, to the harm of the army and the country.



"WHO WILL HAUL THEM DOWN?"
From the *World* (New York).



THE LIGHT AND SHADOW OF 1900.
From the *Herald* (New York).



UNCLE SAM: "Do I look like one easily fooled?"
From the *Herald* (New York).



THE CONDEMNATION OF EAGAN. AND THE SENTENCE OF THE PRESIDENT IS THAT YOU SHALL HAVE SIX YEARS' VACATION WITH FULL PAY.—From the *World* (New York).



THEY ARE THE SAME



THEY ARE THE SAME'S WELCOME AT BLOLO.—From *Don Quirote* (Madrid).



THE CZAR (to his pet child): "I think you had better go back to bed. You're up too soon, I am afraid."—From *Moonshine*.

This page and the one following show the manner in which the foreign cartoonists are dealing with the Czar's peace-conference proposals. We might multiply the number of such cartoons many fold. The *Sydney Bulletin* suggests that the Russian bear should set the example by pulling his own teeth first; and the whole topic seems to be enveloped in an atmosphere of skepticism and rather ghastly humor. None the less, the Czar is undoubtedly sincere, and the very pessimism of these cartoons is indicative of the dire need of some movement for the emancipation of Europe from a military system that has produced in the ordinary mind a feeling that international peace and good-will are Quixotic ideas.



AN AUSTRALIAN VIEW OF THE RESCRIPT.—From the *Sydney Bulletin*.



SUDDENLY A BOMB FALLS INTO THE DISH AND BURSTS IN "DISARMING"—AND THEY CALL IT PEACE.
From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich).



A DELPHIC UTTERANCE.
"At the disarmament conference the maintenance of the *status quo* will be discussed."—From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).



THE KAISER'S REST.

When the poor fellow was exhausted with reading the gazette from Petersburg after dinner.



A SURPRISE-BOX FOR THE CZAR.
From *Die Berlin*.



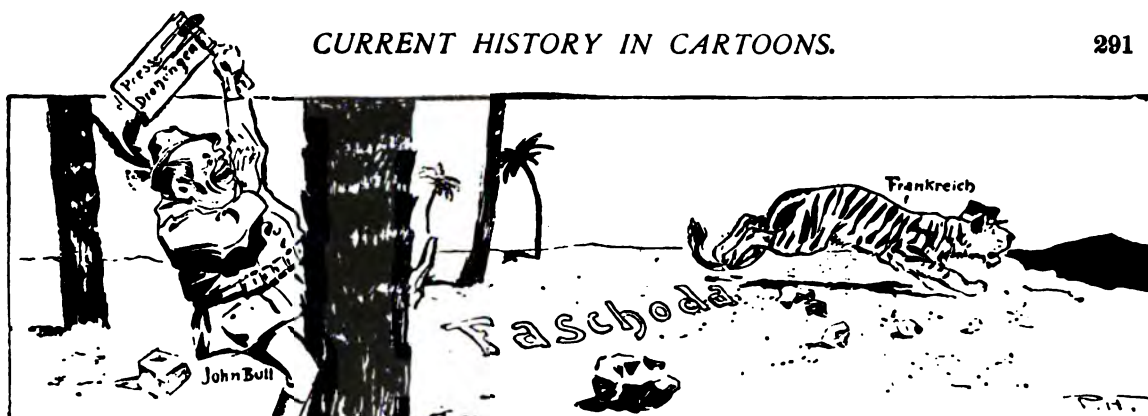
PEACE AND ARMAMENTS.

From (tonguing): "By the Romans Peace was represented by a goddess with a palm branch who had her foot on a pile of weapons." Good! But every year I have to a bundle larger. It is to be hoped that the figure grows!" From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).



THE CZAR AS PEACE-ANGEL.

THE CZAR: "Peace on earth!"
THE POWERS: "Amen! Amen!"—From *Amsterdammer*.



THE NOISY ENGLISH PRESS AND THE SCARED FRENCH TIGER.
JOHN BULL: "How timid this tiger is! He runs from a rattle!"—From *Ulk* (Berlin).



THE "POLICY OF PIN-PRICKS."

FRANCE: "Permit me, monsieur, to build alongside of you."

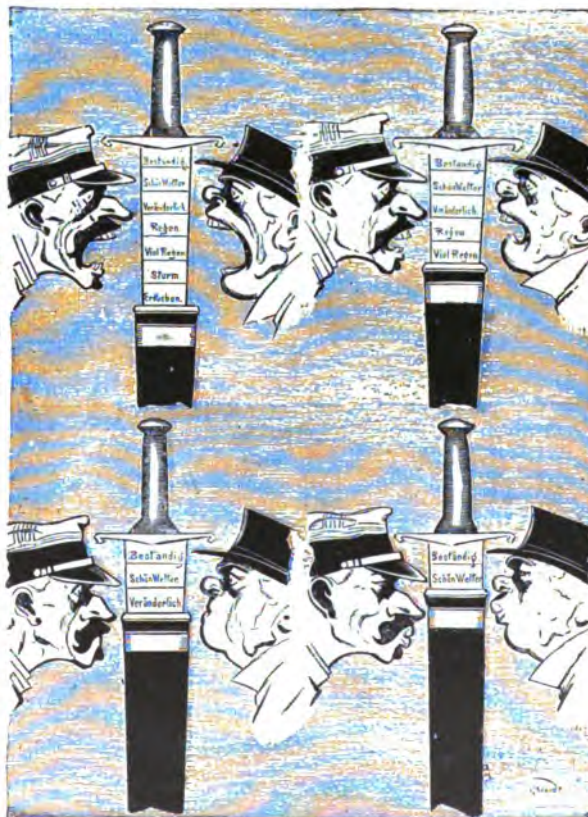
KITCHENER: "I really cannot allow you to build on my land."—From *Fun* (London).

The Fashoda incident, in its dangerous phases as threatening a war between France and England, has already passed into history. We in the United States, however, have been so taken up with our own problems of outside growth and colonial responsibility that we have scarcely appreciated the intensity of the feeling that was aroused on both sides of the channel and the full significance of the affair as it impressed itself upon the European mind. The backdown of France—as intimated in the German cartoon at the top of this page—was largely due to the extraordinary newspaper campaign in England, in which the Liberals joined the Salisbury Conservatives with equal fervor.

The strain of that Egyptian affair, along with the

complexities of the Dreyfus agitation, doubtless had a good deal to do with the development of the conditions which precipitated President Faure's stroke of apoplexy.

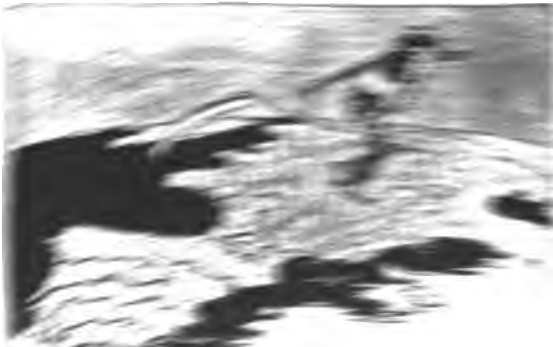
Kladderadatsch's amusing war thermometer at the bottom of this page shows how the conditions gradually changed from the prospect of cyclones to fairish weather. Lord Kitchener has begun bravely with the construction of his great college and trade-school at Khartoum; but, as the English drawing on this page duly shows, there is a firm determination not to allow the French even to join hands in the peaceful work of educating the Soudanese natives.



THE ANGLO-FRENCH WAR BAROMETER.
FASHODA!!! FASHODA!! FASHODA! Fashoda.
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).



THE PALACE OF THE SULTAN AT ISTANBUL. THE SULTAN'S PALACE AT ISTANBUL. THE SULTAN'S PALACE AT ISTANBUL.



THE PAIR OF RIBBONS

"If you really want to cut off the animal's tail, you must first cut off the animal's head." "I prefer to cut it piece by piece so as not to hurt it." From *Humoristische Bilder* (Vienna)

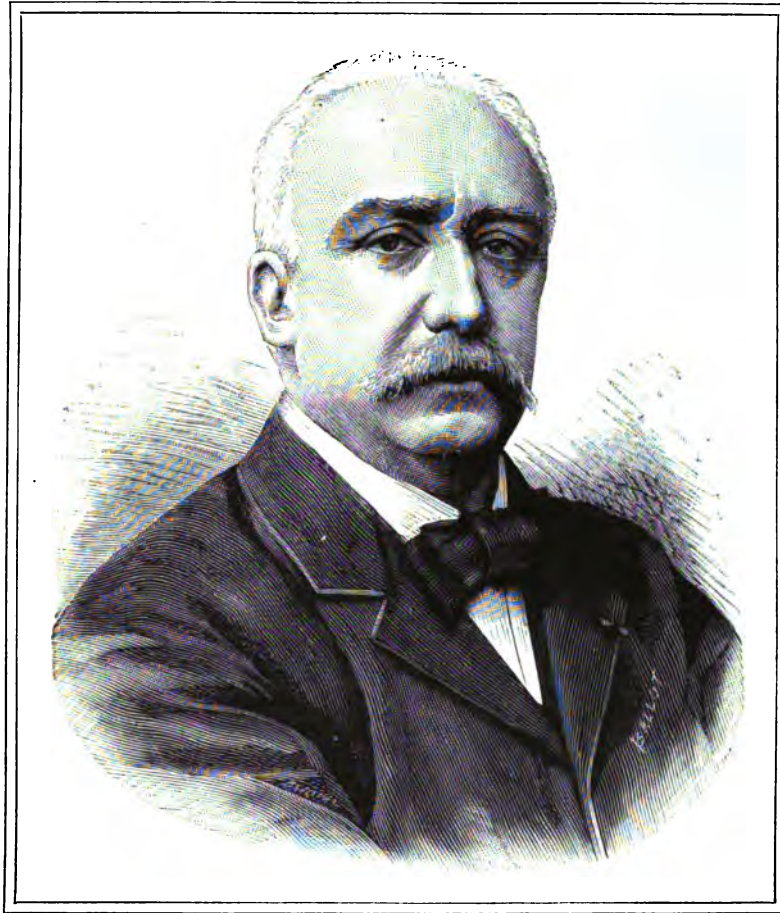


LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD.

"Grandmother, what large teeth you have!" "That is to eat your cake, my child!"

From the *Petit Journal* (Paris).

PRESIDENT FAURE: A SKETCH.



THE LATE M. FÉLIX FAURE, PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

THE president of the French republic, M. Félix Faure, died suddenly as the result of an apoplectic stroke on February 16. He had been elected to the presidency on January 17, 1895, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation and retirement of M. Casimir-Périer. Casimir had thrown up his high office without previous warning on the 15th. In obedience to the French constitution, which calls for the immediate filling of a presidential vacancy, the election occurred two days later, and the new president entered without delay upon his duties.

The theory of the French presidency is not altogether easy for Americans to understand. Casimir-Périer had been in office only a few months, and he had declared in what we may

call his farewell address that the position of a French president is one of great moral responsibility without any actual power, and that the only means by which the president can be of service to his country lies in his possessing in the highest degree the respect and confidence of all classes and all parties. He is expected to exercise his executive authority through a ministry that is responsible to the legislative chambers rather than to himself.

President Faure, on accepting office, declared that he ceased from that moment to belong to any party, in order to become the arbiter of all parties. "It is in this spirit," he continued, "that without distinction of the various shades of Republican opinion I appeal for aid to all the

representatives of the country. We shall always meet on common ground in any work inspired by love of country, devotion to the republic, anxiety for justice, and solicitude for the lot of all our fellow-citizens, especially the lowly and humble."

The French president is elected by a body



PRESIDENT FAURE AND GENERAL BILLOT INSPECTING A CAMP.

composed of the members of the two legislative chambers—the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies—sitting together and constituting a so-called National Assembly. This body does not meet in either of the public buildings (the *Palais Bourbon* and the *Palais Luxembourg*) in which the ordinary sessions of the chambers are held in Paris, but goes out to the historic national palace at Versailles. Elections are usually accomplished very quickly. When President Faure was elected the two prominent candidates were M. Waldeck-Rousseau, who was the first choice of the Moderate Republicans, and M. Brisson, who was the candidate of the Radicals. On the first ballot, however, a larger number of the Moderates voted for Faure than for Waldeck-Rousseau, the division between these two candidates being 185 to 244, while Brisson received 338. Waldeck-Rousseau at once withdrew as a candidate, and on the second ballot M. Faure received 438 votes and Brisson 363.

President Faure had completed the fifty-eighth year of his life on January 30 last. He was one of the few men in French public life who had reached high official position from a business career without having had the advantages of a university or professional educa-

tion. His father was a mechanic and small tradesman; but he was at least able to give his son a good commercial education. Two years of his youth were spent in England for the sake of learning the language and the ways of the country. After returning to France young Faure learned the leather business, mastering the tanner's trade and studying leather and hides from the general business standpoint.

His early business career was at Amboise, a small place where he gave promise of rapid advancement in life, and where, above all things, he had the fortune to marry a young woman of remarkable ability, attractiveness, and good sense, whose father, M. Guinet, was the mayor of the place and in later years became a senator. Young Faure was only twenty-three at the time of his marriage. Not long afterward he decided that Havre was the proper place for him to establish himself permanently in business. Thither he betook himself, and by steady steps he made himself a man of local influence and mark. Having enjoyed a good business training and being possessed of industry and admirable commercial judgment, his position in the business community was soon firmly founded.

The manufacturing industries of France consume a vast deal more of leather than the country itself produces. There must always, therefore, be a reasonably good business opportunity in the field of leather and hide importation. M. Faure possessed the requisite talents, and he mastered a knowledge of the French market on the one hand and the outside sources of supply on the other. From importing on a large scale he became interested in ships and transportation.

A man of smaller caliber and lower character than M. Faure would have been absorbed in the growth of his fortune and the details of his business and would have lived and died a business man, content perhaps to become the president of the Chamber of Commerce of Havre—an honor



M. FAURE'S HOME AT HAVRE.

that our subject speedily attained. But M. Faure had early shown interest in public affairs and had developed intellectual aptitudes while achieving business success. He had become, for one thing, a ready and graceful public speaker by interesting himself in the education of young workingmen in Havre and giving lectures on history to evening classes. His record for many years in Havre was that of a citizen devoted to the best interests of his town and constantly active in all kinds of charitable and educational undertakings. His private character had always been so exemplary and his personality was so agreeable and attractive that before he was thirty years of age he was one of the foremost men of the city.

Thus when the Franco-Prussian War broke out in 1870 (M. Faure being then twenty-nine years of age) he had been for some time a member of the municipal council, serving on its executive committee and holding the honorable position of deputy mayor of Havre. In the war period, after the downfall of Napoleon, his services were utilized by Gambetta, who sent him to England to purchase arms. M. Faure meanwhile held a commission as commander of a company of volunteers, and he led a still larger body of men at Paris, where he helped to put down the Commune and rendered services that were subsequently recognized by the ribbon of the Legion of Honor.

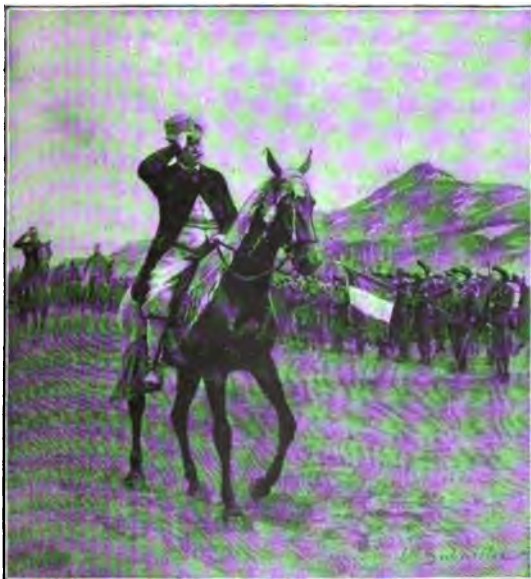
At the age of forty, in 1881, M. Faure was, as we should say, "sent to Congress"—that is, he



M. FAURE WITH THE KING OF SIAM.

was elected by his fellow-townsmen as a member of the Chamber of Deputies. His career up to this point had been in some respects similar to that of the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain. Mr. Chamberlain, it will be remembered, while building up a fortune as a manufacturer at Birmingham, had been a man of wide reading, and had so devoted himself to municipal and local interests that he had become by far the most influential citizen of his town; and when he entered the House of Commons his training for public affairs had compared so favorably with that of the average member that without any appreciable delay he stood in the very front rank. M. Faure had no such aggressive political energy and no such sharp and controversial manner in debate as the English business man in politics with whom we have been comparing him. But there was in the new member of the French Chamber of Deputies a rounded capacity for affairs, an easy urbanity, and a strength of character and purpose that made him a marked accession to the body; and he took rank at once.

In the very first year of his appearance in the Chamber of Deputies he was taken into the ministerial circle by Gambetta, who made him under secretary of commerce and the colonies. His services were similarly demanded in a number of succeeding cabinets, and his financial ability and the very wide range of his information upon all matters having to do with colonial conditions and foreign trade gave him the reputation and standing of a high authority. To the prestige which this reputation gave him there



PRESIDENT FAURE REVIEWING TROOPS IN THE MOUNTAINS OF SOUTHWEST FRANCE.



"NOS DEUX NATIONS AMIES ET ALLIÉES."

(The Czar's toast at the banquet on board the French man-of-war *Pothuau*, at Cronstadt, given by President Faure in honor of the Russian Emperor and Empress.—From *L'Illustration* (Paris).)

was added an exceptionally high popularity among his colleagues, as due to his courteous bearing and attractive personal qualities. Thus for many years he was kept in the office of vice-president of the Chamber. In our own Congress he would probably have been made chairman of the Committee on Commerce and would have stood high in the Ways and Means Committee. As an illustration of his industry and studious habits, it is to be noted that he took the trouble to write a very excellent treatise upon European budgets.

As president of the republic M. Faure was conspicuous for the manner in which he adapted himself to the ceremonial functions of his high office. Much surprise was expressed that a man who had once worked at a trade with his own hands and had pursued a business career rather than a learned profession should have known how to do what is sometimes called the "dignity business" that devolves upon the head of a state better than any of his distinguished predecessors. But there is no real ground for such surprise. We have had occasion to learn from abundant instances in the United States that the broad-minded and intelligent business man who has amassed wealth without becoming sordid adapts himself very much more easily to an atmosphere of form, ceremony, and magnificence than any other type of his fellow-citizens. The man of

high culture and strictly intellectual training is almost certain to prefer democratic simplicity and to detest external pomp and ostentation.

The whole world looked on in half-amused wonder when President Faure made his visit to the Russian court. No royal gentleman of immemorial lineage could have borne himself more graciously, complacently, or correctly than the ex-tanner president. M. Faure was, of course, essentially a commonplace man; and it is only commonplace people who can ever take delight in the solemn foolishness of royal pomp and show. It is the general testimony that M. Faure, who was naturally pleased with himself and his rise in life, found most uncommon pleasure in the external trappings of glory. The anecdotes that illustrate this trait in his character are almost innumerable.

M. Faure was not at all a great man, but was what is commonly regarded as safe. His ideals were not low, but, on the other hand, they were not exceptionally lofty. And so he failed to exercise any inspiring influence upon the course of public affairs at a time when France



THE CZAR AND PRESIDENT FAURE REVIEWING RUSSIAN TROOPS—PRINCE VICTOR NAPOLEON AT THE HEAD OF HIS RUSSIAN REGIMENT.

needed in the presidential chair a man of great endowments of lofty patriotism and power of self-abnegation—such a man as a Washington or a Lincoln. In the important faculty of making the nation believe in his disinterested devotion to

vived as far as possible the ceremonials of Napoleon's court. Among the causes of his death she mentions "the intoxication of exalted situation and of imperial and royal friends." She was of the opinion that the crisis in French politics must soon have compelled M. Faure to resign. He had, in her judgment, fallen far short of his opportunities as a progressive Republican president, and had come to favor to a dangerous extent—probably without being fully conscious of it—the reactionary elements that ought to have had his distrust.

He had been a cabinet minister at the time when Dreyfus was convicted, and it was well known that his sympathies to the very last were with those who opposed the revision of the Dreyfus sentence. In the desperate struggle between the Dreyfusards and the anti-Dreyfusards, no means, however questionable, have been neglected on either side to gain a point; and it is probably true that threats of various sorts had been held over President Faure's head in the endeavor to secure his influence. The various matters of a private and a public nature in his career with the exposure of which he was threatened were probably not of a sort that should have caused him much concern. It was generally believed by those best informed that his career could stand close investigation, and that neither in the Panama, the Madagascar, or the railroad scandals could his name be successfully smirched. But he was extraordinarily sensitive to blackmailing threats, and it was his fate to be the head of the French state at a time



PRESIDENT AND CZAR.

its welfare, President Faure fell below the record of President Carnot.

Nobody of the English or American point of view, perhaps, understood M. Faure better than Mrs. Emily Crawford, the gifted correspondent of the *London Daily News*. She attributed his death to the strain to which the protracted and ever-increasing perplexities of current French politics had subjected him. According to Mrs. Crawford, however, this strain was not due altogether to unselfish anxiety for the welfare of the republic, but in part to worry about himself and his position. This writer has the habit, perhaps, of criticising too sharply; nevertheless there is always some ground for her strictures.

She remarks that Louis XIV. himself, though standing on a right-divine pedestal, did not attach so much importance to courtly etiquette as M. Faure, who re-



THE RETURN OF PRESIDENT FAURE TO PARIS AFTER RUSSIAN VISIT.

when the resources of corrupt politics seemed equal to the task of crushing far nobler and stronger characters than his.

It is to be observed that not a single French president has retired from office in the ordinary way by virtue of the completion of his full term. President Thiers resigned in 1873; MacMahon, who was elected in 1873, gave up in 1879; Grévy, who was reëlected in 1885, was obliged to resign in 1887; Carnot, who had recently entered upon his second term, was assassinated in 1894; Casimir-Périer resigned early in 1895. The death of Félix Faure came at a time when every one was talking of the possibility of a *coup d'état*; and in any case his early retirement seemed inevitable.

It is not unlikely that the historian may make it clear to the men of the next generation that President Faure's death at a time when such a misfortune would seem to have given the desired opportunity for an uprising of the monarchists was, in point of fact, precisely the event which had baffled the conspirators and saved the republic. The French people are of a highly excitable temperament. And it is a peculiarity of a people with nerves of that sort that sudden emergencies sober them and put them on their most sensible and responsible behavior. President Faure died late Thursday evening, and until Friday morning it was not even known throughout France that he had shown the smallest sign of failing health. Yet before the middle of the afternoon on Friday the four principal Republican factions of the Senate had come to a perfectly unanimous agreement upon a candidate for the vacant place, and enough members of the House of Deputies had concurred in the senatorial choice to assure the election of M. Loubet on the first ballot a few minutes after the National Assembly had been called to order at Versailles on Saturday.

The reserve strength and dignity of France never appears half so well as in times of serious calamity. The Napoleonic tradition that was be-



PRESIDENT FAURE WELCOMING QUEEN VICTORIA ON OCCASION OF ONE OF HER VISITS TO THE RIVIERA.

ginning to loom large on the horizon faded away in the presence of a vacant presidential chair. The dangerous love of novelty and change that characterizes the French people, and upon which the monarchical plot was counting, had been satisfied in an unexpected way. Thus the death of President Faure had acted as a safety-valve, so to speak, and the republic seemed to enter upon another lease of life under the headship of a man no less worthy than his predecessor, and having some elements of fitness for the emergency that even the best friends of President Faure would freely confess that he did not possess.



MEDAL COMMEMORATIVE OF THE PRESIDENCY OF M. FÉLIX FAURE.

(Modeled a few weeks ago by Chaplain.)

MAJ.-GEN. ELWELL STEPHEN OTIS.

BY WILLIAM CONANT CHURCH.

NO nation of Europe can put into the field such a body of trained and seasoned officers as we have in command of our soldiers in the Philippine Islands, and worthy to be their leader is that veteran of the rebellion and Indian wars, Maj.-Gen. Elwell Stephen Otis, brigadier-general United States army and major-general of volunteers. General Otis is a soldier educated in that most thorough of all schools—the school of war. He was in the twenty-fourth year of his age and just entering upon the profession of law when in September, 1862, he abandoned the law to pursue the career of arms, which he has ever since followed.

It was the good fortune of the young Otis to receive his early training under one of the best soldiers in our army at that time. This was Patrick H. O'Rorke, an Irishman by birth, whose parents were settled in Rochester, N. Y. When the One Hundred and Fortieth Regiment of New York Volunteer Infantry was mustered into the service at Rochester in September, 1862, O'Rorke, who was a graduate of the Military Academy, was given command of it, and Otis, who had raised one of the companies (Company E), was appointed captain of that company.

The regiment was composed of excellent material, and O'Rorke, whose fifteen months of war service had transformed him into a veteran, soon made it one of the best-drilled and most effective regiments in the Army of the Potomac.

With this regiment Otis served during the whole of his career in the volunteer army during the Civil War. His promotion from the rank of captain to that of lieutenant-colonel of the regiment (he was never a major) was the result of desperate fighting, in which his superiors lost their lives on the battlefield: first O'Rorke and then George Ryan, both graduates of the Military Academy and splendid soldiers whom to serve with was in itself a liberal education in the military art. No regiment on the field at Gettysburg rendered more important and conspicuous service than that to which Otis was attached.

Warren had been O'Rorke's preceptor at the Military Academy, and when his quick military perception showed him that the unoccupied Little Round Top was the key to Meade's position on the left, it was to O'Rorke that Warren turned to assist him in securing it. It was the One Hundred and Fortieth that occupied those



MAJ.-GEN. ELWELL S. OTIS.
(Military governor of the Philippines.)

heights just a moment in advance of the approaching Confederates, and held it then until reinforcements came and Little Round Top was made secure.

"O'Rorke's soldiers," says the Comte de Paris in his history of Gettysburg, "by a really providential coincidence, reach at full run this summit, which Warren points out to them as the citadel to be preserved at any cost. At their feet lies the vast battlefield whence are heard vague noises and savage cries, the rattling of musketry, the cannon's roar, and where all the incidents of the combat are seen through a cloud of smoke; but they have no leisure to contemplate this spectacle, for they find themselves face to face with Law's soldiers, who are climbing the hill on the opposite side. A few minutes' delay among the Federals would have sufficed to put the Confederates in possession of the summit. Never, perhaps, was seen the winner of a race secure such a prize at so little cost."

And yet to those immediately concerned the loss was heavy. The One Hundred and Fortieth left more than 133 of their comrades, includ-

ing many officers, among the dead and wounded on those heights, and among the dead was the valiant O'Rorke, who fell a victim to his promptness in decision and his vigor in action at a critical moment. Colonel O'Rorke had a presentiment that he would fall at Gettysburg, and Otis, to whom he made it known, could not reason him out of it. As the regiment was ascending the steep hill a bullet from a sharpshooter located in "Devil's Den" struck him, and he fell dead in the arms of Otis.

At the battle of the Wilderness the One Hundred and Fortieth New York saw some of the hottest fighting, losing 255 men. Otis, who had meantime risen to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, commanded the picket line of the Fifth Corps, which brought on the engagement. The regiment was soon under a fire before which it melted like snow. Eleven of its commissioned officers were killed or wounded, not one of the non-commissioned staff remained, and of the captains only three were left. Three days later Ryan was killed at Spottsylvania, and Otis succeeded to the command of the regiment as lieutenant-colonel.

From the Rapidan to the James the regiment, led by Otis, was constantly under fire, and it stands conspicuous among those losing the largest number during the Civil War, leaving 149 of its number dead upon the field of battle. The various casualties finally left Otis, who seemed to bear a charmed life, in command of the regular brigade; but his turn came at last, for he was severely wounded in the battle of Chapel House, near Petersburg, Va., October 1, 1864. His wound was so severe that he was not subsequently returned to duty, and he was honorably discharged from the volunteer service January 24, 1865, bearing with him the brevets of colonel and brigadier-general for "gallant and meritorious service" at Spottsylvania and Chapel House, Va.

On the organization of the Twenty-second Regiment of Infantry of the regular army from a battalion of the Thirteenth, Otis was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the new regiment, his commission dating July 28, 1866. On March 2, 1867, he received the brevet of colonel in the regular army for gallant services at Spottsylvania. On the death of Col. George Sykes, of the Twentieth Infantry, at Fort Brown, Texas, Otis was appointed colonel and assumed command of the Twentieth at Fort Brown March 31, 1880. From 1867 to 1881 he served on frontier duty against the Indians.

At the time of the Custer massacre, in October, 1876, Otis, who was the lieutenant-colonel of the Twenty-second, on duty at the lake posts on our

Northern frontier, was ordered to the front in command of six companies of the regiment. While passing down the Yellowstone his command were attacked by the Indians near the mouth of the Powder River. The troops were landed and the enemy driven into the hills, their camp being burned. On August 7, 1876, Colonel Otis joined General Terry and marched with him up the Rosebud to reinforce the column of General Crook, finally taking post at Glendive, Mont. A wagon train sent from that post, under an escort of four companies of infantry, October 10, 1876, was attacked by a heavy force of Indians and compelled to return to Glendive. Here Colonel Otis reorganized it, and with the addition of another company to the escort started in command to the Tongue River. Fifteen miles from the post a force of 1,000 Indians attacked the little column of 200 or 300 men, and a running fight ensued, lasting from 7 o'clock in the morning until 7 in the evening. The Indians tried every artifice of which they were masters to break up the column incumbered with its wagon trains, including setting fire to the prairie grass, but with no effect.

The next morning the Sioux could be seen gathered in large numbers on the left flank of the column, and a runner was observed leaving a communication upon a hill to the front, whence it was brought by a scout. This letter was as follows:

YELLOWSTONE.

I want to know what you are doing traveling on this road. You scare all the buffalo away. I want to hunt in the place. I want you to turn back from here. If you don't I'll fight you again. I want you to leave what you have here and turn back from here.

I am your friend,

SITTING BULL.

I mean all the rations you have got and some powder. Wish you would write as soon as you can.

Colonel Otis wrote to the effect that he had no intention of turning back, and if the Indians wanted another fight he was there to accommodate them. The Indians gathered as for a fight, but thought better of it, and sent in a party under a flag of truce, who after some talk decided that they had enough of Otis and preferred to surrender, which they did.

When in 1881 it was decided to establish a school of infantry and cavalry at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, Colonel Otis was chosen to organize it, and he remained in command of the school and the post of Fort Leavenworth until 1885. The general is justly proud of the work he did in establishing upon a secure foundation this post-graduate school for army officers.

When relieved from the command of the Leavenworth school Colonel Otis returned to the command of his regiment, the Twentieth Infan-

try, at Fort Assiniboine, Montana. He also had command of the post, one of the largest in the army, including several companies of cavalry. On October 1, 1890, he was detailed for duty as superintendent of the recruiting service, and November 28, 1893, was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, passing over the heads of officers of longer service. On December 1 following General Otis was ordered to duty in command of the Department of the Columbia, with headquarters at Vancouver, Washington Territory. In taking leave of his regiment he called attention to the fact that during the fourteen years of his command he had never found occasion to charge one of its officers with dereliction of duty, a fact which testifies to the character of the colonel as well as to that of the men he commanded.

When in 1896 the Secretary of War required the assistance of an army officer for the important work of revising the Army Regulations, the statute law of the army, General Otis was ordered to Washington, and he spent some months at the War Department engaged upon that work. In April, 1897, he was transferred to the command of the Department of Colorado. The routine duties of a department commander in time of peace impose no great tax upon a man's ability, but whatever work was given General Otis to do was done well and to the thorough satisfaction of his superiors. In December, 1897, he was ordered to duty as president of an important court-martial at Savannah, Ga., and had just completed that work when the war with Spain began. On May 28, 1898, he was appointed major-general of volunteers and assigned to duty in command of the Department of the Pacific and military governor of the Philippines.

General Otis was chosen to command the troops sent to the Philippine Islands because of his reputation as a thorough and reliable soldier. That his conduct of the campaign which resulted in the discomfiture of Aguinaldo should have excited the admiration of foreign military observers is only what was to be expected from so skilled a warrior. With the help of the trained and experienced officers under his command, such as Maj.-Gens. Thomas M. Anderson and Arthur McArthur, Brig.-Gens. M. P. Miller, Harrison Gray Otis, Samuel Ovenshine, Irving Hale, Charles King, and others, General Otis has succeeded in fashioning into an army the inexperienced volunteers who form the chief part of his force, and made the most effective use of their

admirable fighting qualities. His experience furnishes another illustration of the truth, which should never be lost sight of, that it is the military experience transmitted from one war to another that has been our chief reliance in time of danger. Our military experience of 1861-65 was an inheritance from the war with Mexico and the Indian wars, and so back to the Revolution, when the soldiers trained in the border wars of the early settlements and in the French and Indian war were among our most skilled military leaders.

General Otis is a native of Maryland, having been born at Frederick, Md., March 25, 1838. His family removed to Rochester, N. Y., when he was quite young, and he was brought up on a farm just out of Rochester, on what is known as Lyell Road. He was graduated at the University of Rochester in 1858, and must have stood high in his class, for those who knew him then recall the fact that he took part in exhibitions when scholarship was required to secure a place. He was in his senior year president of one of the two literary societies into which the students are divided, the Pithonian. He was admitted to the bar one year after his graduation from the university, and was subsequently graduated at the Harvard Law School in 1861. He is the author of a work on the "Indian Question," published in 1878.

General Otis is now approaching the retiring age, but he is still, or was when he left to take command at Manila, in the full vigor of physical health and strength. He is a modest, quiet gentleman, making no display of any kind, and is a man of deeds rather than of words. His manner gives little indication of his activity of mind and his unflagging energy in action. His experience with the Indians and cowboys of the frontier has taught him how to mingle inflexibility with kindness. To the writer he once said that his intercourse with the cowboys had shown him how effective this combination of compulsion and conciliation are. More than once he had released from custody men found violating the technical laws of the frontier on their pledge to refrain from further depredations, and in no case had his forbearance ever been abused. Whether he will find a similar method of dealing with the Filipinos effective time will show. We may be sure that he will not push the policy of repression further than circumstances require, and that those who trust him will have no occasion to regret it.





A VILLAGE RESTAURANT IN THE ISLAND OF LUZON.

PHILIPPINE TYPES AND CHARACTERISTICS.

WHEN Admiral Dewey, having destroyed the Spanish fleet at Manila, cut the cable to Hong Kong, it was as certain as anything in the future can well be that the people of the United States would have upon their hands the task, whether welcome or unwelcome, of exercising the principal influence in giving the inhabitants of the Philippine archipelago a modern administration. The past month of February has witnessed a series of historic events, by virtue of which we are brought to the very threshold of our great administrative undertaking. The treaty by which Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States has been ratified at Washington. The precipitation of hostilities by the Philippine insurgents has shut the door to what some men had regarded as our one way of escape from a business for which they had no relish. That way of escape was to have been the recognition of Aguinaldo's Filipino government and a very early abandonment of the situation in favor of the native republic.

But Aguinaldo's action dashed the hopes of those in America who had ventured to believe in the possibility of immediate republican independence under Aguinaldo's lead. We must now stay in the Philippines without any attempt to fix a date for our departure; and that being the case, it behooves us to know all that we can about the people who live in those islands, and whose true welfare it becomes our duty to consider with all seriousness.

Certainly the masses of the Filipinos would be greatly reassured and would gladly give up all thought of further resistance if they could but appreciate what is the actual state of mind toward them of the American people and the American Government. However strong may have seemed to be the differences of opinion as to the best policy for this country to pursue with respect to the Philippine Islands, there has been entire agreement upon the proposition that whether we stayed for a shorter time or for a longer one, our principal business there ought to be to promote

the true welfare of the native population. Nobody has said a word which showed the faintest desire to enslave or oppress the Filipinos or in any way to make their condition worse. On the contrary, every one in the United States has believed that this country could not possibly justify its participation in Philippine affairs unless it sought very greatly to improve the condition of the people.

A year ago not many Americans knew anything about the Philippine Islands or the characteristics of their inhabitants. The freshness and keenness



A PHILIPPINE PEASANT'S FARM HUT.



A COUNTRY RESIDENCE OF THE HIGHER CLASS FILIPINO PLANTER IN LUZON.

of the American mind is shown, however, by the rapidity with which the country is acquainting itself with the essential facts. There is a disposition to avoid mistakes and to use enlightened methods based upon the best attainable information. The Spaniards had administered the Philippine Islands for some three hundred years; but the Spanish people at large had only the slightest knowledge of the islands or their inhabitants. Within the next six months the people of the United States will know a vast deal more about the Philippines than the people of Spain have ever known.

Under the Spaniards there were always two men in exercise of supreme authority over the Philippine people. One of these was the colonial minister at Madrid and the other was the governor-general at Manila. The man at Madrid was the supreme law-making power for the people of the Philippines, and the man at Manila, who was on the ground, was the supreme executive authority. The Colonial Office at Mad-

rid, from time to time, by royal decree promulgated the most elaborate and seemingly beautiful codes of law for the Philippine Islands—civil codes, criminal codes, administrative codes, codes for the establishment and regulation of universal education, and so on. To look at these codes in their printed form would lead one to imagine that the Filipinos were living under the most admirable laws. But as a matter of fact the institutions existing in the archipelago bore very little relation to the written statutes. They did not particularly well fit the people. The governor-generals were changed with considerable frequency, and they were, as a rule, engaged in suppressing insurrections or else in enriching themselves as rapidly as possible by corrupt and extortionate practices. The only thing that the United States can learn from a study of Spanish administrative methods is what to avoid.

It is a mistake to suppose that there is anything inherent in the character of the Philippine



THE TYPICAL BEAST OF BURDEN AS SEEN NEAR MANILA.



DRAWING WATER AT A VILLAGE WELL.

population which would make it difficult to maintain peace and order throughout the islands. The great mass of the inhabitants belongs to the Malay race. The Spaniards long ago succeeded in making the larger part of this Malay population nominally Christian. But in the great island of Mindanao and neighboring islands at the southern end of the archipelago it happened some generations ago that Mohammedan missionaries, rather than Christian, prevailed; and thus there is a very considerable Mussulman population. These so-called "Moros," however, are of essentially the same racial type as the Tagal population of Luzon.

All other population elements besides the closely related Malay tribes form a relatively small part of the population. It is supposed that there are not more than 10,000 of the interesting primitive people known as Negritos. Small bodies of these people are found scattered throughout most of the islands. The average adult stature of the Negritos is about four feet and nine or ten inches. They form a curious

study for the anthropologist, but have no practical importance for the administrator.

At Manila, as in all of the large commercial ports of the far East, there are Europeans engaged in business pursuits; but throughout the entire Philippine group there are probably not more than 10,000 men, women, and children who are of unmixed white blood. This figure, however, would not include the transient soldiery and civil officials formerly in the service of Spain.

The people of mixed white blood number from 10,000 to 15,000, and these are mainly the offspring of Spanish fathers and Malayan mothers.

The Chinese form an exceedingly influential commercial element in the towns, and the Japanese are also present in some force. Altogether there are perhaps 60,000 Chinese and Japanese in the islands; besides, there is a considerable half-breed element resulting from the union of Chinese and Malays.

When all other races are taken into account, however, it is estimated that eleven-twelfths of

the population are Malays; and these are the people who would be termed "Filipinos" by such leaders as Aguinaldo, although Aguinaldo himself is of mixed Spanish blood. Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, of the University of Pennsylvania, in an interesting article recently published in the *American Anthropologist* on the people of the Philippine Islands, reminds us that the Spanish Government has officially recognized as many as thirty-five different languages in the archipelago. Thus the Filipino Malays are by no means a homogeneous nation.

or Iowa. Dr. Brinton says that the Tagala is brownish-yellow in color, of moderate stature, with skull mesocephalic and symmetrical. The cheek bones are prominent, the nasal bridge low, the nostrils prominent, and the eyes narrow, not oblique, but slightly drooping at the inner canthus. The hair is black, smooth, straight, and thick. The mouth is large, the lips full, and the chin short and round. This description applies in its general outlines to the whole Malayan population of the archipelago.

These people have a great many interesting



A GROUP OF MOSLEM CHIEFS FROM MINDANAO AND THE SULU ISLANDS.

Dr. Brinton makes four main qualifications. First, the mixed tribes of northern Luzon, who, though of essentially Malay stock, have absorbed some Negrito blood. Although most of them are Christianized, according to Spanish authorities, they are only superficially affected by European ideas of religion and civilization.

The Tagalas, who are encountered at Manila and inhabit most of the central and southern parts of Luzon, are the leading Filipino race and are the most highly developed. According to Spanish authorities, these people are as universally well instructed as those of Massachusetts

and admirable qualities, and under good government and wise direction ought to become highly prosperous and contented. Although they are, upon the whole, good farmers and faithful workers, they are a light-hearted people, exceedingly fond of music and of the sports that are characteristic of them as a people, chief of which is cock-fighting.

In a general way the people known as Visayas are similar to the Tagalas. The Visayas have their headquarters at the second great seaport of the archipelago—namely, Iloilo—and they spread through the considerable island of Panay and

a number of other islands, among which are Samar, Leyte, Cebu, and Bohol. They also occupy the northern portion of the large island of Mindanao.

The southern part of the island of Mindanao is taken up by Moros, who also occupy the Sulu Islands. These people are famous for their exploits by sea and their bold piracies. We published last year some pictures of their peculiar sailing vessels, in which they make long and adventurous voyages. The Moros, as we have already remarked, are Mohammedans by faith. The Koran was brought first to the Sulu Islands from Borneo, and thus to the greater island of Mindanao.

The article which follows is a translation which we have taken the liberty to make from an uncommonly interesting Spanish book, written and published in Manila, which we have ob-



A GROUP OF NEGRITOS, ISLAND OF LUZON.



NATIVE CAKE AND FRUIT SELLER.

tained from Madrid. Its author, Señor Juan Caro y Mora, had derived his acquaintance with Philippine affairs from a long residence at Manila in the capacity of editor of the *La Voz Española* (*The Spanish Voice*). Señor Caro wrote his book apropos of the Philippine insurrection under Rizal and Aguinaldo, but previous to the outbreak of the war between Spain and the United States. This chapter on the characteristics of the Philippine people was written for the enlightenment of the Spaniards at home in Spain, and with no thought of its ever being seen by any but Spanish readers. That very fact, as it seems to us, lends an added value to certain parts of it as testimony.

It would hardly be safe, however, to rely upon Señor Caro as a thoroughly competent authority upon the world's educational systems. His statements respecting the universality of elementary education among the millions of Filipinos are extremely hard to believe. Yet the whole tenor of his book shows sincerity of purpose, and there has been no willful perversion of the truth. That the Jesuits, who now maintain a normal school in Manila, have done a great deal to improve the quality of instruction is not to be doubted.

THE NATIVE POPULATION OF THE PHILIPPINES.

BY SEÑOR JUAN CARO Y MORA, OF MANILA.

(Editor of *La Voz Española*.)

THE subject of the indigenous population of the Philippine Islands is one on which it is quite easy to go astray, and upon which the most antithetical judgments are formed according to the opposite criteria with which it may be examined.

In speaking of the natives there are many who mix and confound them all together, without making any distinction between the lower unpolished element and the upper or better-educated classes. General opinions, favorable or unfavorable, as the case may be, are hastily formulated and are applied to all, so that we

hear the Indian frequently spoken of as a problem and a combination of the most contradictory qualities. We do not deny that the study of a race is difficult and complex. Even in Europe, where means for observation are abundant, how many contradictions and extravagant assertions have been made, even by authors of note, on the subject of the Spanish character and habits, to say nothing of other nations! But in the present case, by following the laws of induction we shall arrive at the truth as nearly as we possibly can.

The indigenous Filipino possesses fundamental, rudimentary instruction (what we agree in call-



THE YOUNG SULTAN OF SULU.

(With his umbrella-bearer, cup-bearer, candlestick-bearer, sword-bearer, and other retainers and warrior chiefs.)



THREE "DATOS" (NATIVE CHIEFS) OF COTTABATTE, MINDANAO.

(Who had accepted office as local governors under Spanish suzerainty. The gold-headed cane was the symbol of office given by the Spanish authorities.) ●

ing primary instruction) in, perhaps, as much or greater perfection than any other people in the world. He shows himself desirous of learning, and the immense majority of the natives can read, write, and figure. He knows the rudiments of religion and morality, and shows a happy disposition to acquire that general tint of superficial culture which is all that the great mass of laboring people can aspire to anywhere in the world. On this point statistics furnish us eloquent and irrefutable data.

The number who cannot write is very small, including the women, and the number is much less of those who have not learned to read, while those who lack at least the most fundamental and necessary religious and moral instruction are very rare indeed. The correctness of this observation may be proved if the first native one meets, even in the most remote sections, should be questioned, or, what would be still easier, by examining recruits in the army, who are drawn usually from the poorest masses of the people.



FULL-BLOODED PHILIPPINE LADIES OF RANK.

The native Filipino does not know the vice of blasphemy; he is not ordinarily obscene in his speech; he is not quarrelsome; he is respectful to those who display authority; is docile and obedient, although he is weak and remiss in the performance of his duties; he bears his punishment and believes it to be just when he is guilty of a fault; but he becomes irritated if personally insulted, and he awaits with rancor and in cold blood the moment to avenge outrages done to his person or his family.

He likes very much to pass hours in idleness or in not very animated conversation with his companions and friends. He is fond of feasts and pilgrimages, of play and betting, and easily spends in a day what has cost him months and even years to acquire. In his dealings with the European, when he attempts any business whatever, he is cunning and crafty and tries to come out the gainer, to which end he will use deceit and even puerile artifices. He is fond of ostentation, pomp, noise, and spectacular display.

The senses exercise a greater influence upon him than is usual in other races, and from this cause proceeds the infantile vanity that makes



SPINNING AND WEAVING "PIÑA."

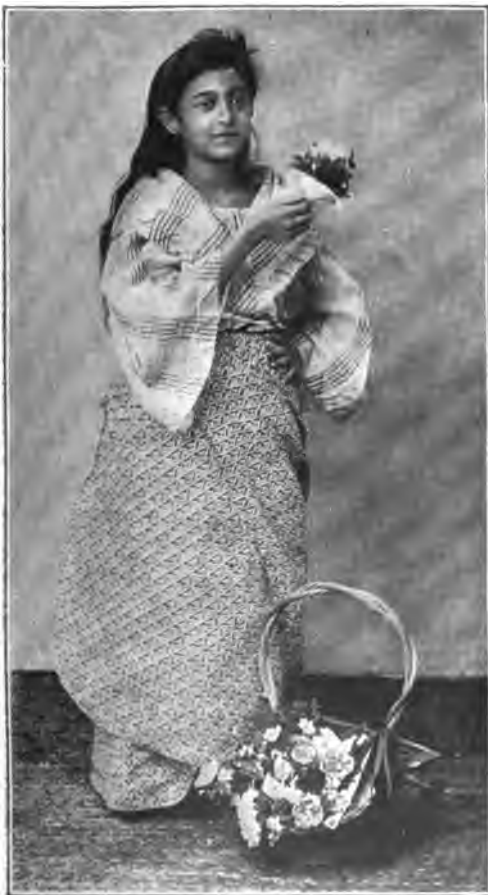
(A gossamer-like fiber obtained from pineapple stems, much finer than silk.)

many array themselves in elegant clothes, jewels, decorations, etc. He loves sensual pleasures, but not to the point, as some have alleged, of disregarding the laws of blood, nor to the extreme of falling into abominations. The cases that might be adduced to the contrary are true monstrosities which confirm the general rule.

Although he appears silent and submissive, he is much given to quiet murmuring and to criticising the acts of his superiors, especially those of the European, but this is done more in the way of curious and inciting conversation than true criticism. He possesses normal intelligence, a good memory, and an aptitude for mechanics. He is a good workman when habit, necessity, or passion influence him, and for hours and hours can perform rough and most laborious work, as is demonstrated by those employed in rowing, in the cultivation of sugar, or in the work of day laborers. Lacking incentive, however, he inclines to idleness, in which he sees nothing worthy of censure. It is not correct that they do not



TAGAL PEASANT GIRL.



A FLOWER-GIRL.

possess among themselves noble affections or generous sentiments. They know how to love, to be loyal, and to please; they feel and weep for family misfortunes; they interest themselves in the fate of beloved persons, and they become enthusiastic at the narration of tender scenes or noble deeds, deriving great enjoyment from works of fiction, although they may be simple or even foolish. Those who affirm arbitrarily, basing the statement on isolated cases, that the Philippine native is without feeling and incapable of certain virtues and noble affections, ought to remember that certain good qualities are inherent in the human species and are common to all, of whatever race and nationality, and that the Philippine people have been subject, besides, to the influence of Christian civilization for three hundred years. In studying this subject we are likely to apply to it our own mode of thought, energies, vehemency, exaltations, habits, and customs, and with a strictly European rule seek to measure a distinct people whose customs are different from our own. After all is said, the native has the gifts and defects of all men, modified by a certain sweet temperament, ordinarily cold and but little impressionable.

But he has a racial defect which consists in inordinate self-conceit, in which defect imagination and irritated nerves play a greater part than intelligence. He thinks little and never deeply, but he imagines a great deal and easily inflames his head, whence we have his brusque changes and surprisingly swift transitions from virtue to crime, from peace to rebellion, from the gratitude and submission of years to hostile opposition to his master and protector. To this cause may be attributed the greater part of the offenses which engage the attention of tribunals of justice. It is also the origin of the more profound convulsions which now and then appear in the archipelago.

The native is religious. He is, in general, perfectly instructed (though not, of course, deeply) in the principal dogmas and precepts of the Catholic faith, and never fails through perversity to live up to them. Nevertheless, if a superstitious idea takes a lively hold of his fancy, he is capable of declaring that any ragged old man is St. Joseph or that St. Anne is personified by some old fortune-teller said to

reside at a bleak point in the mountains. We have had examples of this not long ago in the districts of Nagoarlán, and it is a failing to which the ancient chronicles often make reference.

Of course, the enlightened classes are free from such superstition. Their instruction and education and their contact with persons of culture invigorate their intelligence and give them greater will-power.

It must also be remembered that this mental weakness of the Malay race is but rarely exhibited by the multitude, and only when it is excited and exploited by fools or rascals. All in all, it is quite certain that the indigenous Filipino has simple and peaceful habits; deferential to his elders and superiors; very obedient and submissive to authority; hospitable, charitable, and religious; a great lover of the Church and of her ministers; and the enemy of tumults and revolts. He rests upon tradition, and from his ancestors he has received the notion that he owes respect to the King and to Spain, to religion and to the priests, and he respects and honors them accordingly without protest or complaint.



COCK-FIGHTING—THE PHILIPPINE NATIONAL SPORT.

THE CONDITION OF PORTO RICO.

BY DR. WILLIAM HAYES WARD.

ONE who visits Porto Rico, as I did in January, for the purpose of studying its educational and religious needs, thus not as an investor, or a promoter, or a speculator, or a gambler to make money out of our new possessions, may well have his eyes open to see not so much his own advantage, not even the advantages his country may secure, as the condition of the people and their needs. It is from this point of view that I write.

On reviewing the impressions of a tour nearly all around this island by railroad and carriage and across the island over the great military road, the first and perhaps the last are of the delightfulness of the climate and the beauty of the scenery. The extraordinarily equable temperature is due to the prevalence of the trade-winds; for Porto Rico lies far out in the ocean, east of Haiti, and 1,000 miles east of Havana. In our mid-winter the thermometer stands every day at about 80° in the shade and goes down to about 70° at night, or in the hills to 60°. In the summer a temperature of 90° is reached, but never more than 92°. There is thus no winter. All the year around the army officers attend receptions in their white linen suits, and only the thinnest under-garments can be worn. The constant wind blows directly across the island. In winter the moisture carried from the sea condenses into an occasional little shower, more frequent in the hills, and all day cumulus clouds are scattered about the horizon or afford a few minutes' shade from the bright sun. The air is absolutely clear, with no smoke, haze, or dust. The heavier summer showers and the moisture of the air in winter (about 75 per cent. of saturation) with occasional spits of rain keeps the streams full and the ground moist even in what the people would call a dry season. The winters are most delightful, and the island ought to become, like Bermuda, a favorite winter resort for invalids.

The scenery fits the climate. Like all the West India Islands, Porto Rico forms a part of the outcropping ridge of a range of sub-marine mountains that run east and west. Our island is of unusually regular shape, being almost a rectangle, three times as long as it is wide. The hills begin to rise almost immediately from the sea, and attain a height of from 4,000 to 5,000 feet. These hills are all covered with vegetation and cultivated to the very top. A visitor is sur-

prised to find thick matted grass everywhere, not the kinds we know, but other kinds equally nutritious, if one can judge from the looks of the cattle in the fields. There are no sandy places, no barren spots; it can all be cultivated, and the 900,000 people who inhabit a territory about two-thirds the size of Connecticut do keep most of it under cultivation. For beauty approaching grandeur it would be hard anywhere to equal the scenery along the magnificent macadamized road from San Juan to Ponce, a wonderful piece of engineering which crosses the island, rising nearly 4,000 feet, and yet by so easy a grade that nowhere do the horses need to walk. The road hugs the mountains and looks down into the valleys, both equally green with tropical vegetation, sugar-cane, tobacco, coffee, bananas, and cocoa-



By courtesy of *Munsey's Magazine*.

GEN. GUY V. HENRY.

(Military governor of Porto Rico.)

nut palms, and a drive among the Swiss mountains seems no more memorable.

Three elements enter into the population of Porto Rico: the aboriginal Indian, the negro, and the Spaniard. Of the Indians I doubt if

parties and receptions he will see none but those of pure white blood. It is true that there are colored men of wealth and education, but even such a man as Dr. Barbosa, the best physician in San Juan, educated at Michigan University and one of the leaders of the Radical party, does not even accept the invitations he receives. Strangely enough, the American occupation has broken down one of the few fences which separated the races. While the Spaniards held Porto Rico it was our unwritten law that on Sunday and Wednesday evenings, when the band played in the plazas of the several cities and the young girls promenaded forth and back between crowds of lookers-on, no colored people should be present in the plazas; but this rule went with the Spaniards, and now the colored people claim equal American rights. It would be impracticable to try to draw any color line in either church or school in Porto Rico.



IN HERMIGUERO PROVINCE.

(A view showing the green hills characteristic of Porto Rico.)

half a dozen of approximately pure blood remain on the island, and they old men or women who will very soon pass away. Very few black negroes are seen, and they are mostly late comers from St. Thomas and Antigua. The Spaniards have come over every year, and they and their white descendants form nearly all the aristocracy of the island. But the great bulk of the population is of a blood mixed of the three races; and especially in the country it appears to me to have reached a fixed type, nearly all being of the same shade and features. The peculiar negro features seem almost lost. The hair is long and nearly or quite straight, and the nose is not flattened. Indeed, I should imagine that the Indian forms a considerably larger factor than the negro in this composite result of four centuries of unrestrained miscegenation.

The prejudice against colored people is very much less than in the United States, but it yet exists, and that notwithstanding the late emancipation of the slaves. When one sees white and colored children in the same schools and colored as well as white teachers, he may be too quick to imagine that caste based on color does not exist. But when he attends any of the principal social functions he is undeceived. At

to be proud of their chief representatives in the government of Porto Rico. Only three or four regiments, of the regular army, remain in the island, and General Henry, who is absolute dictator, would feel perfectly safe with one regiment only. It is well that several volunteer regiments have gone, for they made some trouble.

General Brooke, the first in command, was succeeded by Gen. Guy V. Henry, than whom no more faithful and competent officer could easily be found. But I was glad to discover that such men prove not to be rare in the service. The officers whom General Henry has put in command at the principal centers, a number of whom I met, though burdened with less responsibilities, were evidently men of the same spirit. As military commander General Henry is practically a dictator, whose word is law in all departments of the civil government. He can remove any officer or reverse any decision. Such power can be safely invested only in the hands of such a man as General Henry—a man not only inflexibly honest, but also utterly devoted to the welfare of the people and the prosperity of the island, quick to find their needs and with the moral courage to do what he believes is right. He is a scholarly man, an author of repute in

military history, tireless in the executive work which gives him no rest, willing to take advice, and willing to correct any errors he may have made. The people of Porto Rico—that is, those whose good opinion is worth having—believe in him and declare that his wise administration has saved the island from great calamity. I refer especially to his late order suspending for one year the operation of the law under which on a



VIEW FROM A FORDING ON THE RIVER JACAQUAS.

month's notice the mortgages on property in the country could be foreclosed. The war had made it impossible for planters to sell their coffee or sugar, and many of them had not been able to pay the interest due. A number of Spaniards were taking advantage of this law to take possession of valuable property, and some American speculators were seizing the opportunity to get possession of plantations for much less than their true value. "I could embrace his knees," said one planter to me the day that he saw the order in print. Of course there were Spaniards and Americans who have selfish reasons for attacking General Henry's action in this matter, but that it is right and that it saves multitudes from financial ruin there can be no question.

Soon after General Henry took command he published a statement of the policy he meant to pursue, which was that of governing through the native cabinet and the native *alcaldes* and councils in the several municipalities. Accordingly he warned Americans not to expect to

be put into positions of rule over Porto Ricans. He wanted to let the people learn self-government and to do his governing through them. Accordingly he has a cabinet or council of state, with Señor Luis Muñoz Rivera at its head; and he either retained in office or appointed *alcaldes* of cities and municipal councils. But he works chiefly through the army officers detailed for every principal city, each of whom has a sufficient force of soldiers of the regular army. I cannot too strongly express my admiration for such of these officers as I met. They had an eye to the public needs, enforced sanitary rules, insisted on good order, and kept the peace. It was evident that they were not, like the Spaniards, trying to benefit themselves at the expense of the people. On the contrary, it was at their expense and the expense of the United States that the cities of Porto Rico were being benefited.

An example of this eagerness of the American officers to benefit the people of the island appears in the medical service. The small-pox is very prevalent in Porto Rico, and one of the first sanitary tasks is to stamp out the disease. For this purpose Dr. Azel Ames is put in charge of the work of vaccinating all the 900,000 inhabitants by military authority. It would be very expensive to buy 1,000,000 vaccine points in the United States; so he makes an arrangement with large dealers in cattle, by which some thousands of young cattle, carefully tested to see that they do not suffer from pleuro-pneumonia, will be inoculated and the vaccine virus secured at a very moderate expense. The whole island



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THATCHED HUTS OF PORTO RICAN NATIVES.

will then be divided between a number of surgeons, and no difficulty is anticipated in vaccinating everybody.

What has seemed to trouble General Henry as



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COUNTRY PEOPLE OF PORTO RICO EN ROUTE TO MARKET.

much as anything is the difficulty in holding the municipal councils up to their duties, when they would prefer to spend their time in political squabbles. Two municipal councils he has lately dismissed, and ordered his officers in command there to select others to take their place, just because they were quarreling over politics instead of attending to business. It is hard to see what place there is for politics so long as there are no elections and everything is centralized with the American commandant. A few words may explain what is the political division. While a Spanish captain-general was in command he ruled through Spaniards almost wholly who belonged to the Conservative party, that wished no reform. But the native Porto Ricans wanted a degree of autonomy much less than that enjoyed by Canada. But it was not easy to carry on a movement for autonomy, as the autonomist leaders were charged with conspiracy, and many of them were imprisoned and even tortured to make them confess their own guilt and betray their confederates. Under such torture, with their fingers too broken to write their names, men were compelled to sign their mark to confessions and accusations which had no basis of truth. At last the autonomists, seeing a favorable opportunity, sent a commission to Spain to confer with the political leaders there and secure aid. They formed an alliance with the Liberal party under

Sagasta and brought home a scheme of autonomy to which Sagasta had pledged himself, and which he later granted, but not until American threats compelled it. The autonomists, on the re-

turn of their commission, of which Señor Muñoz Rivera was the leading spirit, took the name of Liberals, to identify themselves with the Spanish Liberal party. But some of the autonomists were much dissatisfied with the degree of autonomy granted by Sagasta and accepted by the commission, and they organized the Radical party, which is in the fullest sympathy with the United States. Now autonomy is gone and both parties make the same professions, and nothing but personal differences separate them. General Brooke found the Liberals in power and he retained them in office, as did General Henry, but he has not found it wholly easy

to work through his council, and the resignation since I left of Señor Muñoz Rivera and the rest of the cabinet is, perhaps, not wholly unacceptable to him. In his order dismissing the two municipal councils he intimated that the Liberal members were the most to blame, and that while it was better to have the councils divided between the two parties, yet if this was not feasible preference might be given to the Radicals.

There is a movement on foot in Porto Rico to secure the removal of General Henry. Some of the men in the army are known to sympathize with this effort, which has the active support of certain Americans who believe they could find a less inflexible administrator than General Henry. There is a horde of promoters and speculators hanging about who would like an easier access to Porto Rican wealth and would be glad to get rid of General Henry. I believe it would be a great misfortune to the island to have General Henry removed. It is to be hoped that he will be retained until Congress shall devise a territorial form of government and a civil governor shall be appointed. Dr. Henry K. Carroll is the President's commissioner in Porto Rico looking up the facts bearing on its government and industries, and no better and more faithful commissioner could have been found to present recommendations to the President.

If Porto Rico is a natural paradise, the people are far from living in a paradisiacal state. The Spanish Government has done nothing for the people except to make that one magnificent road; but that was a military road. Three-fourths of the people can neither read nor write. Professor Harrington, who is in charge of the service of the Weather Bureau in Porto Rico and who was for many years connected with the University of Michigan, describes the school system, as it exists on paper in educational reports, as one of the most complete in the world, as better than that of Michigan. It is modeled on a French pattern. But in actual execution it is nearly as bad as it can be; its excellences are all on paper. I visited more than a dozen of the ordinary public schools, and they are all of nearly the same type. The teachers must by law have a diploma from the "institute" or college at San Juan or from the girls' normal school. They are not paid by the municipalities until all other bills are settled, and sad stories are told of the straits to which they have been subjected because they could get no money, and the good name of the female teachers has too often suffered in consequence. Tuition fees are charged for all scholars whose parents can afford to pay them, but from three-quarters to nine-tenths of the scholars in the schools which I visited pay nothing. There are no school buildings. The schools are held in the houses where the teachers live, one or two rooms being given up to the school, as the number of scholars may range from 40 to 100. The sexes have separate schools and the girls are taught by women. The course of instruction is the same in all the schools, except that the girls give half their time to embroidery, and this work is done exquisitely, whether the ordinary embroidery or the peculiarly Spanish *culado*, or "drawn" work. Every school has a blackboard, the same set of two or three wall maps, a globe put safely away on a high shelf, and nearer at hand a set of a dozen geometrical models. There are no desks—only benches. The scholars range from seven or eight to thirteen years of age. They have usually learned their letters somehow at home or in a little dames' school. These schools are thus

not graded, and the scholars are carried along far enough to enter an American grammar school. They have usually no books, unless it be half a dozen readers, which contain religious history. The teacher prepares a set of questions and answers on geography or grammar or arithmetic, and the scholars copy them off and commit them so perfectly that their recitations are really fine, until they are asked to explain what they have learned by rote. Children who have just rattled off a list of the peninsulas of North America cannot point to California or Florida on the unused maps, and I saw them point to Alaska when asked where is New York. In arithmetic they go through fractions, and in the one "superior" school of San Juan, and the only one I found which deserved the title, the boys reached decimals and interest and really did the work well. Every teacher seems proud to show his scholars off in "geometry," which does not go beyond a few definitions committed to memory and the ability to draw by the eye parallel lines and angles and circles. The children are alert, quick to learn, and do not have to lose two years of school life in mastering the absurdities of a mis-



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LOOKING DOWN SAN JUSTO STREET IN SAN JUAN.

spelled language. It surprises an American visitor to see examples in long division done without putting down the successive products, only the remainders, the subtraction being done mentally. But the general instruction is mechanical and bad.

There are in the island one girls' normal school and one institute for boys. The daughter of the minister of education (replaced since I left) is at



ARCHBISHOP CHAPELLE, OF NEW ORLEANS.

the head of the former and his son-in-law of the latter. The girls' normal school appeared to have 30 or 40 scholars, and since an American woman has been put in as assistant teacher the girls are actually being taught to cut and make common garments instead of doing useless embroidery. The boys' normal school has been lately consolidated with the institute, which has just been moved into a great square barracks of a building with an acre of court within it, three miles out from San Juan, at Sauturce.

While all the schools are religious—that is, Roman Catholic—they are not under the charge or control of the clergy. The people are not infidels (they believe in God and in the Christian religion), but they have almost wholly given up attendance at the churches. Father Sherman has spoken of Porto Rico as a Catholic island without religion. He has not explained why they have given up attendance at confession or mass; there is no other reason than their contempt for and hatred of their priests. There are a few exceptions, mostly priests native of the island, whose lives are not a reproach to their office. But it was a practice to send to the colonies priests whose record was not good in Spain, and if they gave no immediate offense they were put in charge of a parish, of which, under canon law, they were the irremovable rectors; for in the Spanish possessions the clergy have their full rights, which they do not have in this country, which, as being in *partibus infidelium*, is a missionary jurisdiction and in which priests can be moved at the will of their bishops. When thus settled over a parish

these Porto Rican priests have too many of them cast off all restraints of morality, and so bad is their reputation that the language has its term of reproach for their children.

Archbishop Chapelle, of New Orleans, has been appointed by the Pope to administer and I suppose reform the Church in Porto Rico and Cuba. He is a thorough American and well qualified for his difficult task. He reached Porto Rico in the middle of January, and has, I judge, given most of his attention to the question of the titles to ecclesiastical properties. In 1837 the Spanish Government appropriated the property of the religious orders which it suppressed, and it has supported the Church from the public funds, thus making the priests the hated spies and emissaries of Spain. This property the Church will now try to reclaim, on the ground that the state withdraws its support. But the best work the archbishop could do would be to get rid of the incompetent and immoral priests and replace them with men of character from the United States. Nothing can be done until a bishop, whom doubtless Archbishop Chapelle will nominate from the American priesthood, can be appointed in place of the Spanish bishop, who has left the island. If the Church does not soon begin this needed reformation along the lines of the best spirit of the American Catholic Church, it will suffer great losses, for Protestant mission work will not be neglected.

The people would welcome religious teaching, as they certainly do beg for an effective American school system. The warm welcome given to Gen. John Eaton, who represents our Bureau of Education, is proof of this, and their eagerness to welcome every proposition for the establishment of schools. But the municipalities have very little money to expend just now, when so much must be spent on sewerage, water-works, and other objects of physical necessity, and for roads on which all commerce depends.

I have hardly spoken of the squalor, the poverty of the poorer people, crowded, as I have never seen them elsewhere, in miserable quarters in the cities, and of their great need of physical, intellectual, and moral regeneration. A people of which three-quarters cannot read, where three-quarters of the families are not legally married, where few can get any meat or flour, where thin blood starves on bananas, and where the main products, sugar and coffee, are exported for the benefit of the landowners—such a people are not to be exploited for our benefit, but they should secure all the advantages which good government, philanthropy, and religion can give them, and they will repay the expenditure of money and labor.

SOME YOUNG CUBAN LEADERS IN CUBAN RECONSTRUCTION.

BY GEORGE RENO.



DR. DOMINGO MENDEZ CAPOTE.

THERE are at least two important factors necessary to the establishment and maintenance of successful government: First, the wisdom, ability, and integrity of those who are to govern; second, the consent of the governed, or the willingness of the majority to be governed. Such fortunate conditions were present when our ancestors threw off English rule and founded the United States. Similarly fortunate conditions exist to-day in Cuba. There are at least three thousand men on the island between the ages of twenty-five and fifty who have been graduated from the best colleges and universities in the United States. In addition to receiving thorough education, they have imbibed, to an extent not yet fully realized by us, a knowledge and understanding of those fundamental principles of right and justice which underlie a republican form of government, and have carefully studied not only the merits, but also the defects, of our various systems and institutions.

The Cubans who have come to this country to

be educated have profited by contact with and observations of things and ways American to a greater degree than we imagine. Both London and Paris have contributed to the knowledge of many of them who have crossed the Atlantic. These men, returning to their native heath, have immediately exerted an influence which has made itself felt in many advantageous ways. It was they who, realizing that existence under Spanish dominion meant not only political, but commercial, slavery, united with the old-time lovers of liberty who had survived the Ten Years' War and inaugurated the late revolution.

It has seemed difficult for many of our people to comprehend the fact that the greater number of officers of the insurgent army between the ranks of lieutenant and brigadier-general was composed of sons of the oldest and wealthiest families of Cuba, who had but recently been graduated from our institutions of learning. The war for independence having terminated successfully, these men are coming rapidly to the front as leaders in the policy of reconstruction, and are acting either as officials under the new *régime* or in the capacity of advisers to those American officers who are endeavoring to straighten out affairs during the temporary occupation of the island by the forces of the United States.

DR. DOMINGO MENDEZ CAPOTE.

Such a man is Dr. Domingo Mendez Capote, vice-president of the later provisional government, who was recently made secretary of the department of the interior and chief of the Cuban advisory board, appointed by General Brooke to assist him in his executive work on the island. Dr. Capote represents the great body of younger and progressive Cubans, and will undoubtedly be their choice for the first president of the new republic which is to be. His reputation as a lawyer, his ability as a jurist, as a speaker and writer insure him the support of the professions and especially of the legal fraternity. His election this winter to the presidency of the Havana Bar Association evinces the regard in which he is held by his associates.

Capote was born in Cardenas in 1860. Although of an excellent family, past revolutions had so depleted their resources that he was

obliged to work his way through the University of Havana, from which he was graduated with the degree of LL.D., afterward occupying the chair of professor of law up to the time he joined the forces of the insurgents in the field. Then and afterward, while acting as vice-president of the late provisional government, he endeared himself to all classes of Cubans, and he is to-day the choice of General Gomez for the office of chief executive. Capote possesses a powerful magnetism and an intellectual influence which grows on one with singular rapidity. His freedom from egotism and self-assertiveness, approaching almost a state of diffidence, throws the casual observer off his guard, and it is only when he speaks on matters of state, of political economy, or affairs of government that one realizes that he is in the presence of a man not only well informed, but of very superior intellect as well.

Dr. Capote is versed in the political history and jurisprudence of the United States and the principal countries of Europe. He is a man of ability, of integrity, of untiring energy, and of unswerving loyalty to his native island. If elected to the presidency of the new republic we need have no fear that the executive department will not be conducted in a way which would be creditable to the most advanced government of the civilized world.

MAYOR PERFECTO LACOSTE.

Upon Perfecto Lacoste was bestowed the honor of being appointed mayor of Havana after the evacuation of the Spaniards. He is the first mayor of that city who was a Cuban, and his selection for the office by General Brooke was most pleasing and satisfactory to all classes of people, owing to the peculiarly dangerous and valuable services rendered the cause of independence during the late revolution. Lacoste owns beautiful sugar estates just out of Havana, and although suspected of insurgent affiliations by the Spanish authorities, his excellent reputation as a peaceful, law-abiding citizen made it rather difficult to seize so conspicuous a character without some apparent cause for arrest, which was not easily found.

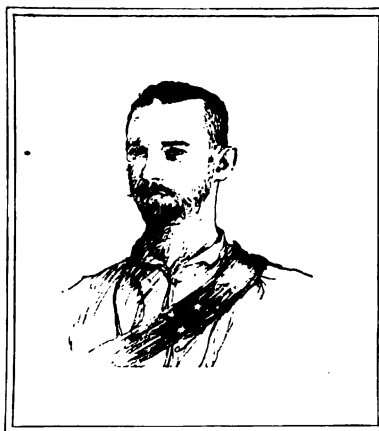
Nevertheless Lacoste was actually the agent of the Cuban revolutionary party in Havana, and through him were purchased thousands of rifles and hundreds of thousands of cartridges from those in charge of the Spanish arsenals. These were conveyed from the city through the lines and out to the sugar estate, where they were turned over to the insurgents in the field. This hazardous work—performed by Lacoste while living in the very shadow of death, with spies on every hand and treachery always immi-

nent from the enemy's officers with whom he dealt—was most important to the success of the insurgents. Without his assistance it would have been almost impossible to carry on the audacious and effective campaign waged in the province of Havana and Matanzas. His unanimous choice for the office of mayor is an evidence of the esteem in which he is held by the people of his native city.

GEN. MARIO MENOCAL.

Another conspicuous evidence of foresight on the part of Americans in Cuba was the selection of Gen. Mario Menocal as chief of the Havana police department. He has been a prominent figure throughout the entire Cuban war, having been in command of the insurgent forces of Havana province at the time of his appointment. Menocal is serving as a significant object-lesson to those pessimistic Americans who claim to doubt the ability of the Cubans to govern themselves. When attention was recently called to one of his official acts which merited praise, one of our New York ex-aldermen who happened to be present remarked: "Why, he's no Cuban. He speaks English and he's got blue eyes."

General Menocal comes of one of the oldest families of Havana—a family which has taken an important part in every revolution against Spanish dominion in Cuba since the people of the island began to send their sons and daughters



MARIO G. MENOCAL.

to the United States to be educated. General Menocal came to the United States when only sixteen and entered Cornell University, from which institution he was graduated as a civil and mining engineer. He remained in New York for eight years, but on the breaking out of the late revolution he returned at once to Havana.

Gen. Martinez Campos sent him as an engineer to the city of Puerto Principe, there to assume charge of the proposed construction of a railroad which was to connect that city with Santa Cruz on the south coast. The object of this mission was purely political, having in view the pacification of supposed "discontented spirits" whose uprising was feared in Camaguey.

The moment General Gomez crossed into that province Menocal presented himself and offered his services in the insurgent cause. Gomez placed him on his staff as lieutenant, from which rank he was promoted to captain for bravery and ability displayed at the fights of Altagracia and Mulato, which occurred in the summer of 1895. Not long after this he was promoted to the rank of commandante, or major. At the Assembly which met the following September Menocal was elected assistant secretary of war.

Preferring action, however, to the more or less routine duties of the war department, he was transferred in the spring of 1896 and joined the forces of Gen. Calixto Garcia, who had recently landed near Baracoa. Garcia prized his services very highly and made him his chief of staff, in which capacity he shared many of the responsibilities of the campaign of the Oriente in which Garcia was so successful. It was in that campaign that I first met Mario Menocal, then a colonel, in the central part of Santiago de Cuba province. "It seems good," he remarked, "to meet some one once more who has come to the field in Cuba direct from New York. That city has a wonderful charm for me," he continued. "Tell me, what is now on at the Broadway theaters?" This within hearing of the rifle volleys which rolled down the valley of the Cauto River from the fight at Jiguani.

During the siege of Guaymaro in the spring of 1897 Colonel Menocal performed one of the greatest feats of personal bravery known to any war in any clime. The outer fortifications had been carried by the Cubans, but the Spanish regulars had massed themselves in an old stone cathedral with very thick walls which stood near the center of the city. This church, with its protected arches and belfries and narrow windows, from which a hot fire was continually poured upon the Cubans, seemed to be almost impregnable. Until it surrendered the capture of Guaymaro was impossible. Menocal, realizing that something must be done, seized a dynamite bomb and under a merciless fire crept with it, sometimes under the shelter of protecting walls and again under the lee of intervening houses, until he reached a point opposite a corner of the cathedral. Then with one dash he crossed the open space in the face of a hundred Mausers,

placed the bomb under a break in the foundation of the church, and succeeded in getting away to a place of safety some fifty yards distant, where seizing a companion's rifle he fired a shot into the dynamite. The explosion which followed tore out the entire end of the fortified citadel, and the Spanish flag was lowered and the



DR. JOSÉ GONZALEZ LANUZA.

city of Guaymaro was turned over to the Cubans. There have been numerous brave deeds in battle, but there are not many men, even among heroes, in this world who would care to duplicate Menocal's performance.

DR. JOSÉ GONZALEZ LANUZA.

Dr. José Gonzalez Lanuza, who lately visited Washington as a member of General Garcia's commission sent by the Cuban Assembly to confer with the administration in regard to the payment of the Cuban soldiers, has been made secretary of justice and of public instruction. No man better fitted for the requirements of such an office could have been selected. His reputation as a lawyer and jurist is firmly established in Havana, and his prominent social rank will render him a welcome factor in the administration of the city's affairs. The prominent part which he played in the cause of independence has, of course, insured his popularity all over the island.

Lanuza was professor of criminal law in the University of Havana at the time of the breaking

out of the revolution, and—always at heart an ardent advocate of independence—he was elected one of the agents of the revolutionary party, whose duty it was to secure from the Spaniards in Havana arms and ammunition for the insurgents. The corruption of officials in the capital always made this possible, although extremely hazardous for those concerned in the undertaking. His activities in this direction finally caused him to be arrested and thrown into Morro Castle, from which place he was deported to central Africa under sentence of life imprisonment. The conciliatory policy advocated by Blanco was instrumental in procuring his release, however, when he came immediately to New York in the spring of 1897, and soon after joined the provisional government of Cuba at La Esperanza. There he served as chief of the judiciary corps until sent by the Assembly to Washington with General Garcia last fall. Such was his popularity in Havana that even before his recent arrival in the city he was elected by the Bar Association judge of the *Audencia*, which is equivalent to our Supreme Court. Lanuza is not over thirty-five and has before him a very promising professional and political career.

DR. JOAQUIN CASTILLO.

Another figure prominently before the public is that of Dr. Joaquin Castillo, who is beyond question one of the most progressive men of Cuba to-day, and one whose influence will have a marked effect on the reconstruction of the island, whether he should hold any political office or not.

The recent visit of Gen. Leonard Wood, military governor of the province of Santiago, and Dr. Castillo to Washington to confer with the administration regarding the disposition of the revenues of the province and city and to protest against their centralization in Havana is still fresh in the public mind. Dr. Castillo's popularity and the esteem in which he is held in his home were fully demonstrated by the unanimous vote of the Chamber of Commerce designating him as the one man in the city whom they would have to represent them at Washington in the matter. Devoted as he is to his practice, Dr. Castillo at first refused, but was obliged to yield to the demand. Success which was doubly satisfactory because it was swift crowned the mission of General Wood and Dr. Castillo, and when the message, "Complete commercial autonomy is granted Santiago de Cuba by President McKinley," flashed to the island there was a rejoicing which was but the fulfillment of a confident expectation.

In addition to securing this favor, General



DR. JOAQUIN CASTILLO.

Wood and Dr. Castillo on the way up in the steamer formulated a plan which not only embraces a scheme for the full reconstruction of the island, but provides for the adjustment of those problems which, under the present military occupation, have caused in some instances considerable irritation. This plan was laid before President McKinley and met with his hearty approval, while later Assistant Secretary of War Meiklejohn cordially accepted it and is now preparing it for practical application. Dr. Castillo is a man of culture, scientific attainments, and wide experience in both professional and military life. Born in the city of Santiago de Cuba, of an old and aristocratic family, he went to Paris and in 1874 was graduated from the university with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Later he came to America and in the University of Pennsylvania he achieved honors easily.

Not long after he entered a competitive examination for the United States navy, and in a class of sixty-one he ranked first in a severe examination. To the one who attained this was given the privilege of choice of location for first

experience, and Dr. Castillo selected the hospitals of Boston on account of their fine facilities. His professional career opened brilliantly; and when the United States sent the *Rogers* to search for the lost *Jeannette* Dr. Castillo's scientific enthusiasm led him to volunteer his services. In the frozen regions of the North, among icebergs, starving and despairing, he found the wretched survivors of the ill-fated expedition, already cannibals and lost to hope. Under his care and saved from famishing by the relief he brought they were rescued, and after a year he returned, bringing them with him. For this he received the thanks of Congress, and at the request of the Navy Department wrote a treatise on the "Hygienic Aspects and Customs of the Esquimos," which the Department published. When afterward in Cuba he encountered a dearth of food while fighting for his country, even the starving *mambi* soldiers of the army of liberty would be compelled to smile at his descriptions of the almost incredible things eaten near the north pole.



GEN. DEMETRIO CASTILLO.

It is needless to say that Dr. Castillo was one of the first to offer his services in the late revolution. The first Cuban Assembly made him assistant secretary of the treasury, but it was not long before it was seen that he was needed in the field, and he was then made surgeon-general of the army, and in this position his professional work was invaluable. In 1896 he was sent by

the provisional government to the United States on an errand of great moment, and on arriving in New York City T. Estrada Palma, seeing in him the man he wanted for important business, cabled the government to permit him to remain. The permission was granted, and Dr. Castillo became the sub delegate and took personal charge of some of the expeditions that were sent out. This delicate and difficult work he accomplished with the utmost ability, as the administration at Washington had cause to know.

Thus constantly serving his country, Dr. Castillo saw in the beginning of the Spanish-American War a wider field for him, and proceeding to Washington he placed his services at the disposal of our Government. They were at once accepted, and he was sent by the Navy Department to Santiago, where he took an active part in the operations until the close of the war. Since then, being a man of peace and fighting only when the occasion demanded a struggle for the sake of a principle, Dr. Castillo has remained at his home, engaged in the practice of his profession and declaring himself devoid of political ambitions. Were he inclined to enter public life it is safe to say that the people would gladly tender him any office within their power to bestow, for there is not a man on the island who more fully represents the progressive and cultured element than does Dr. Castillo.

Dr. Castillo was happily married in 1886, and three charming little girls constitute his family. His *personnel* is handsome and striking. He is about five feet and ten inches in height, dark, expressive eyes give an intellectual light, while his bearing is that of a thoroughbred military man. He is somewhat reserved, save to intimate friends, but the genuine warmth of his character has endeared him to all who ever came within the radius of his personality.

GEN. DEMETRIO CASTILLO.

Gen. Demetrio Castillo, recently appointed civil governor of the province of Santiago de Cuba on the recommendation of Gen. Leonard Wood, is a brother of Dr. Joaquin Castillo and equally popular in the Oriente. He was, in fact, the unanimous choice of the people for that office, but it is understood that he was not in the good graces of General Shafter.

General Castillo has been an adviser of General Wood during his splendid reconstruction work, and will undoubtedly render excellent service in the capacity of governor of the province. Demetrio Castillo was born in the city of Santiago de Cuba in 1857, but was educated in Paris, after which he came to the United States and married an American lady, who returned with

him to Santiago, where they have lived during the past eight years. Soon after the revolution of 1895 broke out Castillo joined the insurgent forces in the field, being made a lieutenant, from which grade he was rapidly promoted until he became a general of division, taking a very active part in all the operations in Santiago de Cuba province and assisting Gen. Calixto Garcia materially in the engagements which took place around the city. Mrs. Castillo, with her three children, remained in Cuba until the summer of 1896. As a precautionary measure she then came to New York, but will soon rejoin her husband in Santiago.

COL. JOSÉ VILLALON.

Col. José Villalon, although a man of wealth and social position, threw himself without hesitation into the vortex of the revolution as soon as hostilities broke out, and remained to the end of the war, when he was elected to represent the province of Pinar del Rio at the Assembly which convened at Santa Cruz in October last. This body selected him as one of its four commissioners who, with General Garcia, conferred with our administration a short time ago, and no man, Cuban or American, could have performed the somewhat onerous duties of the position with more ability, grace, and dignity.

Villalon is a native of Santiago de Cuba, where he was born in 1870. He visited the United States when quite young and entered the Lehigh University of Pennsylvania, from which institution he was graduated as a civil and mining engineer in the class of '89, practicing his profession in both America and Cuba up to the commencement of the revolution in 1895.

His ability as an engineer made his services very valuable to the insurgent cause, and his connection with the first piece of field artillery throwing dynamite or nitro-gelatine projectiles has made his name famous in Cuba. Villalon superintended the construction and experimental tests of this gun, which was built for the Cuban delegation in New York. As soon as satisfactory he took charge of the piece, and accompanied the Gen. Ruis Rivera expedition which landed in Pinar del Rio in the fall of 1896. Gen. Antonio Maceo was then engaged in the most desperate fights of his campaign of the Occident, and Villalon's arrival with the dynamite gun and ammunition was, as he expressed it, "a god-send." In the savage battles of the Rubi Hills this gun and the man who served it played a very important part. The havoc and consternation caused by its shells exploding in the Spanish ranks caused great uneasiness in Havana, and



COL. JOSÉ VILLALON.

was commented on freely in military circles in different parts of the world. This is not to be wondered at when one considers that at each shot a hole thirty feet across and six feet in depth was torn out of the solid earth. Spanish officers reported that "men could not stand before such monsters of destruction." Unfortunately, when Villalon left the United States only sixty rounds of ammunition could be obtained for the new engine of war, otherwise the campaign of Pinar del Rio might have terminated with different results and without the death of Antonio Maceo.

These are only types of the educated, progressive, and intellectually up-to-date Cuban who is to-day playing a very important part in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the island. There are many hundreds more, equally patriotic and perhaps equally brilliant. The assertion that they do not possess sufficient ability to govern themselves or their own people, to one who knows them personally, cannot but seem absurd. Certain it is that they possess the confidence of their constituents, or those who are to be governed, to a greater degree than could the most wise and gifted foreigners ever obtain; and this confidence on the part of the governed is the first and perhaps the most essential element of successful government in any part of the world.



READY FOR PLANTING ON THE IOWA CORN FARM.

(Superintendent's house and barn. The barn stables one hundred and sixty head of mules and holds five hundred tons of hay.)

AN AMERICAN FARMER'S BALANCE-SHEET FOR 1898.

BY FRANK H. SPEARMAN.

WE know what the railroads did last year ; we know what the manufacturers did ; we know what the merchants did. In a year, then, like 1898, when records in so many branches of American industry were smashed, what did the American farmer do ?

Balance-sheets are unhappily scarce among farmers ; the few which are taken are hard to get at : for these reasons the one here presented is of especial interest. It is not from a paper farm ; it is not a paper balance ; nor is it a paper farmer who makes this showing. It is what no American review has ever before presented to its readers—an actual glimpse at the books and workings of a model American farm. This farm, located in the State of Iowa, contains 6,000 acres and its business is to produce corn.

Look first at the investment and note that the land was not bought in an early day for a song, but within three years and at the market price.

INVESTMENT—IOWA CORN FARM.

Land—6,000 acres at \$30 an acre.....	\$180,000.00
Buildings.....	43,021.64
Stock.....	17,701.21
Machinery.....	17,773.98
	<hr/> \$258,496.83

The operation of this farm for 1898 shows a net profit of over \$50,000. Putting out of the comparison patents and good-will, neither of which contributed to this result, what other line of business on an equal capitalization can make a better showing ?

EXPENSE ACCOUNT OF THE IOWA CORN FARM FOR THE YEAR 1898.

Labor.....	\$13,921.96	
House supplies.....	4,368.81	
Beef.....	1,384.10	
Taxes.....	1,553.06	
Sundries.....	760.00	
Freight.....	500.00	
Twine.....	437.25	
Hay.....	339.19	
Insurance.....	200.00	
Oil.....	169.62	
Repairs.....	112.80	
Legal expense.....	40.05	
Fuel.....	7.20	
		<hr/> \$23,794.04
Less credit by discount.....	\$106.00	
Less road tax.....	43.26	
		<hr/> 149.26
Net expense of the Iowa farm for the twelve months of 1898.....		<hr/> \$23,644.78

GROSS RETURNS FROM THE IOWA CORN FARM.

215,000 bushels of corn at 30 cents..	\$64,500.00
20,000 bushels of wheat at 50 cents.	10,000.00
28,000 bushels of oats reserved for feed.	_____
	\$74,500.00
Deduct the expenses	23,644.78
Net profit	\$50,855.22

A particularly valuable comparison of the expense difference between running a corn farm and a wheat farm of equal size is afforded by the fact that the owner of the Iowa corn farm also owns and operates a six-thousand-acre wheat farm in the Red River Valley of North Dakota.

THE DAKOTA WHEAT FARM EXPENSE ACCOUNT.

Labor.....	\$12,632.39
House supplies.....	1,718.31
Taxes.....	1,202.90
Repairs	1,084.78
Machines.....	1,062.00
Twine.....	987.25
Fuel.....	495.90
Beef.....	462.80
Sundries	649.10
Personal	254.38
Freight.....	206.69
Oil.....	185.82
Seed.....	83.81
Hay.....	22.50
Net expense.....	\$20,998.63

GROSS RETURNS FROM THE DAKOTA WHEAT FARM.

Credits by wheat shipments	\$40,050.00
Less expense.....	20,998.63
Net profits in 1898.....	\$19,051.37

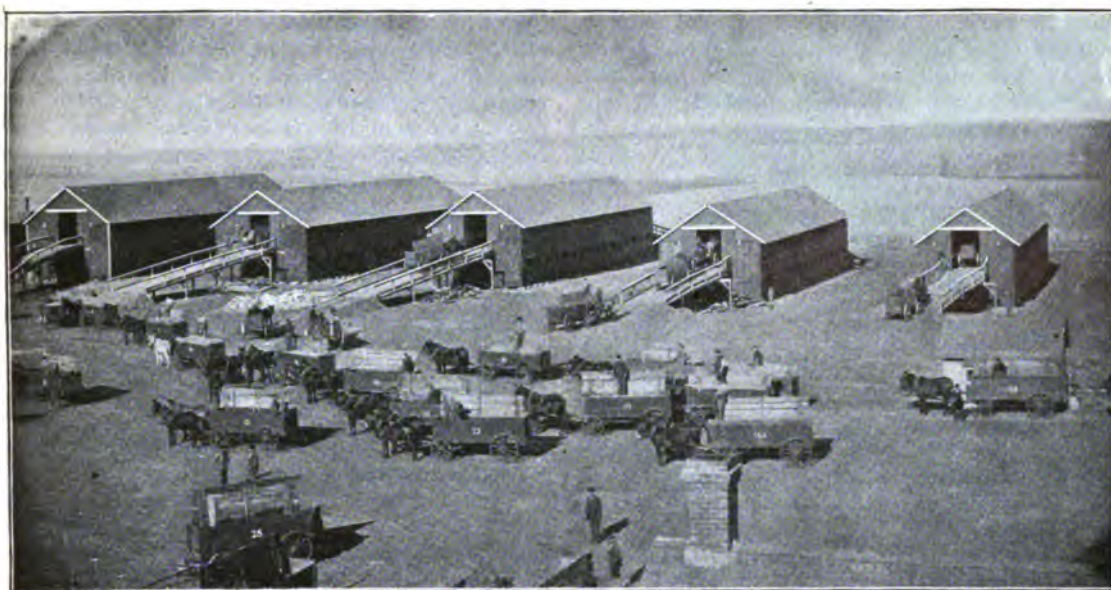
For the wheat farm 1898 was an average year, the yield being 18 bushels per acre and the price an average price. It has produced for its owner seventeen successive crops, one of which alone netted him \$72,000.

The two expense accounts show curious differences. In Iowa men are hired for the entire crop season of eight months at \$18 and board per month. In Dakota they are hired for the actual seeding in the spring and the harvesting in the fall at from \$1.50 to \$3 per day. In the end the labor, or money-wage account, is about the same thing, as will be seen; but the house-supply account is much heavier on the corn farm.

On the corn farm the item of repairs was nominal, the plant under present ownership being new, while the items of "repairs" and "machines" on the wheat farm represent the average annual expenditure for replacing and keeping up the machinery. Twine is naturally the larger item on the wheat farm. The Iowa farm supplies its own fuel. On the Dakota farm coal is required.



LINING UP FOR CORN-HUSKING.



CRIBBING THE CORN.

(There are twelve of these double cribs, averaging about two hundred and twenty-four feet in length.)

Here, too, note that the corn farm is planted with 600 bushels of corn, costing \$180, while to seed the wheat farm requires 8,000 bushels of wheat, worth in 1898 \$8,000. Again, in Dakota 500 acres of oats barely feeds the 160 head of mules, while in Iowa 250 acres of corn feeds the same number easily. These differences, together with the seed difference and the twine difference, sometimes handicap the profit account of the wheat farm \$10,000 a year to start with.

HOW IT WAS DONE.

The essentials of a profitable farm are good land, well drained, but not too rolling, and accessibility to reasonable transportation. Six thousand acres being about three miles square makes the largest farm which can be operated to advantage from a single central station; a larger acreage simply means two or more farms.

About April 1 men and mules move on the fields in battalions. Four-horse seeders, four-foot harrows, and six-horse gang-plows maneuver for six weeks like an army, sowing small grain, plowing, and planting corn. The minute the small grain is sown 31 corn-planters are thrown behind the plows, and in this work lies largely the success or failure of the crop. Note, for instance, the pains taken in selecting the seed corn.

A perfect stand of corn is the first requisite of a large yield. From a choice piece of land previously planted with selected seed about

2,000 bushels of the finest ears are taken. From these an expert selects 600 bushels. These ears are placed on racks in a building arranged especially for a seed-house. Whatever the thermometer registers in Iowa, the temperature in that seed-house never falls below freezing. All this insures the highest possible germinating power in the seed, and that alone might, in case of a cold, wet spring, save the entire profit of the season by producing a good stand.

The planting must of necessity be done by machinery, and to secure the maximum yield three seed kernels must be dropped in each hill. If five drop in, that hill is lost to the profit account; if only one, it is partially lost.

But perfect as American farming machinery is, it does not leave the factory perfect enough to insure against irregular planting. Patiently and by a series of exhaustive tests the planter plates are so adjusted to the size of the seed kernels for each year that they will deposit an average of sixty-five kernels to every twenty hills, and not more than four nor less than two in any one. So great are the precautions that before the seed is shelled the tips and butts of the seed ears are cut off to secure kernels of an even size.

Even after this delicate adjustment of the best machinery in the world, foremen follow the 31 planters and at intervals open hills to count the seed deposits and make sure that each machine is

doing its work. In addition, a purse of \$100 is split into eight prizes between the eight men who do the best work and whose teams mark the straightest rows. With such method is it any wonder that the crop on this farm averaged 60 bushels per acre, against the average of 32 bushels as given Iowa by the government report for 1898?

After the seeding, the harrowing, and it is done with extraordinary energy and concentration. One hundred and forty sections of four-foot harrows sweep the fields like a charge of cavalry. Every time they move a mile together sixty-two acres are covered.

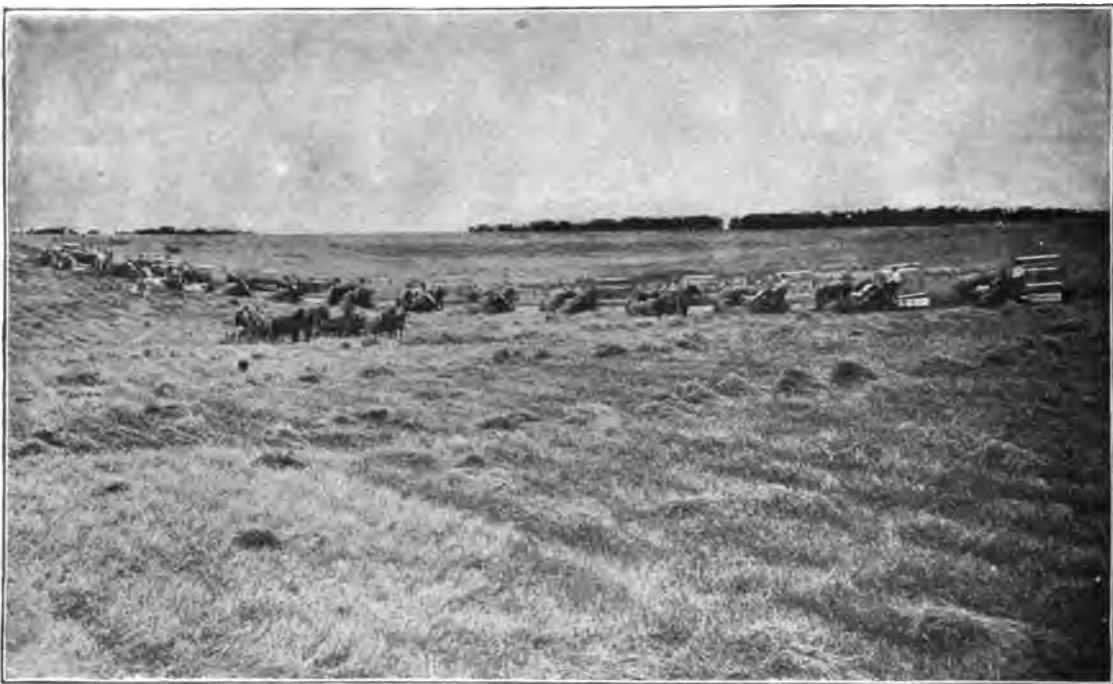
When the 3,800 acres of corn are up and ready 76 two-horse cultivators are put into it. The point in the first cultivation one way and in the second the other way is to get as close as possible to the corn; but after the pains taken to place it there no plant must be left covered by a clod of earth. The field hand must uncover it, and a foreman on horseback behind each twenty men is held responsible for his crew's work. In the third and final cultivation the earth is thrown up against the plant, the small weeds in the hill being smothered and the large ones pulled by hand. It will be of interest to merchants and to theological professors to learn that it is not the weed in the row, but the one in the hill which mars the beauty of the balance-sheet.

The corn being now three feet high, the interlacing roots and the overhanging stalks prevent further cultivation. Into this field, approximating one mile in width and six miles in length, are sent in October 75 wagons and men for the husking. This takes 60 days, and a row of cribs 10 feet wide and 16 feet high, half a mile long, are required to hold the crop.

In harvesting the small grain it is threshed directly from the shock, saving the cost of stacking and rehandling. Elevators provide against heating. A further saving of 5 to 8 per cent. over the operations of the small farmer is effected in shipping to terminal points instead of selling to local grain buyers. Future options may also be sold against the growing crop on market bulges at a season when the small farmer could not ordinarily deliver his crop.

The soil is kept to a high state of fertility by a rotation of crops so arranged that each piece of land bears three crops of corn, next one of wheat in which clover is sown, next one of clover plowed under; then follow again the three crops of corn.

The clover is simply a fertilizer, a portion only of the first crop being cut for hay and the remainder plowed under to maintain the vitality of the soil. The large roots act as a subsoiler and the decomposing vegetable matter restores the nitrogen taken by the grain.



INTO THE SMALL GRAIN.

(Showing fifteen four-mule binders, field foreman on horseback, water-carrier wagon, and superintendent's carriage.)

In order that the maximum amount of field work may be obtained, no "chores" are required of the men other than the cleaning of their teams. These are fed, bedded, and the barns cleaned by barn men. The results on this farm are therefore secured by painstaking care and thorough methods.

The question is often asked, What does it cost to produce a bushel of corn? On this farm, the size of thirty-five ordinary farms, with a sixty-bushel crop the cost was 9 cents per bushel to the crib. For shelling, shipping, and commissions add another cent, making 10 cents in all. It is evident, however, that had this farm been divided into thirty-five farms, with thirty-five cooks and thirty-five families, thirty-five door-yards and waste lands, the expense of raising a bushel of corn would have been nearer 16 to 18 cents.

In any event, the cost varies from year to year with the yield. The only fixed estimate which the farmer can give is the cost per acre for producing the crop. This remains always practically the same and is, roughly speaking, \$4.50 for small grain and \$5 for corn.

The 1898 acreage of the corn farm was approximately as shown in the following brief table:

Corn	3,700
Wheat.....	1,200
Oats.....	700
Roads and trees	400

Some interest naturally attaches to the man behind the gun—the man who, in this instance, has demonstrated that nothing pays better than farming. While the element of foreign birth and of foreign descent which has done so much to develop the Northwest is admirable, it will still be a gratification to learn that this successful farmer is not of that element, but that he is purely and distinctly American. He comes from the straightest New England stock and bears the name of one of its most famous families. His ancestral kindred were among the molders of the republic and represented their country at the courts of England, Russia, and France; sat in Presidential cabinets, in Congress, and more than once in the White House. The record almost spells the name.

Less than forty years of age, he never saw a day's work on a farm until he bought one after he was twenty-one. His success rather indicates that there still are farmers born, and that the capital and energy put into manufacturing and merchandising, if applied to-day to farming, will yield equally good returns.

CHARACTERISTICS AND POSSIBILITIES OF MIDDLE WESTERN LITERATURE.

BY JOHNSON BRIGHAM.

I.

THE book and magazine reading world in the East doesn't quite comprehend the vigorous, unconventional expression given by many of our middle Western authors to the thoughts and purposes and longings and daily walk and conversation of the millions who live in the world-inviting, world-including valleys of the Mississippi and the Missouri, the great "heart of the world's heart," as Joaquin Miller suggestively styles our middle West.

The book-reading East is but just waking to a realization that between Chicago and the Rocky Mountains there is an abundance of material worth crystallizing into literature. Thanks to Mrs. Catherwood, Miss French, Mrs. Peattie, Mr. Garland, Mr. White, and other writers of less fame, the reading world to the east of the

midland region is finding truer types of Western manhood and womanhood than the heroes and heroines of the mining camps of '49 and of the cattle trails in the 70s.

II.

Surely there is abundant material for literature in the middle West. Its people, as compared with the men and women who move through the novels of Jane Austen and George Eliot and Thackeray and Dickens and Howells and Miss Wilkins, are certainly not wanting in picturesqueness and individuality. They are in many respects a peculiar people. We find among them few voluntarily idle and few who cannot find work: no towering rich; no dependent and servile poor. One finds little of that spirit of caste which forms the chief basis and much of

the superstructure of Eastern and old-world novels.

Note the heterogeneous elements of the population of the middle West. Take, for example, the commonwealth of Iowa, that central meeting-place of the races between the two branches of our one great river with two names, the Mississippi and the Missouri. Here, merged into harmonious social relations, are the sons and daughters of the sturdy pioneers and immigrants from all the older States. Here are the gregarious Germans in the river towns and on small, well-tilled farms and market gardens roundabout. Here are the Irish, Scotch-Irish, and Scotch, invariably industrious and thrifty. The Dutch, with the blood of martyrs flowing in their veins, came early in the 50s and here planted two new Hollands and consecrated them to the service of God and to freedom of conscience. Here the Quakers have planted, along with their corn and oats, the seeds of a social economy which is proof against war, hard times, and high taxation. Here are whole communities of Scandinavians, who by their hardihood and pluck are daily revealing the secret of Gustavus Adolphus' invincibility. Here also, grouped in numerous coal-mining towns, are the negroes, leading their own separate home, school, church, and community life, daily demonstrating in an era of strikes and confusion of rights that, given an opportunity, there is no necessary work too hard for them to do.

But the social peculiarities of this typical Western State are not yet exhausted. In the southern portion of Iowa, grouped in and about the little city of Lamoni, are the anti-polygamy Mormons, or "Reorganized Church of Latter-Day Saints," who, under the wise leadership of a namesake of the first of their prophets, Joseph Smith, have built up a prosperous and apparently happy community life and are successfully proselyting in the East, in Canada, in England, and in the uttermost parts of the earth. Not far from Lamoni is an interesting remnant of the once-flourishing Icarian Community, a French experiment in communism which failed where similar experiments—notably the Amana Colony—have succeeded, because the Icarians lacked what the others have—namely, the cohesive power of a common religious belief. In the practical application of the all-things-in-common theory, the most conspicuously successful experiment made in the West, if not in the whole world, is that of the "Community of True Inspiration," known as the Amana Colony, a community spreading over several townships in eastern central Iowa, centering in eight villages in which prosperous manufacturing and mercantile enterprises provide a

lively home market for its farms and gardens. These enterprises constitute the one connecting link between the colonists and the outside world. This peculiar people speak the German tongue and are essentially German in thought and habits of life. After nearly a half century of conscientious labor for the common good, they are collectively rich and to all appearances contented with their lot.

All these seemingly irreconcilable elements, with others quite as peculiar but less prominent, far from proving an embarrassment or a source of weakness to the State, are on terms of peace and amity with their neighbors, and politically exert no more influence than their relative voting strength would lead one to expect. All are ideally acquiescent in the one essential of a republican commonwealth, majority rule.

III.

Said a bright young middle Western writer recently: "If I had ever lived or traveled abroad, or hunted elk, or fought Indians, or if I had had a touch of life on a ranch or in a mining camp, or if I had played the slumming rôle or the society rôle in Chicago or New York, or if I had faced death before Santiago, I might then have written stories editors would accept and people would read."

"Possibly, but not necessarily," was my guarded reply. I then went over the old ground so thoroughly and oft traversed. I referred to Jane Austen's circumscribed career and yet her ability to write novels which could win extravagant praise from even "great Scott" himself. I retold the story of Miss Wilkins' faithful picturing of humble home life in rural New England; of Miss Murfree's successful work among the mountains of Tennessee; of Mrs. Catherwood's ambition to crystallize into romance the history of Canada and of our own Northwest and her great and well-sustained success; of Miss French's success in painting familiar types of Western town life and later in actually getting at the heart of toil.

My young friend went away sorrowing. She could not see and would not believe that material for myriad novels and short stories is all about her—in the social complications of our farm and town life, ranging all the way from farce-comedy to tragedy; in the simple joys and deep pathos of lives shut in by distance from other lives; in the unbrotherly and artificial life of our larger cities—to counteract which the benevolent are struggling, singly, by families, and in associations, with more or less unwisdom, yet not altogether without success; in the gravelike quiet

and isolation of our shrouded prairies in winter ; in the grandeur and beauty of these sweeps of rolling prairie in flowery May and June ; in the annual miracle of waning summer—the forests of corn which in June and July are not, but in August rise before our wondering eyes as rose the forest of Dunsinane before the bewildered gaze of Macbeth.

Our few true artists are finding a wealth of material, not only on the farms and along the main-traveled roads, but also in the workshops and country stores and mines and quarries and forests, on our railroads, in our political campaigns, along the family doctor's country ride, in the summer Chautauqua assembly and camp-meeting, and the winter's inevitable revival season with its apparently inevitable alternate, the gay season ; in the ever-hopeful migrations of the young and ambitious and adventurous ; in the glad home-coming of the few and the sad return of the many ; in the trials and triumphs—and failures too—of the struggling schools and colleges, and the splendid loyalty of their students and graduates, oftentimes more noble than worldly wise ; in the all-absorbing contests of rival schools and colleges and towns and States and sections for physical and intellectual mastery ; in the mimic-soldier activities of national-guard life and in the actual-soldier experiences of youths who, because they are "tried and approved in action," are first to feel that sense of individual responsibility without which a government of the people would be a Utopian dream.

The true picturers of this intensely real life have themselves lived, or at least felt, that life. Naturally to them come words which reveal that life to their readers. They know, or at least for the time feel, the unrest and high ambition and wild longing of youth. They have not forgotten the secret prayer of the heart of love. They sadly or gladly recall a mother's woe or joy. They have been very close to sorrows, and therefore have in their hearts and on their pens the subtle antidote of sympathy for those who have unwisely loved and so have missed the greatest joy of living. Between the lines of their work they sing songs of consolation to them that mourn ; and to those who have fought their good fight of faith and yet have outwardly failed they speak by suggestion the word that inspires new hope and courage. By indirection they repeat the poet's "Never, never" to the mute, inglorious hero who, wearying of long-continued and unrecognized self-denial and sacrifice, finds himself asking the old question, "Is sacrifice vain ?"

All this is but another form of the old truth—older than literature—that the really great crises

in life are those in which the soul poises itself, or finds itself poised, between two fates, one or the other of which must be chosen ; one leading upward toward the soul's ideal, which when realized is heaven, the other leading downward toward we know not what of ill or woe ; and that the true historian of such crises need not go away from home for the material out of which life histories are made.

IV.

Speaking in general terms, the things which are seen are temporal and belong to journalism : the eternal things, the things which are not seen with the physical eye, but are comprehended with the eye of the mind, belong to literature. The most influential journalist is willing to admit the ephemeral quality of his work. Only a general impression of its trend remains. But not so with literature. Let me repeat, in new combination of words, a platitude as old as the hills. Homer's lines, recited under the Cumæan poplars, outlast the city of Cumæ, outlast the very coin with which that city's wise men are said to have weighed the poet and found him wanting. In the privacy of our libraries we are free to admit that Shakespeare's Cæsars and Henrys and Richards are the only Richards and Henrys and Cæsars we know or care to know, though the historians have proven over and over again that as portraits they are not historically true. Schiller's Marie Stuart is to us the only Mary Queen of Scots, and we refuse against a stubborn array of evidence to accept the historical Mary of doubtful virtue. Our Wallace and our Bruce may be traced directly to "Scottish Chiefs," read with delight in our childhood—not to Scottish history. Tennyson has given us the only Arthur and the Table Round we really care to know. Who is the real historian of the Mohawk Valley—William L. Stone or Harold Frederic ? What picture rises in your mind when the storming of Quebec is mentioned—that which the historian has presented or that which Gilbert Parker has painted ? Who has the more vividly re-peopled our Northern and Western border in the time of Marquette and La Salle—Parkman or Mrs. Catherwood ? Octave Thanet's "Western Town Types" and Hamlin Garland's pictures of country life, a quarter century or more ago and now, give us more than a history of the middle West ; they picture the real life of a pioneer people. Bret Harte's miners, Cable's creoles, Joel Chandler Harris' and Paul Dunbar's negroes, Eggleston's and Riley's Hoosiers, Thomas Nelson Page's Virginians, Miss Murfree's Tennesseans, Opie Reed's Kentuckians, Miss Wilkins' and Miss

Jewett's New Englanders, Mr. White's Kansans, Mrs. Peattie's Nebraskans, Octave Thanet's Arkansaw philosophers and Iowa farmers and mechanics, Mr. Garland's Iowa and Wisconsin villagers and backwoodsmen—all, together, are making an illustrated history of our country and the real life story of our time. Their work—not all of it, but the best of it—stands for the permanent in art. They are the many-voiced Homers of our era.

V.

But what of the possibilities of middle Western literature? There is the ever-living present with its myriad suggestions to the receptive mind, its kaleidoscopic combinations; and there is the doubly rich and almost wholly unworked past lying in fallow for the coming of those who have the skill and power to transform the fallow into fruitful fields.

There are two especially rich fields which belong to the writers of the middle West, either by right of inheritance or by reason of title acquired through long residence and close touch and sympathy. I refer to the heroic period in our history from 1861 to 1865, and to the equally heroic period prior to the War of the Rebellion.

Turn a moment to the early history which the many Mississippi and Missouri Valley pioneer associations are gathering and arranging and, with the aid of the press, are placing upon the printed page—crude stories of hardship, trials, and triumphs, taken as they fall from the lips of pioneers whose voices will soon be silenced in death. Many an ambitious writer will seek to infuse into this material the breath of life, and some will measurably succeed. In good time will come the Crocketts, the Parkers, the Harold Frederics, and the Weir Mitchells of this region who will picture for all coming time the pioneer heroes of these middle Western States and the brave, resultful life they led.

And the true artist of the future will not neglect to bring out prominently, in enduring word-painting and word-sculpture, the noble pioneer women of that period whom the silent terrors of vast solitudes, the night-cry of the wolf, and the more hideous war-whoop of the Indian could not daunt, who entered heart and soul into the plans and purposes of the pioneer home-makers and commonwealth-builders into whose care they had trustingly committed their lives and the destinies of those who might come after them.

Then there is the war epoch in middle Western history. There yet remain many thousands in this region who recall those four long, woeful years, from the tragic inevitableness of which

there was no escape and in their zeal for the cause of the Union no desire to escape.

Many of us can yet hear the bugle and the drum and fife, and can see, as though the call for troops came only yesterday, that grand uprising of young men—not common men, but embryo heroes, nerved to do and suffer and eager to take the supreme risk of death for "the cause." In mind we follow them, "with large steps crossing the prairies, crossing the West with springy gait," their "sinewy limbs clothed in blue." We recall the "sudden partings such as crush the life from out young hearts"—and old hearts too; the desolate homes; the family altars never again rekindled; the long watch of some for "the unreturning brave;" the general joy following the restoration of peace; the glad home-coming; the happiness unspeakable in hearts that had not dared to hope before; the renewed love life in the home; the broadening out of some under the rough discipline of war; the demoralization of others who, though brave in battle, proved weak before the insidious foes of youth that lurk in camp.

All this and more of individual experience has found as yet no lasting voice in middle Western literature. It lingers in the traditions of myriad midland homes and in the uncertain memory of surviving veterans, as related and rerepeated at soldiers' reunions and around Grand Army camp-fires.

This wealth of material will not soon be exhausted. It will not all be put into permanent literary form; but among the many attempts which will be made to picture our war epoch for all coming time, some Scott or Gilbert Parker will in good time appear, and he shall give the world a real heart story of the middle West during the heroic period of its history.

Harold Frederic says the poet precedes the novelist, because his task is easier. Though we may question the reason given, we cannot doubt the historical truth of the statement. Already one poet has sung in verse the story of the March to the Sea, a poem which is likely to remain throughout all coming time the epic of that most picturesque chapter in our war history. I know of nothing in the poetry of war more thrilling than Major Byers' description of the fall of Atlanta and of the after-scenes of that memorable progress through the heart of the South.*

VI.

The few who are actually making middle Western literature are not content with simply

* I learn that a second and carefully revised edition of "The March to the Sea" is soon to appear.

threshing the old straw of Greece and Rome and England. They are willing to leave to Virgil the bucolic loves of the picturesque sheep-tending period. They are not entering into competition with Theocritus or Anacreon. They are content to let Homer's heroes fight it out to the end under the walls of Troy. They are making no attempts to deal with the supernatural or the preternatural. They are satisfied to leave with the Greeks and Romans the amours and crimes of gods and heroes. They are leaving to Tasso and Scott and Bulwer the romance material of the Crusades. They are relying on Dante to present for all time that strangely fascinating refinement of horrors, the mediæval hell. They are leaving the Elizabethan period to the poets and dramatists who made that era glorious. They are pleased to leave the "land o' cakes and brither Scots" to Scott and Burns and to the new school of Scotch fictionists whom some critics, too near to get a good perspective, derisively term the kail-yard or cabbage-garden school. They are wisely leaving English life to Englishmen and Anglicized Americans, French life to Frenchmen and Frenchified Englishmen and Russians, the Eastern field to our own Eastern writers, the South to the splendid new school of native-born makers of literature, the far West to the few real interpreters of its varied and fast-changing life and to their Eastern imitators.

VII.

Let me conclude with a few characteristics of the middle Western literature of the future as prefigured in the middle Western literature of our time. It is, and at least for many decades must continue to be, strongly suggestive of the free outdoor life of this region. Apparently it never will make the mistake of some delineators of life on the plains and in the mountains to the west of us—that of confounding mere sound and fury with healthy resonance. It will continue to show more talent for the selection and utilization of material than deftness in the literary finisher's art. With rather more regard for generally accepted grammatical and rhetorical construction than some of its writers in the past have shown, it will never slavishly take its fashion of speech from the literary fashion delineators in the Eastern magazines. A virile creator of words and phrases as they are needed—no people more so—it will go on creating and forcing the products of its creation into the dictionaries and into the thought and speech of people in other sections and other countries.

Midland literature will continue to be, like the people from whom it emanates, direct, straightforward, and, in the best sense of the term, simple. It will continue to be broad, liberal, catholic, free from literary fads and fancies, free from mere cleverness, free from dialect as it is possible to be without injustice to the characters presented, using dialect not as a cover for vulgarity nor as a substitute for talent, but as a helper to readers who would catch the tone as well as the words of the characters presented.

Middle Western literature will continue to have the local touch which makes the setting of the scene clearly recognizable and is the sign-manual of its genuineness; but that touch will be combined with the universal quality which establishes the world-wide kinship of all true literature. Whatever its faults and failings, it will be true to life—to the life it aims to reflect. "Too true to life" say some who have been intellectually reared in the belief that idealism is inconsistent with realism and that realism is inconsistent with art. It will be broad as the world in its sympathies, yet possessed of sufficient local color to enable the reader, wherever he may be or however ignorant he may be of midland scenery and life, to feel the artist touch in the description and the nature touch in the character-sketching.

The literature of the middle West will continue to be, as it has been from the first, free from low suggestion. I doubt if it will ever even seek to learn the old-world trick of attractively picturing beauty in combination with devilishness and love with lust, and of begging questions raised by social conditions which defy the laws of God and set at naught the wisdom of the ages. If I may judge from the puritan simplicity which now marks the reading habits of the reading people of the middle West, I am safe in making the prediction that the literature which panders to man's lower nature will ever find the doors of midland homes securely closed and barred.

Not shrinking from the inevitable touch of sorrow without which the novel or the poem is untrue to life, our middle Western literature, like the men and women of this region, will continue to be defiantly optimistic in tone. Its evident mission will be to make life, on the whole, seem somewhat less hard, somewhat fuller of compensations for its inevitable woes; will incline busy men and women to be less self-centered, more sympathetic; will tend to refresh and strengthen the mind for new occasions and to inspire the soul with new courage for life's humdrum duties as well as for its crises.

' LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

THE INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE FOR LIFE.

A VERY vivid and striking account of "the new struggle for life among the nations" is given in the *Fortnightly* "from an American standpoint" by Mr. Brooks Adams. The new era began with the collapse of France in 1870. England, without a rival in manufactures until 1873, had been investing abroad the surplus of her profits. Gradually foreign competition caused prices to fall, profits to shrink, and agriculture to wane in England. In 1886 British investors began to withdraw their foreign holdings. The displacement which followed led to the collapse in Argentina in 1890, in Australia in 1891, in the United States in 1893, and last of all in India.

THE PERIL OF A GLUT.

Now "all the energetic races have been plunged into a contest for the possession of the only markets left open capable of absorbing manufactures, since all are forced to encourage exports to maintain themselves."

"How long English accumulations will last is immaterial, since in one form or another they will doubtless suffice for the immediate future. The upshot of the whole matter, therefore, is that America has been irresistibly impelled to produce a large industrial surplus—a surplus, should no change occur, which will be larger in a few years than anything ever before known. Upon the existence of this surplus hinges the future, for the United States must provide sure and adequate outlets for her products or be in danger of gluts more dangerous to her society than many panics such as 1873 or 1893."

CUBA AND THE PRICE OF SUGAR.

The writer illustrates the danger by tracing the Spanish-American War, with all its momentous consequences, to German bounties on beet-root sugar. These first lowered prices and increased production in the West Indies. Then Germany doubled her bounties and plunged the West Indies into despair. The whole economic system of Cuba was dislocated, revolt was precipitated, and war was the outcome.

A COALITION CENTERED IN BERLIN.

Mr. Adams argues :

"If, however, the stoppage of the outlet of the export trade of so petty a portion of the earth's surface as the West Indies produced the catastrophes of the last four years, the future

course of the United States, with its vast and growing surplus, becomes the most momentous question of the age. . . . The surplus must seek a vent abroad, and there are clear indications that a great coalition is coming into being whose aim it is to exclude the United States from those countries which should be her natural outlet."

Her natural outlet is westward ; the coalition's outlet is eastward. The two rivals meet on the Pacific's eastern shores : "Northern Europe and Asia, from the Bay of Biscay to the Yellow Sea, is solidifying into an economic mass whose heart lies at Berlin."

ITS POLICY OF EXCLUSION.

"Whether it be upon the Rhine or the Amour, the policy of this Eastern civilization is the same. It is the old policy of Napoleon—the policy of exclusion. No better example could be found than the aggressions of Germany, who, since the consolidation of 1870, has deliberately ruined the West Indies by forcing her bounty-fed sugar on foreigners, while seeking by every device to exclude foreign products from her markets. Had the West Indies themselves or Great Britain, their protector, been able to coerce Germany into abandoning her abnormal exports, the islands of the Gulf of Mexico would be as rich and happy as of yore. The same danger, on a vaster scale, threatens every exporting nation which allows its outlets to be closed, and a little consideration will suffice to show that in the case of the United States this danger is both real and near.

"Eastern Asia now appears, without much doubt, to be the only district likely soon to be able to absorb any great increase of manufactures, and accordingly eastern Asia is the prize for which all the energetic nations are grasping. If the continental coalition wins, that coveted region will be closed to their rivals. Should it be so closed, the pressure caused by the stoppage of the current which has so long run westward might shake American society to its foundation."

THE TREND TO COLLECTIVISM.

Mr. Adams observes that civilization has advanced by two processes—the individual and the collective. The latter marks the eastward powers :

"The Anglo-Saxon has been the most individual of races, and it reached high fortune under conditions which fostered individuality to a supreme degree. Such conditions prevailed when the world was vacant and steam began to make rapid movement possible ; but all must perceive

that as masses solidify the qualities of the pioneer will cease to be those that command success.

"The concentration whose result is an elimination of waste is nothing but a movement toward collectivism, and the relative rise of the peoples who excel in collective methods has been accordingly contemporaneous with the advent of the great trusts in the West. Perhaps the best example of the success of the collective method is the centralization of Germany and the organization of Russia."

STATE SOCIALISM—EAST OR WEST.

The social bearing of the whole paper appears in its closing sentences. If America is forced to digest her surplus produce, she will have to compete with her rivals in cost of domestic life, industrial production, and public administration.

"In such a competition success can only be won by surpassing the enemy in his own method or in that concentration which reduces waste to a minimum. Such a concentration might conceivably be effected by the growth and amalgamation of great trusts until they absorbed the government, or it might be brought about by the central corporation, called the government, absorbing the trust. In either event the result would be approximately the same. The eastern and western continents would be competing for the most perfect system of state socialism."

"THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN."

COMMENTING on Mr. Rudyard Kipling's poem published in *McClure's* for February, Mr. W. T. Stead says in the *English Review of Reviews*:

"It is an international document of the first order of importance. It is a direct appeal to the United States to take up the policy of expansion. It puts the matter on the highest and most unselfish grounds. The poet has idealized and transfigured imperialism. He has shown its essence to be not lordship, but service. We can recall no nobler setting forth of the intrinsic ministry of empire. The whole presentation is steeped in the spirit of self-abnegation and self-sacrifice. It will be strange if these seven stanzas do not prove more than a match for all the millions and all the eloquence of anti-expansionists like Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Bryan. The poet has taken sure aim, and it is in the conscience of the American people that his bolt will lodge.

"Empire over the undeveloped peoples is 'the white man's burden.' This is the burden Mr. Kipling bids our kin take up. He bids them send forth the pick of their sons, that in the exile of remote provinces they may supply

the wants of the conquered races and train 'the sullen peoples half devil and half child.' He bids them learn the lesson of unostentatious service, of frank, unthreatening intercourse, and of untiring altruism. Police wars, campaigns against famine, the battle with pestilence and with ancient sloth and stupidity—these are the arduous duties to which he invites American energies. He offers only the old reward, the hatred and censure and misunderstanding of the peoples you try to benefit; but he reminds them of the solemn fact that their conduct decides the judgment which the subject races will form of the white man's religion and civilization. By this master-stroke Mr. Kipling has divested the imperial vocation of the false tinsel and glitter with which it is too often associated, and reveals it in its naked austerity as a hard and thankless task performed under constraint of conscience and of God."

AMERICA'S DUTY TO HER NEW DEPENDENCIES.

CAPTAIN MAHAN writes in the *Engineering Magazine* for January on "The Relations of the United States to Their New Dependencies," drawing the illustrations of most of his propositions from the records of the two principal colonizing nations of modern times, Great Britain and Spain. The main line of thought developed in Captain Mahan's article is indicated in the following paragraphs:

"The task is great; who is sufficient for it? The writer believes firmly in the ultimate power of ideas. Napoleon is reported to have said: 'Imagination rules the world.' If this be generally so, how much more the true imaginations which are worthy to be called ideas! There is a nobility in man which welcomes the appeal to beneficence. May it find its way quickly now to the heads and hearts of the American people before less worthy ambitions fill them; and, above all, to the kings of men, in thought and in action, under whose leadership our land makes its giant strides. There is in this no Quixotism. Materially, the interest of the nation is one with its beneficence; but if the ideas get inverted and the nation sees in its new responsibilities, first of all, markets and profits, with incidental resultant benefit to the natives, it will go wrong. Through such mistakes Great Britain passed. She lost the United States; she suffered bitter anguish in India; but India and Egypt testify to-day to the nobility of her repentance. Spain repented not. The examples are before us. Which shall we follow?

"And is there not a stimulus to our imagina-

tion and to high ambition to read, as we easily may, how the oppressed have been freed and the degraded lifted in India and in Egypt, not only by political sagacity and courage, but by administrative capacity directing the great engineering enterprises which change the face of a land and increase a hundredfold the opportunities for life and happiness? The profession of the writer and the subject consequently of most of his writing stands for organized force, which if duly developed is the concrete expression of the nation's strength. But while he has never concealed his opinion that the endurance of civilization during a future far beyond our present foresight depends ultimately upon due organization of force, he has ever held and striven to say that such force is but the means to an end, which end is durable peace and progress and therefore beneficence."

A FRENCH VIEW OF ANGLO-SAXON "IMPERIALISM."

THE first article in the *Contemporary Review* is an impassioned appeal by M. de Presensé for a better understanding between England and France. He had hoped that after France had retrieved the blunder of Fashoda, magnanimity on one side and regret on the other might have led to a new era of mutual good-will. He laments bitterly that such is not the case.

THE UNITED STATES "DRUNK WITH GLORY."

He declares that everywhere, even in the too rare parts of the world, where we thought Freedom had planted her standard, we are looking upon a retrograde movement which puts us back some centuries:

"In the United States of America we see the intoxication of the new strong wine of warlike glory carrying a great democracy off its feet and raising the threatening specter of militarism, with its fatal attendant, Cæsarism, in the background. Under the pretext of 'manifest destiny' the great republic of the western hemisphere is becoming unfaithful to the principles of her founders, to the precedents of her constitutional life, to the traditions which have made her free, glorious, and prosperous. The seductions of imperialism are drawing the United States toward the abyss where all the great democracies of the world have found their end. The cant of Anglo-Saxon alliance, of the brotherhood-in-arms of English-speaking people, is serving as a cloak to the nefarious designs of those who want to cut in two the grand motto of Great Britain, *Imperium et Libertas* and to make *Imperium* swallow *Libertas*.

ENGLAND "INTOXICATED WITH POWER."

"In the United Kingdom a similar tendency is at work. Everybody sees that the present England is no longer the England—I do not say of Cobden or Bright, but of Peel, Russell, Palmerston, Derby, or even Disraeli. A kind of intoxication of power has seized the people. Mr. Chamberlain has known how to take the flood in time and to ride the crest of the new wave. The Unionist party is disposed to believe that it is to the interest of the privileged classes to nurse the pride of empire: first, because they govern it and profit by it; secondly, and chiefly, because nothing diverts more surely the spirit of reform than the imperialist madness. It is a curious thing, but a fact beyond dispute, that when the masses are on the verge of rising in their majesty and asking for their rights, the classes have only to throw into their eyes the powder of imperialism and raise the cry of 'The fatherland in danger' in order to bring them once more, meek and submissive, to their feet.

THE FRENCH FIEND AND THE ENGLISH.

"But what I want to insist upon here is that just as in England it is imperialism—that is to say, the foe of true democracy, of freedom, and of social progress—which is at the bottom of the anti-French agitation, so in France it is nationalism—that is to say, the party of military and clerical reaction—which is flirting with a German alliance and working for a rupture with England. Consequently on both sides of the channel and in the whole world the fate of liberalism, or in other terms the future of civilization, is absolutely connected with the state of the relations of our two countries."

THE PEACE CRUSADE IN EUROPE.

THE "Looker-on" in *Blackwood* discusses the Russian peace proposals. He insists that "after inquiry, as before, the motives of the Czar's proposal may be suspected with propriety." But the writer does not content himself with mere negative criticism. He has a positive suggestion to make:

"Yet the Czar might do more for peace than any potentate on earth could he turn his mind in another direction. He might make a new map of his enormous dominions, including Manchuria, itself large enough, fertile enough, rich and populous enough to form a little kingdom. And, map in hand, he might proclaim that in return for a pledge of non-interference with any part of his possessions, or with their government in any shape, he would bind himself in similar engagements to all the world—seeking no extension of

territory or dominion for twenty years. Nothing that he can invent would do half as much for peace as that, if truly meant. We know of two great and powerful communities, at the least, who would listen gladly to such an offer; while as for Russia herself, it is certain that all the resources and energies of her government, fully employed for twenty years, could not over-improve her vast estate. But we need not look for such a Russian peace proposal as that."

Opposition in England.

The editor of the *National Review* remarks in his monthly chronicle:

"Amid all this turmoil of international jealousies, rivalries, amities, and complications, the voice of the peacemaker sounds oddly. The Czar's proposal for a conference to consider the limitation and reduction of armaments continues to be the subject of the wildest eulogy and not much more sober ridicule. Mr. Stead and his 'crusaders' are pervading the country, vulgarizing the movement by absurd perversions and hysterical exaggerations. In their excitement some of the 'crusaders' talk, as if to 'strengthen the hands' of the Czar by uttering eloquent platitudes on English platforms were likely to banish war from the earth forever, and as if the Czar himself, instead of being a sensible young ruler, anxious at once to do an excellent stroke of business for his own empire and, perhaps, something for the world at large, were a crowned saint and hero."

"As against the crusaders, some of the astute skeptics of the daily press continue to repeat, every few days, that the peace rescript was only the result of a deep-laid plan to get Russia out of a difficulty and, perhaps, to get England into one. Whatever truth there may be in this view of the matter, or at any rate in one part of it, there is no occasion to keep reiterating it, as though there were nothing else in the Czar's proposals. . . . Yet though the Czar may have got on the wrong lines in his details, the underlying idea is by no means absurd or even impracticable. . . . Universal peace will be as far off as ever after the Czar's conference, and universal disarmament no nearer. But a serious consideration of the possibility of revising the rules and conditions of warfare is really called for, and there is no reason why the discussion of this subject should not produce some practical and beneficial results."

A Crusade More Needed.

The *United Service Magazine* thinks that from the point of view of Great Britain's true interests, "surely the suppression of such serious

national calamities as the late strikes in the engineering and coal trades are far more worthy of a crusade than the Utopian dream of peace enforced by general agreement, which will never be realized so long as human nature is human nature. Though they do honor to the heart and mind of their august author, the "disarmament" proposals will not do away with the truth of the old Roman adage, *Si vis pacem, para bellum*."

War Desirable?

Mr. Edward Markwick, in the *New Century Review*, argues to show that the abolition of war is not only impossible, but it is not desirable. War must be regarded as part of those vast operations which Nature ceaselessly carries on in the developing and shaping of the universe. Her great purpose is the fostering of strength—not physical strength alone, but the combination of moral, intellectual, and physical strength. Nations, to live, must work; to prosper, must trade; to keep their prosperity, must be able and willing to fight. Strife must mark the development of the future as of the past.

"War the Supreme Test of Value."

Mr. H. F. Wyatt follows in the same strain in the *Nineteenth Century*. He sets up "War as the Supreme Test of National Value." War, he declares, is simply a phase in that tremendous and ceaseless process of competition which prevails alike on sea and land:

"Unless the vigorous nation or race can continue, as throughout history, to expand and grow stronger at the expense of the decaying nation or race, the fundamental condition of human advance will not be fulfilled, and a state of stagnancy, ending in social death, will be substituted for a state of progress."

"The only means, revealed to us by past experience, whereby the vigorous people has supplanted the weaker, has been war, without which change and movement must have ceased."

"Change and movement, the growth of those who use their opportunities at the expense of those who abuse them, are as essential now and in succeeding times as in the past."

"It is for the advocates of universal peace to show whether by any and what method decaying nations and states can be persuaded to abandon their territories, possessions, and privileges without fighting for them."

Nevertheless Mr. Wyatt admits that there are potent agencies at work which make for an "ultimate and far-off unity" among men, when mankind will have been welded into one homogeneous whole and the causes of conflict will have been removed. "But for us," he says,

"the striving dwellers in a vigorous and moving present, such speculations can have, after all, but an academic interest."

"A Sentimental Absurdity."

But the cream of all the criticisms on the peace crusade is to be found in Sir Henry Howorth's "Plain Words About the Czar's New Gospel of Peace" in the *Nineteenth Century*. He declares that the new agitation suggests an *opéra bouffe* on a grand scale, and he speaks of it as a pantomime. After referring to "hysterical people and hysterical movements," to "effeminate agitations," to "gush and sentiment," he continues:

"We are at this moment threatened with a new epidemic of this kind in which the man-woman or the woman-man is very much to the front, and which is being generated by certain well-known masters in the art of advertising pretentious forms of sham philanthropy, while their dupes consist in the main of estimable and amiable people who spend most of their lives in praying not for their own sins, but for the sins of other people, and in weeping over a world so much worse in every way than that in which they themselves live. It is, perhaps, well that some cold water from somewhere should be poured upon this new form of sentimental absurdity before the temperature gets too hot for control. It will at least save us from ridicule at the hands of our neighbors presently. The occasion of the new campaign or pantomime, whichever is thought the most appropriate term, is the recent invitation by the Russian Emperor to a general rubbing of noses and exchange of fine sentiments on the subject of peace and good-will among men."

He grants that we have to do with a genuine, if crude, impulse of a young and generous sovereign; but autocrat though he be, he has less initiative of government than President McKinley. In Russia the bureaucracy rules, and its wishes and intentions the Czar has entirely misinterpreted. The writer then passes in review the various augmentations and improvements of armaments now going forward in Russia, Germany, Austria, France, and the United States, and declares:

"Everywhere, therefore, there is a movement in the direction of increased armaments at the very time when everybody is belauding the Czar's rescript and replying in sympathetic terms to his invitation. . . . As a witty Irish judge said to me a few days ago: 'It is very much like a perfervid teetotal chairman addressing a dinner of the league while the waiters are engaged in filling every man's glass up with whisky.'"

Sir Henry Howorth goes on to rehearse the

more palpably obvious difficulties which attend the realization of the Czar's ideals. He concludes by saying:

"The trouble is that all this bastard enthusiasm among a very limited and very largely senseless class in this country may be mistaken by Nicholas the Third [*sic*], as a similar movement was mistaken by Nicholas the First, for the voice of the English people and of responsible English statesmen. . . . The only thing to guard against is that august foreigners should not mistake our real purpose because we have so many ingenuous people among us. '*Plus apud nos vera ratio valeat quam vulgi opinio*,' said a wiser man than most of us."

AUSTRIA: ITS KAISER AND ITS MISSION.

THERE is a suggestive article in the *Quarterly Review* on the Austrian empire, in which the character of the Emperor is set in a strange light. True to the unhappy traditions of the unhappy Hapsburgs, "The Emperor of Austria is not, as a general rule, remarkable for keeping an open mind. Only a few months ago the writer of this article was in a position to judge how the inherent difficulties of governing the Austrian empire have been rendered more difficult still by the impossibility of getting the sovereign to listen and give due weight to statements of disagreeable facts."

AN EXTRAORDINARY TREATY.

As a proof of his indecision of character is instanced an extraordinary compact in 1866:

"On June 12, some days before the outbreak of war with Russia, he concluded a treaty with Napoleon III., in which it was stipulated that Venice should be ceded to France for the purpose of being handed over to Italy, no matter whether the Austrian armies were victorious or not. The text of this treaty has never yet received the attention it deserves, but when the historians of the next century come to deal with it, we are much mistaken if they will not all of them pronounce it to be the most marvelous state document of our time. It is almost incredible that when the whole strength of the empire was required to meet the Prussian attack, a large portion of the army should have been used against Italy, although the government in Vienna had already made up its mind to cede the ancient city of Venice and the territory adjacent to it, the possession of which by Austria was the cause of war with Italy. . . . This treaty makes it absolutely clear that the war in Italy of 1866 was waged not in the interests of Austria, but in those of the Pope."

INTOLERANCE OF FIRST-CLASS ABILITY.

A still less estimable trait is next referred to: "One of the marked characteristics of the reign of the present Emperor of Austria is that the moment a minister becomes really powerful his fall is always at hand. The Emperor has invariably failed to support a leading minister just at the moment when that minister's policy required his most complete adhesion in order that it should be successful. He withdrew, for instance, his support from Schmerling at the most critical moment. Beust was dismissed just as he had brought about the overthrow of the ministry of Hohenwart, at a time when it was a prime necessity to take up a firm, or at least clear, position as regards the Slav population of the empire. Count Andrassy, in many respects one of the most interesting statesmen of the reign, who had rendered exceptional services to the whole empire by his moderating influence on his Hungarian countrymen, was forced to leave office just as he had concluded the alliance with Germany. An unswerving adherence to the governing idea of the policy of Andrassy and its application to internal questions would certainly have averted some of the pressing troubles of the present hour. But the Emperor Francis Joseph never could tolerate a minister of really first-class ability. In this respect he contrasts most unfavorably with his contemporary, King William I. of Prussia."

An ugly story is told of the way in which Benedek, who might have been successful in Italy, was forced to command the army doomed to Sadowa, lest a reverse inflicted on Archduke Albrecht might react unfavorably on the dynasty.

The writer declares that "the aim of Count Thun at the present moment is to transform the Austrian empire into a Catholic Slav power, to be ruled by the feudal nobility and the priests." Against this design the reviewer urgently warns the Germans to combine.

A MEDIATOR AMONG THE POWERS.

Despite the gloomy view taken by the writer of the character of the dynasty, he has a cheery estimate of the mission still reserved for Austria. This is none other than that of a general mediator of peace between the great powers. Germany is commercially interested in the extension of Austria to Salonica:

"Austria has also considerable interest in favoring an Anglo-German alliance, for it is certainly within the bounds of possibility that really friendly and intimate relations between England and Germany would, through the good offices of the latter power, facilitate an arrangement between England and Russia which, in the in-

terests of civilization, should certainly be attempted."

The crisis in the fortunes in the Austrian empire will, the writer thinks, receive a satisfactory solution:

"When the time arrives Austria will have a great and honorable part to play in international life. She may bring about a pacific settlement of the Eastern question and assist in maintaining the peace of the world. The new century will witness the rivalry of four great empires—the English, the German, the Russian, and that of the United States. A regenerated and enlightened Austria might do much to reconcile many of the conflicting interests of these great powers."

A DIPLOMATIC INDISCRETION.

A GOOD deal of astonishment and no little indignation was caused in Italy by an article entitled "Diplomatic Reminiscences," from the pen of M. Albert Billot, in the first January number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. It will be remembered that M. Billot was the French ambassador to the Quirinal up to a year ago.

In this article M. Billot evidently intends to claim for himself the chief credit of bringing about the recent commercial agreement between France and Italy. If that were all, the article might pass without comment as a curious exhibition of personal vanity. But M. Billot goes on to give a summary of Franco-Italian relations since 1882, and in the course of this he says that his object when he came to represent France in Rome was to prepare the way for a *rapprochement* between Italy and France in anticipation of the moment when, in 1892, the expiration of the triple-alliance treaty should afford Italy "a propitious occasion to regain her liberty of action and, without breaking with the central powers, to remove all causes of misunderstanding with France." The accession of the Marquis di Rudini to power in 1891 seemed to render the realization of this project practically certain. Unfortunately the extreme parties in Italy began to get up noisy demonstrations with the view of influencing the crown against the triple alliance, but the only effect of this was to induce Di Rudini to checkmate his adversaries by consenting, eleven months before the expiration of the triple-alliance treaty, to its renewal for no less a period than twelve years.

ITALY AND FRANCE.

M. Billot then proceeds naively to explain that this renewal of the triple alliance obliged him to relinquish his attempts to detach Italy from Germany, and to try the other policy of binding

Italy to France by her own interests, so that in the event of a European conflict consideration for her own welfare would prevent her from breaking with France. "There remained at least the resource of creating in Italy interests opposed to the triple alliance, thus paralyzing the action of Italy in a certain degree." This new line, according to M. Billot, was prosecuted by him in negotiations with the Marquis di Rudini, the Marquis Visconti Venosta, and Signor Luzzatti, and at the end of 1897 he was able to assure his government that Italy acquiesced in the conditions formulated by France with a view to the projected *entente*. Therefore, he concludes, he is the principal author of that *entente*, which has now become an accomplished fact.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

IN the thousandth number of *Blackwood* appears a paper of some distinction, which is entitled "From the New Gibbon," and in a style reminiscent of the *New Gibbon* recounts the apparent glory and recent decadence of the British empire at the present time. It begins:

"The close of the nineteenth century beheld the British empire at the highest pitch of its prosperity. The records of every contemporary nation tremble, while they envy, the multitude of its subjects and the priority felicity of its citizens. Its frontiers comprehended the fairest regions of the earth, and its authority extended alike over the most fruitful of daughter-peoples and the wildest and most sequestered barbarians."

After a page of eloquent expatiation in this strain the writer proceeds:

"It was scarcely possible that the eyes of contemporary states should discern in the public felicity the latent signs of decay and corruption. To the vulgar mind the British empire was a triumph over the possibility, as of the blessing of a wise democracy; yet in that very process of democracy were inherent the seeds of ruin."

THE SEEDS OF IMPERIAL DECAY.

The veil of make-believe enables *Blackwood* to say things about the colonial secretary which no sane man might have feared to express in England.

The empire, that magnificent fabric founded upon the generous impulse to conquer and to rule, was now formally regarded as a mere machine for the acquisition of pounds sterling. A Palmerston and a Disraeli had been the spokesmen of the earlier imperialism; the latter found its mouth-piece in a Chamberlain. The masterful arrogance of the British gentleman and the opu-

lent imagination of the Anglicized Jew this generation cheerfully exchanged for the ambitions of a manufacturer fostered by the arts of a demagogue. Gifted with an extraordinary intuition of the changing predilections of his countrymen, Chamberlain was enabled to turn, to the advantage of his own popularity, the flood of patriotism which rose in the decade between the first and second jubilees of Queen Victoria. He became the high-priest of what was fondly saluted as the new imperialism, on the lips of whose votaries British empire was synonymous with British commerce."

DEGENERACY IN SPORT.

The insidious poison of free-trade principles ate up the peasantry, swelled the cities, and debilitated the city worker:

"The effects of life in cities were apparent and pernicious. But for the unbroken attestation of both printed and pictured records, it would be difficult, indeed, to credit the full horrors exhibited by such districts as Lancashire and the Black Country at the end of the nineteenth century. In sport, as in its analogue, war, the British degenerated with frightful rapidity. . . . The Briton found his pleasure in striding a bicycle instead of a horse, in striking a tennis-ball instead of a wild-fowl; nor was he even sensible of the degradation that could prefer a mechanical toy to a living creature with a will independent of yet comfortable to his own."

THE CHEAP MAGAZINE.

The next passage we quote is highly characteristic of *Blackwood*:

"The last outrage upon the language of Shakespeare and Fielding was a swarm of periodical leadlets concocted of illiterate novelettes, unmeaning statistics, American jests, and infantile puzzles. They were consumed in prodigious quantities by the lower orders, and, by ruining the business of those who purveyed sincere if not masterly compositions, contributed more than any other cause to the debasement and final extinction of English letters."

"THE GLOAMING AUSPICES."

With this dirge the paper draws toward its close.

"With the proud spirit of empire sunk into the narrow greed of the shareholder; with physical force at its ebb, sports corrupted, and martial spirit tamed; with domestic business so organized that it stifled individuality and fostered dishonest miserliness among traders and invited the depravity of customers; with elegant manners and polite letters a tasteless echo of the half-for-

gotten past, the British empire entered upon the twentieth century under the gloomiest auspices. To the acuter eyes of succeeding generations that gloom is heightened by the reflection that the mutterings of the coming earthquake were all unheard by contemporaries; that they prided themselves on the greatness of their dominion and hugged the specious perfection of their civilization. Yet decline was already accomplished and irremediable, and fall was but too surely impending."

THE BRITISH VOLUNTEER SOLDIER.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT is quoted by Mr. Frank Banfield in *Cassell's* for February as expressing a high appreciation of the worth of England's volunteer army:

"Sir Howard was strong on the point that though there were thirteen hundred commissions vacant in the volunteers, it was not a very serious matter at all. We could easily, on the outbreak of hostilities, fill up every vacancy. The young Englishman of the better classes, who is a born officer, abounds. In Sir Howard's opinion no other country in the world, making no exception whatever, possesses anything like the same quality of man in the same quantity. We have it in superabundance. Any day you might collect it to any extent from the side pavements of Piccadilly and Pall Mall."

Mr. Banfield summarizes the situation from Sir Howard Vincent's point of view very much in this wise:

"We have something like a quarter of a million men in the ranks of the volunteers, whose numbers in the event of a national emergency would be raised to about a million by the return to service of ex-volunteers, all of whom would have had the advantage of previous military training. Owing to the difficulty which an aggressive military power would have in finding sufficient transport, there would be a certain amount of time, which may be approximately put at three months, during which to get our men into a state of thorough fitness to take the field. This work would be much facilitated by our applying, on a larger scale, the already received practice of forming provisional battalions.

UNSURPASSED FIGHTING MATERIAL.

"Short though we may be of commissioned officers at this moment, a state of war would give us at once a superabundance. We want ranges, it is true, and are in arrears in the matter of artillery, but the government are alive to our necessities and may be looked to to apply some remedy for this weakness, as also for the defective organization of regimental units as regards strength.

Cavalry in a country so much inclosed as ours would be somewhat at a discount. Altogether, then, it will be seen that though all our regulars and militia depart from us for foreign service under the stress of the exigencies of a colossal struggle, we should not by any means be necessarily helpless, but with the time which, in the nature of things, would be at our disposal, might hope to make the lot of any invading force a singularly unenviable one. No continental army certainly has fighting material of quite the same class as we have in our volunteers. In many respects the volunteers leave our own militia and regulars far behind. No one who has seen the London Scottish or the Queen's Westminsters can have any doubt that man for man our volunteers are hard to match anywhere. There is, perhaps, something lacking, but this the government mean to make good, and it is satisfactory to know that the apprehension that our country might suddenly be 'rushed' by a foe is rather a nightmare of the alarmist than a practical possibility."

DEWEY'S VICTORY COMPARED WITH NELSON'S AT ABOUKIR.

THE March *Harper's* contains the second chapter of Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge's history of the Spanish-American War, which brings the recital up to the completion of the fight at Manila between Dewey and the Spanish fleet, and the excellent and thorough account given the action by the author shows that this history is to be primarily a story of fighting itself, rather than a more broadly conceived treatment of the causes and conditions of the struggle between Spain and America. In his *résumé* of the relative Spanish and American forces at Manila, Senator Lodge seems to conclude that the victory was more notable than Nelson's at Aboukir, with which he compares Dewey's exploit. While Dewey had the advantage in weight of metal and heavy guns, while Nelson was slightly inferior to his antagonists in these features, still the British fleet at Aboukir equaled its foes in the number of ships, while the Spaniards outnumbered Dewey two to one and had more men engaged in action. "A far more important difference was that while Nelson had only the French fleet to deal with, the Spaniards at Manila were supported by powerful, strongly manned shore batteries, with modern rifled guns, some of very large caliber. This last fact, too much overlooked, made the odds against Dewey very heavy, even after the two mines had exploded without result."

Senator Lodge continues:

"Both Dewey and Nelson hunted down the enemy and fought him at anchor where they

found him. Nelson entered an open roadstead by daylight, began his action at sunset, and fought on in the darkness. Dewey ran past powerful entrance forts and up a deep bay in the darkness, and fought his battle in daylight. Neither took the enemy by surprise, for Admiral Montojo's report shows that he had tried Subig Bay and given it up, and had then made every preparation possible to meet the Americans at Cavite under the shelter of the batteries. Nelson practically destroyed the French fleet, but Admiral Villeneuve escaped the next morning with two ships of the line and two frigates, and there was only one English ship, the *Zealous*, not enough for the purpose, in condition to follow them. Dewey absolutely destroyed every Spanish ship, including the transport *Mindanao*, and captured the other transport, the *Manila*. He silenced all the land batteries and took Cavite. Aboukir had its messengers of death in the escaping French ships; Manila had none. Absolute completeness like this cannot be surpassed.

NOT ALL DUE TO BAD SPANISH GUNNERY.

"The Spaniards admitted a loss of six hundred and thirty-four killed and wounded in ships and forts, while the Americans had none killed and only eight wounded, all on the *Baltimore*. The American ships were hit several times, but not one was seriously injured, much less disabled. This has been attributed to the extremely bad marksmanship of the Spaniards, and has been used to explain Dewey's victory. It is easy to exaggerate the badness of the Spanish gunnery. They seem, as a matter of fact, to have shot well enough until the Americans opened upon them. The shells which struck the *Baltimore* effectively were both fired before that ship replied in the second round. But when the American fire began, it was delivered with such volume, precision, and concentration that the Spanish fire was actually smothered and became wholly wild and ineffective. The great secret of the victory was the deadly accuracy and rapidity of the American gunners, which has always been characteristic of the American navy, as was shown in the frigate duels of 1812, of which the United States won against England eleven out of thirteen.

"This great quality was not accidental, but due to skill, practice, and national aptitude. True to the great principle of Nelson and Farragut, Dewey went straight after his enemy, to fight the hostile fleet wherever found. In the darkness he went boldly into an unfamiliar harbor, past powerful batteries whose strength his best information had magnified, over mine fields the extent and danger of which he did not and could not know."

A SPANISH VIEW OF THE SANTIAGO NAVAL FIGHT.

ONE of the leading Spanish magazines, *La España Moderna*, contains in its January number a carefully written article upon the "Causes of the Disaster," with special reference to the presence of Cervera's fleet at Santiago. An editorial foot-note advises us that a portion of the article is suppressed, as the Spanish military authorities would not permit its publication. We have made abstracts of the more interesting features of the article, as follows:

"The most critical period of the war was that of operations by sea and land upon Santiago de Cuba. It was the period of decisive events—a period of such importance that if things had taken another turn we might be now making an honorable peace with our enemies. Nor is it necessary to make great efforts to demonstrate that if the Yankees were made to suffer a defeat at the beginning, Spain might have presented propositions for peace based on her renunciation of Cuba which would have satisfied our adversary. He would have hastened to accept them without demanding more territory or setting foot in Porto Rico, without wishing to possess the Philippines, and without imposing upon us the payment of the debt of a country whose revenues are not ours to enjoy or administer.

"Once the stupidity was committed of entering the harbor of Santiago de Cuba, whether in obedience to orders, through scarcity of coal, or to reprovision the vessels, ordinary prudence dictated departure while it was easy to escape from the perilous situation.

THE SPANISH NAVY BECOMES OUR OBJECTIVE.

"Notwithstanding the popular enthusiasm produced by the news of Cervera's arrival at Santiago, and despite official enthusiasm, which was more incomprehensible, the imminent risk which the squadron ran if it did not retire in all haste from that port was so evident that it could not have been unknown to the commander or to those who exercised supreme authority. What was the situation? The Spaniards were in an attitude of expectancy, awaiting the offensive step which sooner or later the Americans should take against Cuba. The troops were prepared for the invasion of the island, but uncertainty as to the point where the Cape Verde squadron might appear left the Yankees indecisive. Before invading the island it was necessary for them to destroy our squadron or else be certain that it was sufficiently far away as to be unable to spoil their plan. Our squadron gave the Americans a definite objective. When they knew its whereabouts with certainty it was evident that they

would send a superior fleet to Cuba, and it was easy to foresee that, once blockaded, Cervera's squadron would constitute a prize to excite Yankee cupidity. And besides, the Americans were not such fools as not to appreciate the fact that an opportunity was presented to kill two birds with one stone—destroy the fleet and effect a landing in the island. Moreover, Santiago was not in such condition for defense as Havana, and the enemy attacked us where we were weakest because we brought him there. Indeed, the arrival—or more properly speaking the prolonged stay—of the squadron at Santiago de Cuba was the direct and immediate occasion of the disaster.

SPANISH REASONS FOR ENTERING SANTIAGO BAY.

"Why did our fleet go to Santiago and remain there? In a book recently published ('Battles and Capitulation of Santiago de Cuba.' By José Müller) the author attempts to exculpate the Spanish navy from blame, and says Cervera went to that port because of the scarcity of fuel. This reason might explain his entrance, but not his stay in the harbor; and if it excuses the admiral it constitutes a frightful charge against our Navy Department. To send ships to battle without reserves of fuel is criminal.

"Once in the port, however, the most ardent desire of the admiral should have been to get out of it. Is the admiral or the department guilty of allowing the squadron to be blockaded? We do not know, but some one is responsible for the stay of the cruisers at Santiago during all the time (and it was not little) which the enemy took before he caught them in the rat-trap. From May 19 to 27 the mouth of the harbor was entirely free from the enemy. Schley's division arrived on the 27th, and Sampson did not appear there, according to his own official report, until June 1. That is to say, for eight days the coast was clear, and for the four following Cervera would have had to battle with Schley's division alone.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR ESCAPE.

"Even when Schley arrived on the 27th persistent vigilance was not maintained at the mouth of the harbor, for the author already quoted, who was an eye-witness, says that the Yankees kept watch during the day, but abandoned it at night, for the reason, as he supposes, that 'not having been able as yet to unite all their naval forces, they did not want to run the risk of a battle at night with a fleet that had destroyers, the number of which they probably did not know and did not learn until later.'

"When Sampson arrived on June 1 our vessels were made prisoners, although in the early

days of the organization of the blockade, while the Americans were obliged to correct deficiencies in it, there were not wanting occasions when it might have been forced with probabilities of escaping. But all such opportunities were disregarded.

"What advantages did Cervera think would result from his staying at Santiago? What tactical end had he in view in reducing his vessels to the condition of antiquated mud-scows? For what reason did he allow himself to be blockaded? None of these questions can be answered satisfactorily. Our Atlantic squadron was destroyed in the naval battle of July 3, but it was lost to Spain from the moment it was blockaded.

WHAT CERVERA MIGHT HAVE DONE.

"The motive of saving the fleet should have been sufficient, in the first place, to cause its retirement from Santiago before the concentration of the enemy's forces, and in the second place the primordial object of our operations ought to have been the union of Cervera's fleet and the reserve at the Canaries or at Cadiz. To have gone to Havana would have been clearly absurd; for supposing that Cervera escaped disaster on the way, he would have been leaping from the fire-pan into the fire.

"There are some who have said that Cervera's fleet rendered an important service in holding superior forces of the enemy at the mouth of the harbor, leaving other regions free of them for the possible success of Spanish arms. This would have been a positive service if while Sampson and Schley were blockading Santiago a Spanish fleet had bombarded North American ports or routed and captured the Yankee vessels scattered around the Cuban coast; but we had no force whatever to take advantage of the abandonment in which the Americans left the rest of the island as well as their own coasts.

THE SPANISH SQUADRON CENSURED.

"The censure already formulated is not all which the attitude of the Atlantic squadron deserves. It should be held responsible not only for its unjustifiable stay in port, neglecting opportunities to escape, but also for the demoralizing indifference with which it allowed itself to be blockaded and for its want of initiative upon the vessels of the enemy. The passivity of our fleet was truly incomprehensible and inexcusable. From June 27 until July 3, the date of the battle in which the fleet was destroyed, only one attempt was made, during the night, upon the blockading vessels! Such inactivity is highly censurable and seems to indicate cowardice and lack of decision.

"Our adversaries calmly blockaded the port and squadron; they were not interfered with even once in the landing of their troops; they could proceed with the same comfort as if there were not a Spanish ship within a thousand miles of them. And so the situation of the fleet and the town grew more and more serious until the first was destroyed and the latter made surrender.

THE CULMINATING DISASTER.

"The resolution to force the blockade at all hazards was undoubtedly due to the idea that the battle of El Caney and San Juan decided the surrender of Santiago within a short time, and in view of this they did not want our vessels to fall into the hands of the Americans. If the fleet had remained in the harbor at that time both it and the city would have been saved, and who knows but that the destruction of the squadron may have been a factor in depressing the morale of the troops who defended the town and so hastening the surrender? Be this as it may, we are face to face with the battle, and it would be difficult to find a similar disaster in the history of naval engagements. We were not conquered, but annihilated; we were not only defeated, but we did not succeed in inflicting the smallest damage upon the enemy. To what must we attribute this most extraordinary fact? To various causes: to unskillfulness, to the bad condition of the ships, to criminal deficiencies in the artillery and ammunition, to a multitude of causes for which our Navy Department and particular persons are responsible.

AMERICAN SUPERIORITY.

"One of the errors published about the battle has reference to the exaggerated number of Yankee vessels which engaged the Spanish fleet.

"The superiority of the Americans was very great, but not to the extreme that some reports would make believe, and the fact ought also to be remembered that we were not seeking to conquer the enemy, but only to escape.

"The enterprise was extremely difficult and required great prudence and resolution, and prudence should have counseled that the attempt be made at night. True, the enemy's search-lights constituted an impediment, but the sun is a more powerful luminary, and while the former throws light only within a limited zone, the latter illuminates the entire horizon. The attack should have been directed against the center of the line, making a fierce assault upon one vessel with the resignation to lose one or two of ours in order to save the rest. Once across the line, the time lost by the enemy in tacking would have been in favor of the Spanish vessels.

"It is the same on land and sea. There is but one way to open a passage when forces are surrounded—i.e., by surprise and taking the most violent offensive and accumulating all their strength upon one point. To try to break a blockade by fighting obliquely (sidewise) is to commit suicide, in permitting time for the impression of surprise to pass away and for the enemy to rally and utilize all his forces.

"In the last extreme it were more gallant to die fighting and to lose the ships in a violent attack upon the American vessels than to leave them shattered along the coast without having done any damage whatever to the enemy."

THE INCREASING SUPPLY OF GOLD.

IN the February *Forum* Director of the Mint Roberts presents statistics of recent gold production which seem to demonstrate a rapid increase in the world's supply of that metal for use as money.

Mr. Roberts recalls the fact that the output of gold in 1860 was \$134,083,000, and that from that year on there was a marked decline until in the early 80s the annual production fell below \$100,000,000. In 1892, however, the output of 1860 was again realized and exceeded. The gain in each succeeding year has been marked, and last year the figures for 1860 were more than doubled. The enormous increase of the past decade is chiefly due, as Mr. Roberts points out, to improved processes of reduction. For example, in South Africa last year rock was raised from nearly a mile underground, crushed, and treated at a profit, with a yield of \$10 per ton. The average yield of the Witwatersrand ore in 1897 was about \$9.50 per ton, and the average working costs about \$5.60 per ton. The yield of that district in 1898 was \$80,000,000. Citing an instance nearer home, Mr. Roberts shows that in 1890 the gold product of Colorado was only \$4,000,000, while the new reduction processes, together with discoveries of rich lodes, have raised the annual product of that State to about \$25,000,000. Through the same improved methods the product of Australia has been more than doubled since 1890.

Mr. Roberts suggests another explanation of this extraordinary increase in gold production. Lode-mining, under modern scientific and business methods, has become a stable industry, the returns from which can be computed with a reasonable degree of assurance. Unlimited capital can be obtained, the industry is developed as never before, and the mines are worked more thoroughly than formerly.

From 1890 the world's production of gold has been as follows:

Year.	Amount.	Year.	Amount.
1890.....	\$118,848,700	1894.....	\$181,175,800
1891.....	180,650,000	1895.....	190,804,100
1892.....	148,651,500	1896.....	202,953,000
1893.....	157,494,800	1897.....	237,504,800

GAINS OF THE PAST YEAR.

Although at the time of writing Mr. Roberts did not have in hand the completed statistics for 1898, enough was known of the yield in the principal fields to make it certain that the increase in 1898 was greater than in any previous year.

"Compared with the output of 1897, there is a gain in South Africa of more than \$20,000,000, in Australasia of about \$10,000,000, in the United States of not less than \$7,000,000, and in the rest of North America of probably \$10,000,000. These gains indicate that the world's product for 1898 will prove to be not far below \$300,000,000.

"And what of 1899? We can make something of a forecast as to that. If the Rand and Australasia simply maintain throughout 1899 the rate of production which each reached in the latter part of 1898, they will, together, make a gain over 1898 of \$20,000,000; while if we assume a progressive yield, such as they have been making for the past two years, and include an estimate for North America, from Mexico to the Klondike, a greater gain is indicated for 1899 than was made in 1898.

"Mr. George F. Becker, a distinguished mining engineer, formerly Chief of the United States Geological Survey, estimated, upon careful examination two years ago, that the area in the Rand within twenty miles of Johannesburg now producing gold can scarcely fail to yield \$3,500,000,000 if mining operations are carried on at a depth of 5,000 feet, which has been proved to be feasible. The west Australian field, which for ten years has shown a continuously progressive increase, in 1898 reaches a product of \$20,000,000. It is an arid region presenting many difficulties to the miner; but the great investments now being made in pipe-lines for conveying water and in ore-crushing plants indicate that it is a region of great possibilities. Colorado, Utah, Washington, British Columbia, the Klondike, and Alaska may all be expected to show a progressive yield for years to come. All of these districts, except the Klondike and parts of Alaska, are quartz districts, requiring capital for their working and promising longer life than placer deposits.

"The probabilities seem to be that the output will not decline while the present generation of men is interested in affairs."

WHAT BECOMES OF THE NEW GOLD?

Mr. Roberts traces the new gold of the period 1892-97 into use as follows:

European banks and treasuries.....	\$515,094,086
United States.....	95,457,988
British East Indies, China, and Japan.....	43,500,000
Banks of Australasia, South Africa, and Canada.....	28,200,180
Industrial consumption.....	279,197,816
Total.....	\$961,449,506

The diversion of gold to the reorganization of monetary systems in different countries has hitherto impaired the natural influence in the business world of the increased production, since the gold that has been used to retire or cover paper has not enlarged the monetary stock. This has been the case in Russia and in Austria-Hungary; but the artificial drain to these countries is now at an end. National currencies being now established on a gold basis, we may study the influence of the increasing gold output in the world's markets. What will be the effect, Mr. Roberts asks, upon property values, wages, industrial progress, and social life?

"What will the advocates of the free coinage of silver do in 1900 when they find themselves confronted by a gold output for that year of \$350,000,000 or \$400,000,000? The gold output of the world in 1873 was \$96,200,000, and that of silver, reckoning it at the ratio of 16 to 1, \$81,800,000; together, \$178,000,000. In 1896 the combined output of gold and silver, less the amount consumed in the industries and arts, reckoning silver at its full coining value under the ratio of 16 to 1, was \$318,587,876. So when Mr. Bryan comes into the field in 1900 he will find the additional supply of money for which he contended in 1896 furnished in gold. Will he go on affirming that the supply of money has been cut in two and that there has been no business revival since 1896, or will he embrace the fortunate opportunity gracefully to drop the subject, on the plea that the end he desired is accomplished and that the coincident revival of prosperity has vindicated his theories?

"If he and his party go on with their demand for the free coinage of silver, they must do so without their old arguments. The supply of money never was cut in two or reduced at all. The world's stock of silver money has annually increased since 1873, and more rapidly than anybody in prior years could have anticipated. But the new output of gold has overwhelmed and ended all contention on that point. If they are going into a new campaign for the free coinage of silver, it must be made not in opposition to an appreciating standard, but in frank advocacy of a depreciating one."

AMERICA AND THE WHEAT SUPPLY.

IN the *North American Review* for February Mr. John Hyde, statistician of the United States Department of Agriculture, discusses the question raised at the last annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science as to an approaching deficiency in the world's wheat supply. It will be remembered that Sir William Crookes stated on that occasion his belief that within a generation the population of the United States would consume all the wheat grown within its borders and would be driven to import. By that time the general scarcity of wheat throughout the world would lead to starvation if the laboratory were not able to afford relief. This was the prediction of an eminent chemist.

THE ARGUMENT FROM HISTORY.

Mr. Hyde in his article attempts to show what we may expect the prevailing agricultural conditions in this country to be a generation hence, and as the first step in this inquiry he summarizes the conditions a generation ago:

"The country then had a population of about 34,000,000; now it has one of about 75,000,000, exclusive of the islands to be brought under its dominion as a result of the war with Spain. One hundred and ninety-one million bushels was the largest wheat crop on record; the average of the last three years has fallen but little, if any, short of 540,000,000 bushels. In the fiscal year 1865-66 the total exports of wheat, including wheat flour, were less than 16,500,000 bushels; last year they exceeded 217,000,000 bushels. In 1865 the corn crop was only 704,000,000 bushels, with 828,000,000 bushels as the high-water mark of previous production; during the last three years the crop has averaged over 2,000,000,000 bushels.

"Were there really no limit to the agricultural potentiality of the United States, these enormous figures might furnish some sort of index to the probable developments of the future. But we are liable to be led seriously astray if we assume for the thirty-three years to come an increase proportionate to that of the thirty-three years last past. That the population of the United States in 1931, exclusive of colonial possessions or dependencies, will be at least 130,000,000 is as certain as any future event can be, but it is not nearly so easy a matter to forecast the agricultural production of that period; and yet the question that lies at the very foundation of any just criticism of Sir William Crookes' address is what contribution, if any, our farmers will be able to make to the wheat supply of other countries when the time comes that provision

has to be made for the varied requirements of a home population more than twice as large as that at the last federal census.

THE DEMANDS OF THE FUTURE.

"Those requirements will include a wheat crop of 700,000,000 bushels, without a bushel for export; an oat crop of 1,250,000,000 bushels; a corn crop of 3,450,000,000 bushels, and a hay crop of 100,000,000 tons, all for domestic consumption; with cotton and wool, fruit and vegetables, dairy and poultry products, meats and innumerable minor commodities in corresponding proportions. The area necessary to the production of the three principal cereals alone will be over 15 per cent. greater than the enormous total acreage devoted in 1898 to grain, cotton, and hay, while the mere addition of the two last-mentioned products and of the minor cereals will call for an acreage exceeding the total area of improved land in farms at the present time."

What addition can be made to the cultivable area of the country? Mr. Hyde assumes that in the agricultural region extending from the international line southward to the thirty-seventh parallel and from the Atlantic Ocean to the one hundredth meridian about 60,000,000 acres may be added to the productive area, with State and railroad lands to the possible extent of 20,000,000 acres more; that under the influence of higher prices the South might add to her productive area as much as 30,000,000 acres; that 10,000,000 acres might be added on the Pacific coast and 3,000,000 acres in the arid region. This would make the gross addition 123,000,000 acres, but the loss from inevitable withdrawals of land from agricultural uses during the next thirty years will be not less than 15,000,000 acres, making the net increase 108,000,000 acres.

WILL THE NEW ACREAGE SUFFICE?

"This will constitute an enormous addition to the productive capacity of the farms of the country, and one the contemplation of which, aside from the question of consumption, might well appall our much-discouraged farmers. Considered, however, in the light of the requirements of a population of 130,000,000, the figures assume an entirely different aspect. On the basis of our present actual consumption as a people, to the entire exclusion of our export trade, the country will require by the year 1931 the following additional acreage: for wheat, 13,500,000 acres; for corn, 66,000,000 acres; for oats, 23,700,000 acres; for the minor cereals, 10,000,000 acres; and for hay, 40,500,000 acres, a total of 153,700,000 acres, without making any pro-

vision for the proportionately increased consumption of vegetables, fruits, and other products. Instead, therefore, of the probably largely increased acreage bringing down prices or proving unprofitable to the farmers, there will be a deficiency of at least 50,000,000 acres. Indeed, it will be more than this, since it cannot be supposed for a moment that the unimproved lands left to the last are anything like equal in natural fertility to those first selected for cultivation. On the other side of the account, however, we have to place whatever increase in yield per acre may be brought about by improved methods of farming. But whatever agricultural science may be able to do in this direction within the next thirty years, up to the present time it has only succeeded in arresting that decline in the rate of production with which we have been continually threatened."

The statistician confirms the chemist: without great improvement in farming methods the United States will cease by 1930 to export bread-stuffs. At any rate, the increase in the requirements of our own population will be enormous, and will involve grave changes in the agricultural situation of the world.

THE POSSIBILITIES OF LIQUID AIR.

IN the March *McClure's* Mr. Ray S. Baker, a staff writer for that magazine, gives a most readable account of Mr. Charles E. Tripler's experiments with liquid air. Mr. Tripler reduces the air of his laboratory to a clear, sparkling liquid that boils on ice, freezes pure alcohol, and burns steel like tissue-paper, and yet Mr. Tripler dips up this astounding liquid in an old tin saucepan and pours it about like so much water. "Although fluid, it is not wet to the touch, but it burns like white-hot iron, and when exposed to the open air for a few minutes it vanishes in a cold gray vapor, leaving only a bit of white frost." Mr. Tripler has vastly greater ambitions for his experiments than merely to perform these marvelous tricks. Mr. Baker says:

"I saw Mr. Tripler admit a quart or more of the liquid air into a small engine. A few seconds later the piston began to pump vigorously, driving the fly-wheel as if under a heavy head of steam. The liquid air had not been forced into the engine under pressure, and there was no perceptible heat under the boiler; indeed, the tube which passed for a boiler was soon shaggy with white frost. Yet the little engine stood there in the middle of the room, running apparently without motive power, making no noise and giving out no heat or smoke, and producing no ashes; and that is something that can be seen nowhere in the world—it is a new and almost inconceivable marvel.

AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR ENGINE FUEL.

"'If I can make little engines run by this power, why not big ones?' asked Mr. Tripler. 'And if I can produce liquid air practically without cost—and I will show you that I really can—why shouldn't we be able soon to do entirely away with coal and wood and all other fuel?'

"'And run entirely with air?'

"'Yes, with liquid air in place of the water now used in steam boilers, and the ordinary heat of the air instead of the coal under the boilers. Air is the cheapest material in the world, but we have only begun learning how to use it. We know a little about compressed air, but almost nothing about utilizing the heat of the air. For centuries men have been digging their source of heat out of the earth at enormous expense and then wasting 90 per cent. of it in burning. Coal is only the sun's energy stored up. What I do is to use the sun's energy direct.

"'It is really one of the simplest things in the world,' Mr. Tripler continues, 'when you understand it. In the case of a steam engine you have water and coal. You must take heat enough out of the coal and put it into the water to change the water into a gas—that is, steam. The expansion of this gas produces power. And the water will not give off any steam until it has reached the boiling-point of 212° Fahrenheit.

"'Now, steam bears the same relation to water that air bears to liquid air. Air is a liquid at 312° below zero—a degree of cold that we can hardly imagine. If you raise it above 312° below zero it boils, just as water boils above 212°. Now, then, we live at a temperature averaging, say, 70° above zero—about the present temperature of this room. In other words, we are 382° warmer than liquid air. Therefore, compared with the cold of liquid air, we are living in a burning fiery furnace. A race of people who could live at 312° below zero would shrivel up as quickly in this room as we should if we were shut up in a baking-oven. Now, then, you have liquid air—a liquid at 312° below zero. You expose it to the heat of this furnace in which we live, and it boils instantly and throws off a vapor which expands and produces power. That's simple, isn't it?'"

A COSTLESS SOURCE OF POWER.

Mr. Tripler not only hopes to run engines by liquid air, but asks himself: "Now, if I can produce power by using liquid air in my engine, why not use that power for producing more liquid air?" The inventor actually made about ten gallons of liquid air in his liquefier by the use of about three gallons in his engine. There was, then, a surplusage of seven gallons, which

cost him nothing and which can be used elsewhere as power. He thinks he can keep on using this surplusage indefinitely. "What," asks Mr. Baker, "if Mr. Tripler can complete a successful surplusage machine? It is bewildering to think of the possibilities of a source of power that costs nothing. Think of the ocean greyhound unincumbered with coal-bunkers, and sweltering boilers, and smoke-stacks, making her power as she sails from the free sea air around her! Think of the boilerless locomotive running without a fire-box or fireman, or without need of water-tanks or coal-chutes, gathering from the air as it passes the power which turns its driving-wheels! With costless power, think how travel and freight rates must fall, bringing bread and meat more cheaply to our tables and cheaply manufactured clothing more cheaply to our backs. Think of the possibilities of aerial navigation with power which requires no heavy machinery, no storage batteries, no coal—but I will take up these possibilities later."

MARITIME REVIVAL OF THE UNITED STATES.

MR. BENJAMIN TAYLOR writes in the *Fortnightly* on the coming competition for the commercial sovereignty of the seas. He recalls the remarkable advance of American shipping, which brought its tonnage in 1861 up to within 400,000 tons of Great Britain's (5,482,127 against 5,895,369). The Morrill tariff and the navigation laws practically swept American shipping off the ocean. At the same time iron began to take the place of wood. America could build cheaper than Great Britain so long as timber was the material. "It was iron, in fact, that just saved British maritime industry from total destruction." For England could build iron ships more cheaply. But that is an advantage "we shall not retain much longer." At present about 57 per cent. of the ocean-carrying trade of the United States is conducted by British vessels. Americans try to avoid their navigation laws by taking up European steamers on long-time charters. Virtually the property of Americans, these vessels still fly the foreign flag. The West Indian fruit trade is almost entirely carried in such bottoms. A government report issued three years ago showed that "Americans then owned a larger tonnage engaged in over-sea trade under foreign flags than they did under the Stars and Stripes!"

The writer counts on an early repeal of the laws which forbid Americans to put under their own flag ships which they have purchased abroad. He thinks it "reasonable to assume that the repeal of the navigation laws would be followed by

the transfer to the American flag of all vessels owned by Americans—especially if there is any question of subsidies in the air."

BOOM IN AMERICAN SHIPBUILDING.

Now the majority of American vessels are being made of iron and steel. American shipbuilding has quadrupled within the year. The Pacific shipyards have increased their output sevenfold in a single year. "The real new birth of the American merchant marine will be on the Pacific."

The iron and steel industry of America has now a producing capacity in excess of its normal consumption; export has become a necessity. "Why, then, should she not build iron and steel ships herself to utilize her own material and carry her own sea traffic?" Never has she been able to obtain material for modern shipbuilding at so low a cost as now. American shipyards are hard at work replacing the liners taken by the Government as auxiliary cruisers, as well as building additions to the navy.

The projects of the Nicaragua Canal and of subsidizing American shipping are both before Congress. America's imperial policy involves commercial expansion:

"In acquiring Porto Rico, Hawaii, and (even in the modified form of a protectorate) the Philippines, she became committed to the career of a maritime power. It follows that she must have a mercantile marine, even if it has to be built up as her manufacturing industries have been built up. Iron kings, steel kings, and other potentates of industry have been made by the tariff. Why not steamer kings by bounties, which will enable them to pay tribute to the shipbuilding kings?"

THE PACIFIC COAST MARKET.

The Pacific coast offers the great market. At present much American trade to China goes by New York and the Suez Canal. American exports to that country have increased nearly 130 per cent. in ten years:

"One of the most notable items in the past increase has been cotton goods; but the increase in the future is more likely to be in iron and steel manufactures, machinery, bicycles, clocks and watches, petroleum, and perhaps hosiery—for, curiously enough, the unnumbered millions in the great Chinese empire are as yet, for the most part, innocent of stockings. The development of railroads and manufacturing industries in China is being watched by Americans with the keenest interest, for it is there they expect to find a ready market for their surplus metal manufactures. And they will find it—not by way of Suez, but by their own vessels, sailing out of their own ports in the Pacific. If America can

compete, as she is doing, with European producers of iron and steel in Europe, she can certainly do so more effectively in China and the far East. But, of course, shipbuilding and ship-owning are businesses that have to be learned. Not every mechanic can build a ship nor every trader sail one with advantage. The Americans have got to buy their experience, and until they gain it we shall retain an advantage over them. But this will only be until American shipbuilders can rise to the occasion. It is probable, therefore, that the twentieth century will witness an unparalleled contest between Great Britain and America for the commercial sovereignty of the seas."

THE BLACK SEA AND BALTIC CANAL.

IN the internal development of Russia the Trans-Siberian Railway is expected to play a great part, but this is only one of the gigantic enterprises to which Russia is committed. The *United Service Magazine* gives the following particulars of the project for uniting the Black Sea with the Baltic by means of a ship canal:

"The reports and rumors during the last year concerning the construction of this proposed great waterway, though very conflicting, still lead one to suppose that it is feasible and has been seriously contemplated, even if the work has not proceeded very far. The route proposed is from the Gulf of Riga along the rivers Duna, Beresina, and Dnieper to Kherson, on the Black Sea, and fifteen ports or harbors are to be constructed at various places situated along its whole course of 994 miles. The channels of the rivers are to be deepened and new cuttings made where necessary so as to give a minimum depth of 28 feet of water. It is estimated to cost £20,000,000, or about £5,000,000 less than the amount said to be required for cutting the Nicaragua Canal, and it will take five years to complete. The primary object of this great waterway is to connect the naval dockyards at Libau with those at Nicolaieff, and permit of the passage of Russian men-of-war from the Black Sea to the Baltic, and *vice versa*, thus neutralizing to some extent the closing of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles in time of war. The transit of the canal from sea to sea will take six days.

COMMERCIAL IMPORTANCE.

"On the other hand, there is little doubt that such a ship canal, passing through Muscovite territory from end to end, developing a very rich tract of country, and bringing sea-borne traffic to the very gates of what have hitherto been inland towns, must be of very great ad-

vantage to Russian trade, and is bound to be a commercial success, while the natural features of the country and a clay soil throughout its whole length are very favorable to its construction. According to a usually reliable authority, it is estimated that about one-eighth of the canal only will have to be wholly artificial, and that only two locks will be needed. The worst difficulties will arise about the upper portion of the Dnieper, where it flows through marshy forests, and 200 miles from the mouth of this river there are a series of nine rapids falling 107 feet in forty miles. The town of Ekaterinoslaff, on the Dnieper, is 161 feet above sea-level, while Alexandrovsk, about fifty miles to the south, on the same stream, is only 49 feet above.

"Whatever the difficulties may be, Russian genius will no doubt conquer them if the work is considered worth carrying through. The accomplishment of this gigantic Muscovite undertaking will be one of the great events of the twentieth century, and it is to be hoped that, in spite of its primarily warlike purpose, it will in its ultimate influence upon history be a peaceful and commercial rather than a strategical success."

RUSSIA AS A WORLD POWER—THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILWAY.

IN the *North American Review* for February Mr. Charles A. Conant describes some of the factors that contribute to the strength of Russia's present position among the nations. His article is largely devoted to a consideration of the remarkable commercial development of the country and the prospects of growth along the same lines in the immediate future. Naturally he directs attention to that most important achievement of Russian engineering—the result also, as he says, of enlightened political foresight—the Trans-Siberian Railway.

"This long thread of steel, connecting European Russia with the Pacific, was a dream of Russian statesmen as far back as 1850. It was not until the opening of the Ural line in 1880, which joined Perm in European Russia with Tiumen, on the Tobol, which flows into the Irtysh, that a long practical step was taken toward binding the empire together by a single railroad system. Several parts of the line remain to be completed in Russian territory, but the most important uncompleted part is the Manchurian Railway, across the northern province of China."

A NEW LINK BETWEEN EUROPE AND ASIA.

"The entire line, from the foot of the Ural to Vladivostock, on the Pacific Ocean, will have a length of 6,613 kilometers, or about 4,200 miles

It will be by far the shortest route from Europe to the Orient. The time from London to Hong Kong is now twenty-five days by the Suez Canal and thirty-three days by way of the Canadian Pacific Railway. It will be reduced to twenty days by the Trans-Siberian. The advantage in the case of other European places and Asiatic ports further north will be much greater. The trip from Paris to Peking can be made in sixteen days, where it now requires thirty-four days from France or England to Yokohama by the Suez Canal and twenty-five days by way of Canada. The passenger charges, moreover, are computed by M. Leroy-Beaulieu, including sleeping-cars and meals, at about 800 francs (\$160) from Paris to northern China, as compared with charges of 1,800 francs (\$360) by the present steamer routes. The charges will be less favorable upon bulky freight from western Europe, but for the interior of Russia the opening of the railroad means that the resources of the East are at her disposal, and that she can deliver in the East her own products at a great advantage over her Western rivals. Business men throughout Europe will benefit by the mail service over the new railroad, which will deliver letters in sixteen or eighteen days, in place of the month or five weeks now required. But the Russian merchants will enjoy the advantage of quicker communication and nearness to their new markets. The opening of new routes of communication has often involved the rise and fall of nations. It will not be contrary to historic precedents if, in the course of years, the development of the great trans-continental route which binds European Russia to Siberia should shift the centers of trade in the East, destroy the importance of many existing ports in China, and create new commercial centers in the heart of Asia, around which will gather the civilization of coming generations."

RUSSIA'S ECONOMIC BULWARKS.

Writers have very generally dwelt on the strategic importance of this highway to Russia from the strictly military point of view, often ignoring its vast economic significance. Mr. Conant shows that Russia has much more in view than the opening of a route for the transportation of troops. He says:

"It is not surprising that Russian statesmen, with the vista of the economic empire of the future within their grasp, hampered by no necessity for pandering to the clamor of the moment in order to keep themselves in office, should have determined that Russia would gain enormously in the race with other industrial nations by devoting her whole energies to economic development. Hence the proposition of the

Czar, that the world lay aside its arms and give its people an opportunity to devote themselves to industrial pursuits, looks directly to the future dominance of Russia in the commerce and finance of the world. It would be useless for Russia to attempt to fight such a power as Great Britain in the East until the completion of the Trans-Siberian Railway. She has accomplished wonderful results by the firmness and audacity of her diplomacy in China. When the railroad is completed, with the economic development which will come in another period of ten years she will be able to cope on land, if not on the ocean, with any force which can be brought against her. She will enjoy the advantage of occupying the inner line, from which she can strike at her enemies on the European or Asiatic flank with the force and directness of Napoleon when he was able to carry out his favorite policy of separating and conquering hostile armies."

A RUSSIAN VIEW OF MODERN LITERATURE.

AN article in the Russian *Vestnik Evrope* (*Messenger of Europe*) deals with a very interesting book recently published by Menshikoff—"On Writing." The principal subjects which the author treats in his book, not less interesting to American than to Russian readers, are literature and writers, literary impotence, the calling of journalism, literature of the future, criticism and limits of literature.

"LOUD THINKING OF THE PEOPLE."

The author begins by quoting some one's remark that literature is "loud thinking of the people," and points out that it is really not the thought, but thinking—i.e., raw process, with all the noise of every process of work. It is quite a mistake to think, says Menshikoff, that literature is the work of only the best intellects of the country; that in her, as in a sacred tabernacle, are preserved the highest conditions of thought collected through ages. Such a view of literature is not correct. There was a time when writing was accessible only to the aristocracy of thought, when stone and parchment were used for the inscription of apocalypses of prophets and laws of leaders of the people. But those times have passed away long ago. The invention of paper, the printing press, the appearance of journalism, the steam printing machine, the development of people's education, the progress of democracy—all this has opened wider and wider the doors of literature, until at the present time they are fully open. People rushed into literature whose chaos of thinking did not cease to be a chaos after it became loud.

One could reply, admits the author, that this chaos, this fermentation and collision of ideas, represents real life. Having descended from the Parnassus, literature has become more humane, closer to the masses, but at the same time she lost her "divine" virtues. Literature ceased to conquer and inspire hearts, forgot "the language of gods," and grew to be a small and miserable halfpenny paper. Literature lost her immortality. Living on occasional occurrences, literature constantly dies away with them. Only words incarnating eternal apparitions cannot pass away: they live with them! And only such words could have power on life as her supreme law.

LITERATURE FOR THE MASSES.

This rather too decisive verdict of the author could, however, be put quite differently. In the past, when there was no paper and printing press, no education among the people, and no general progress of the democracy, literature had a "power" only on a very small circle of people. The names of the great writers were known only within that circle, and it was only there the ideas created by the eminent writers could work. With all the faults of modern literature which Menshikoff points out in his book, one can hardly deny that, thanks to her present spreading, thanks to her having descended to the "crowd," literature could introduce into the intellectual life of the "crowd" much which could help to the development of humane consciousness among the masses. Until the time when printing and progress of the people's education had largely spread literature, the "crowd" existed (as it still largely exists in Russia) in primitive darkness and in not only material, but also intellectual and moral poverty. Could one, justly asks the critic in the *Vestnik Evrope*, regret that the new school succeeds in bringing some light into that primitive darkness, and sometimes in helping the crowds in their real and difficult struggle for existence?

JOURNALISM THE END OF LITERATURE.

The author of the book "On Writing" further deals with another aspect of modern literature, which he equally and in some degree justly condemns. "Literature loses every day her ruling importance; her ennobling power is falling. From master literature becomes the servant and even the lackey of the public. The enormous development of journalism in cultured countries is the end of literature. Journalism in its latest phase is simply reporting. To reproduce events important and unimportant with every detail, and then to explain them from different points of view—such is the task of journalism. The latter draws into literature the crowd, re-

places the quality of opinions by their quantity; the chaos of the crowd remains as it was—unchanged. Thousands of 'intelligent' people (notwithstanding their reading) remain uncultured, narrow-minded, and harsh. Such are very often the authors of books themselves. Not standing higher than the public, the crowd of writers cannot have on the crowd of readers a beneficial influence; on the contrary, they have as bad an influence on them as bad company."

Some of the writers have indeed a demoralizing influence. There are kinds of literature saturated with national jingoism, monetary fever, swindling, and other kinds of vice. In the modern literary school naturalism, in the opinion of the severe Russian critic, is the dirtiest and the least influential. This school teaches you as much as ordinary life itself—that is to say, very little.

LITERATURE IN RUSSIA.

Mr. Menshikoff has perhaps gone too far in his conclusions. If one turns to the Russian literature—as he evidently chiefly concerns himself with the latter—one may rather doubt whether it was better in the times when there was but one single private (non-official) paper in Russia. That special literature saturated with all manner of vices existed all the same, and spread, not in printing, but in writing, there can be no doubt. "We do not have a passion for naturalism," remarks Menshikoff's critic, but it undoubtedly has certain merits; some sides—the mechanism of social, even political life—have never been so well pictured as in some of Zola's novels.

Menshikoff further asserts there is no poesy and no moral inspiration in the modern realistic novel. The object of naturalistic art is realism and not idealism, and the picture which shows only the abnormalities and defects of life works on the reader in an oppressing manner. The modern novel "got old," and "for the new prophetic work the great writer will probably find a new language." It is quite useless, thinks the author, to look into literature itself for reasons of decay. The literary impoverishment is only a particular case of a broader apparition—of a general though probably temporary decline of spirit in the modern European society.

Referring again to the decline of literature which gradually merges into "reporting," Menshikoff remarks: "Those young people who feel in themselves the power of the spirit and devote themselves to the happy, though often ascetic, road, must carry to the centers of life not only talent and energy, but something more precious and even more powerful, and that is conscience."

THE FOUNDER OF THE RED CROSS SOCIETY.

IN *Kringsjaa*. (January 15) there is an article by Dr. Hans Daae on Henri Dunant, the founder of the Red Cross Society, whose name, like Abou Ben Adhem's, will be written down as that of "one who loved his fellow-men," yet who now, despite a long life of good work in the cause of peace and human happiness, sits in a small room in a little two-storied hospital in Heiden, Switzerland, almost, if not quite, forgotten by the world he did his best to serve. There is hardly a child who has not heard of the Red Cross Society, and every cultured man and woman knows of the Geneva convention which led to its formation, but few know of Henri Dunant or have even heard his name. The man has been forgotten in his work. Out of the seed he has sown has grown a tree whose branches embrace the whole civilized world. In those days he was a wealthy patrician, extravagantly generous, for his fortune was certainly not spent upon himself. He was a sober, steady man of simple tastes, and his purse, like his heart, was open to the whole of suffering humanity. Not only to the cause of the unhappy victims of war did Dunant give his time, his thought, and his money. There is scarcely a single humanitarian project with which he did not identify himself, and there are many which owe their origin to him. The Red Cross Society is probably the best known.

M. DUNANT'S BENEFICENT WORK.

It was founded after the publication of his experiences on the battlefield of Solferino in 1859, and did splendid work during the Franco-Prussian War in 1870. In 1872 Dunant founded in Paris an international permanent committee for the alleviation of the lot of prisoners of war in civilized states. In 1872 he also founded in Paris, Brussels, and London *L'Alliance Universelle de l'Ordre et de la Civilisation*, by help of which he brought about the London conference in 1875 for the abolition of slavery. In 1870 he had founded in Paris a society which was intended to be an international union for the sifting and settlement of all disputes between the nations, that war might be averted. In 1872, by the request of the London Peace Society, he gave a lecture on arbitration, which evoked much enthusiasm. The well-known and constantly growing *Fraternité par Correspondance* was begun by Dunant as early as 1849. It is now one of the most energetic branches of the international peace movements. Dunant and Bertha von Suttner, who calls Dunant "her revered master," are honorary presidents of this society.

Much else has Dunant done and is still doing for the cause of peace and humanity.

ABSURDLY INADEQUATE REWARD.

Miss Florence Nightingale, the good angel of the Crimea, received from England a national reward which would amount, in French money, to something like 1,125,000 francs. Dunant, we are told, received last year a *pourboire* from Switzerland in the shape of—2,000 francs, while he has himself spent over 50,000 francs in the humanitarian causes he has championed. He is, perhaps, not quite reduced to beggary. Here and there are those who remember him still, and the Czarina has given him a yearly pension. Nevertheless he is weighed down by a heavy debt, and the fact remains that this well-born, cultured, energetic philanthropist is all but destitute, has even now and then, we are told, been in such straits that he has been obliged to stay in bed while he got his linen washed! Very shortly, says Dr. Daae, our Storting will have to consider who best deserves the Nobel prize. Can the answer, he wonders, be any other than "Dunant"?

OLD-AGE PENSIONS IN NEW ZEALAND.

THE HON. W. P. REEVES, Agent-General for New Zealand, writes in the *National Review* on the old-age pension act just passed in that colony. It was, he says, brought forward by the government in advance of public opinion: "As finally licked into shape, the act is one for giving a small pension to the poorest section of aged colonists without any contribution on their part whatever. Briefly summarized, its effect will be that any New Zealander—man or woman—who has come to the age of sixty-five, after living not less than twenty-five years in New Zealand, shall be entitled to 6s. 11d. a week, or £18 a year. The full pension is to be paid to those whose income from any source is less than £34. When the private income is above £34 a year £1 is deducted from the pension for every £1 of such excess income. When, therefore, the private income is large enough to be £18 a year in excess of £34 no state pension is paid. In other words, no one who has an income of £52 a year is entitled to even a fraction of the pension. A rather more elaborate portion of the act deals with deductions to be made from the pension where the applicant for it is possessed of accumulated property. Under this the applicant's real and personal property are assessed, and his debts, if any, are subtracted from the total value thereof. Then he is allowed to own £325 without suffering any

deduction therefor. After that he loses £1 of pension for every £15 worth of accumulated property. The result is that any one possessed of £600 worth of accumulated property ceases to be entitled to any allowance whatever.

"Men and women are equally entitled to the pension, and where a husband and wife are living together their property or income is divided by two for the purpose of the calculations above mentioned. That is to say, their united income must amount to £104 or their united property to £1,200 before they are altogether disentitled to any part of the pension. They may have, between them, an income of £68, or as much as £650 of property, and yet be entitled to draw their respective pensions in full."

A RIVAL SCHEME.

The government is only authorized to pay the required amounts during the next three years, after which Parliament will have to decide on the continuance or amendment of the act. Mr. Reeves expects that "the opposition will, more or less in unison, submit a rival old-age pension scheme to the constituencies. One of their prominent members, Mr. George Hutchison, indicated in the debate on the third reading of the measure a scheme which some think will be generally adopted by his party. This is to draw a distinction between the older poor of the colony now living and the younger generation of colonists. All now over fifty years of age are to be permitted as they attain sixty-five to take advantage of Mr. Seddon's act without let or hindrance. But for the younger people a contributory scheme is to be drawn up, under which they would have to pay some such sum as sixpence a week, to go in aid of a substantial pension in their old age. Whatever may be the thought of the economic merits of such a scheme, it might conceivably be expected at election-time to disarm the hostility of the aged poor to any such interference with their prospects under the present system as would be entailed by a complete repeal of the Seddon act."

THE EFFECT ON THRIFT.

Mr. Reeves does not fear for the effect of the new act on thrift:

"With a very large class of the poor the prospect of such a pension will, in truth, be a very strong inducement to lay by a fair sum, or to continue, even after sixty-five, to earn some slight wage which, supplementing their state allowance, will insure them a reasonable measure of comfort in the last years of life."

THE RIGHT TO WORK.

IN the February *Arena* Prof. John R. Commons contributes a well-written and suggestive article on the right to work. The following paragraphs indicate the line of reasoning pursued by Professor Commons in his exposition of this subject:

"Can man have the right of life, liberty, employment? Here we pass from questions of belief to questions of expediency, or, more precisely, to questions of necessity and freedom. In order that the moral right may be incorporated into social and legal right, men must be free to choose and act as they wish. There is neither right nor wrong where necessity rules—only success or failure. The history of civilization is the evolution of opportunities for free choice and, therefore, of moral right and personal responsibility, through the suppression of necessity. Metaphysicians dispute over the freedom of the will. Their contests are empty, because they overlook the fact that individual freedom depends on social conditions. Free will is illusory if it does not end in free action, and free action is impossible where society has not yet overcome the hard physical facts of necessity."

THE RIGHT OF THE LABORER.

"The right to work must also be clearly distinguished from the socialist's theory of labor's right to the entire product. The latter is based on a theory that labor alone creates all wealth, a theory which dates back to the time when political economy was a science of production of wealth, and which is now seen to be inadequate. The right to work springs not from a theory of production, but from a belief in the worth of man as man and an insight into the material and social conditions which foster manhood. It is a right, not to the entire product, but to a definite standing supported by law within industry along with the capitalist proprietors."

ADVANTAGES OF THE RIGHT TO WORK.

"What are some of the advantages to be gained by enforcing the right to work? It abolishes involuntary poverty. It permits rigid treatment of voluntary poverty, or pauperism, by removing all excuse from the able-bodied beggar and tramp. These can then rightly be treated as criminals. At present the burden of proof is on the charity-givers, to show that the beggar could get work if he wanted it. Then the burden would be on the beggar, to show that he was unable to work notwithstanding that he could get it. Society gains by the prevention of strikes, saving thereby millions of dollars yearly. This more than compensates for the increased

taxation required to support insurance, courts, employment bureaus, and so on. Above all, the right to work brings a higher manhood, a self-respect and respect for others, a strength of character, in the place of the servility, sullenness, and eye-service which stamp the mass of laborers, and the distrust, severity, and caprice which mark the character of those who have arbitrary power over their fellows."

HARDSHIPS OF THE AMERICAN SEAMAN.

IN the February *Forum* Mr. Walter Macarthur asserts that the condition of the American seaman, not only in the positive sense, as compared with the condition of other seamen, but relatively to the progress of the United States toward personal liberty, is worse to-day than at any time in the past. Mr. Macarthur declares, in short, that the seaman is nothing else than a slave.

"The primary circumstance of the seaman's life, the basis upon which rest all the incidentals of his calling and character, is involuntary servitude. The contract which he must make as a condition of getting employment binds him to his ship in effect as securely as the serf was bound to the soil or the negro to his master. The principle of this contract is of remote origin. The highest judicial authorities trace it as far back as the law of the Rhodians, some nine hundred years before the birth of Christ. That it has survived to the present time is due to an error in the public mind concerning the seaman and his calling, which error, in turn, is attributable to obvious circumstances, preventing a general understanding of the matter. The everyday life of the seaman is, of course, unknown to the public. For information on the subject the public depend upon written accounts, and these are usually colored by motives other than the narration of plain facts. Only the effects of the seaman's life as they develop in his conduct ashore are seen. These effects are, unfortunately, but too well calculated to confirm the public prejudice and to substantiate the theory of law by which the seaman's relations to his employer and to society are regulated. The public opinion thus formed is generally founded upon an inversion of cause and effect."

Another primary evil of our maritime law is the so-called allotment system, which provides that a seaman engaging to serve on a foreign-bound vessel may allot a certain portion of his wages, not exceeding ten dollars per month, to his "wife, mother, or other relative, or to an original creditor, in liquidation of any just debt for board or clothing." Mr. Macarthur shows

that this practice, which seems to open a way by which the seaman may procure clothing and discharge his debts before embarking on a voyage, is perverted into a means of great injustice to the helpless seaman.

WORKINGS OF THE "ALLOTMENT" SYSTEM.

"In the great majority of cases the allotment is made payable to an 'original creditor.' This term is merely a legal euphemism descriptive of the crimp, or 'shark.' The latter is the seaman's employment agent, and as such is distinguished by an aggravation of methods proportioned to the helplessness of his victims. By combination the crimps control the shipment of crews, and thus compel the seaman to accede to their terms as a condition of securing employment. The first of these conditions is that the seaman shall sign an allotment note in favor of the crimp for the full amount allowed by law, generally one-half or more of the wages to be earned during the voyage, and usually largely in excess of the seaman's indebtedness. As in the case of the contract by which he signs away his personal liberty, the seaman's only alternative in practice is to remain ashore in idleness. Thus allotment, from being a convenience to be availed of at the seaman's option, becomes a compulsory tribute which the seaman pays in support of those whose chief function is to prey upon him. As the seaman signs away one-half of his wages at the beginning of the voyage, he receives but one-half when he lands. This fact, combined with the crimps' control of the shipping business, operates to place the seaman at the latter's mercy, so that allotment, instead of palliating the results of 'natural improvidence,' actually induces that condition. It is a principle of maritime law, older than any statute and residing in the nature of his calling, that the seaman's wages are exempt from garnishment. According to numerous admiralty decisions, 'the law is forced to declare that no man can be permitted to say anything or do anything to deprive the seaman of the right to demand his wages when he leaves the ship.' The allotment law is a negation of this principle, since in practice it deprives the seaman of the right to secure his wages before he joins the ship."

CRUEL TREATMENT.

Mr. Macarthur makes even more serious charges against shipmasters on the score of inhuman treatment of their men:

"The personal treatment accorded the seaman by American ships' officers is the most oppressive, because the most acute, feature of his life. Extreme brutality is the rule, almost without ex-

ception. It is a standing charge against our maritime law that it requires no qualification other than that of citizenship on the part of sailing-ship officers. In this respect the United States stands alone among maritime nations of any consequence. The result is that the men in authority on board American ships are chosen for their ability to 'drive'—i.e., to beat—the men under them, rather than for their ability as seamen and navigators. The reputation thus attained finds its sequence in an *esprit de corps* leading to the commission of the most wanton brutalities conceivable by minds trained to ingenious methods of inflicting torture upon their subordinates, and undeterred by the fear of consequences, social or legal.

"The frequent recurrence of seamen's charges against ships' officers and the monotonous regularity with which these charges are dismissed by the courts has created a feeling of indifference, and even skepticism, on the part of the public. The charges made by the seaman appear incredible when judged by the standard of conduct prevailing on land. But it must be remembered that the standard prevailing at sea is one of practical slavery, in which a Legree is an actual personification.

"An investigation shows that during the past eleven years more than one hundred ships' crews have brought charges against their officers in ports of the United States alone. This list includes only those cases that have come most prominently before the public. Characteristic features of this record are: Fifteen deaths resulted from the treatment received; many cases resulted in the loss of limbs, eyes, or teeth, and in other injuries of a permanent character, including insanity; several suicides are attributed to persecution; only seven convictions were obtained, and, with one exception, the penalties inflicted were merely nominal; the name of certain ships and their officers recur frequently in the list.

"This condition of affairs is due primarily to the construction of the law on the point. The statute provides that any officer who, 'without justifiable cause, beats, wounds, or imprisons any seaman,' shall be punishable by a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding five years, or by both. Read conversely, the term 'without justifiable cause' authorizes corporal punishment at the sole discretion of the ship's officer. Under this law courts and juries have consistently approved the declaration of accused persons that assaults upon seamen were justifiable, or at any rate that they were deemed such.

"In this particular a radical difference is ob-

servable in favor of the ancient codes. The right to inflict corporal punishment, while vested in the port authorities in extreme cases, such as mutiny, causing the loss of ship and cargo, or assault upon the master, was specifically prohibited to ships' officers."

These facts seem to make their own reply to the question so frequently asked: "Why does not the American boy go to sea?"

THE HOSPITAL TREATMENT OF TUBERCULOSIS.

LAST month we quoted in this department from an article on the open-air cure for consumption as put in practice in Germany. In the *North American Review* for February Dr. S. A. Knopf advocates the maintenance of special institutions in all our States for the exclusive treatment of tuberculous patients.

Dr. Knopf states that although the need of such institutions has been demonstrated again and again, we still have fewer "sanatoria" for tuberculous patients, absolutely and relatively to our population and to the number of consumptives, than either France, Germany, or England. The only State institution of this kind in America was recently opened at Rutland, Mass., with a capacity of 300 beds; it is called the Massachusetts State Hospital for Consumptives. New York City is said to have 10,000 tuberculous poor and yet has hospital accommodation for less than 500 consumptives, unless they are placed in the general hospitals, thereby becoming a menace to all their fellow-patients suffering from acute diseases.

THE EQUIPMENT REQUIRED.

Dr. Knopf proposes a complete system of sanatoria to which patients should be sent after a careful examination of each individual case by a commission similar to the commissions which determine who are proper subjects for State care in hospitals for the insane. This system would include the following institutions:

"1. A centrally located reception hospital and dispensary. The dispensary should treat the ambulant tuberculous patients, whose admission into the sanatorium is impracticable or has to be delayed for want of room. These dispensaries should also serve the patient discharged from the sanatorium as a place to seek counsel, and thus aid in his continued improvement and guard against the possibility of a relapse.

"2. One or several city sanatoria, located in the outskirts, and if possible in a somewhat elevated region, where the atmosphere is known to be pure. Here all patients should pass through a preparatory sojourn before being sent to the

mountain sanatorium. The more advanced cases would all be retained here.

"3. One or several mountain sanatoria at no greater distance from the city than three or five hours by rail, at an altitude, if possible, of between one thousand and two thousand feet, on porous ground, with southern exposure, as nearly as possible protected against the coldest winds by higher mountains, and preferably surrounded by a pine forest. A farm in the vicinity where the thoroughly convalescent patients could do light work might make the institution in a measure self-supporting. To this place the selected incipient and the improved cases from the city sanatorium should be sent to complete their cure. To the mountain sanatorium there should also be attached a department for children suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis.

"4. Several seaside sanatoria for the treatment of children afflicted with tuberculous diseases of the joints and other tuberculous (scrofulous) manifestations.

MATERNITY HOSPITALS.

"5. A maternity sanatorium where tuberculous mothers should be received a few months previous to their confinement and surrounded by the best hygienic and dietetic care. They should also remain in the sanatorium for some time after childbirth. It is only by taking away these mothers from their unsanitary tenement homes and placing them under constant medical supervision in such an institution, some time before and after their confinement, that the fearful mortality among tuberculous mothers after childbirth can be reduced.

"The beneficial effect on the woman's and child's constitutions through such an arrangement can hardly be overestimated. Leaving aside the physical well-being thus largely assured to mother and child at a period when their organisms need the most tender care, the hygienic training which the mother will have received in such an institution will be of lasting utility to herself and child, to the family and to the community.

"These maternity sanatoria need not be situated at a great distance from the city. All that would be essential is that they should be erected on good porous ground, preferably somewhat elevated, and in a locality where the atmosphere is as pure as possible. The buildings should be constructed according to the principles of modern obstetrical science and modern phthisio-therapy. The physician in charge should be experienced in both these branches of medicine.

"From the foregoing it will be seen that I am in favor of treating tuberculous patients near their homes, and in the same or nearly the same

climate as that in which they will have to live and work after their restoration to health."

PRACTICABILITY OF THE SCHEME.

Dr. Knopf regards it as fully demonstrated that cures may be effected in nearly all climates. He is convinced, furthermore, that for social and economic reasons most tuberculous patients will have to be treated near their homes.

To create such a system of institutions as his article outlines, Dr. Knopf admits that State and municipal funds cannot be relied on. An appeal must be made to wealthy and philanthropic citizens. In England, France, and Germany most of the institutions of this character are maintained by private philanthropy, although the governments support a few.

In conclusion Dr. Knopf says :

"Every consumptive taken from the tenement districts to a sanatorium or special hospital to be cured, or for the purpose of isolation, means a suppression of a center of infection. Every tuberculous patient cured means another breadwinner and useful citizen, who might have become otherwise a public charge.

"The curability of pulmonary tuberculosis is demonstrated every day. The most frequent and most certain cures are obtained by the hygienic, dietetic, and educational treatment in sanatoria—that is to say, institutions where the open-air treatment, the best food, and the thorough hygienic management constitute the main factors of therapeutics. Here the patient is not only cured, but taught how to remain well and how not to infect others.

"The average results obtained in sanatoria for early cases are 50 to 70 per cent. of cures; for the more advanced they vary from 15 to 25 per cent. If I apply Vaughan's estimate for 1896 to 1899, I may say that of the 70,000,000 people living to-day in the United States, 10,000,000 or more will die of tuberculosis unless something is done to prevent it.

"There is very much that can and should be done. Let our statesmen work to create a department of public health at Washington, with full power to combat bovine tuberculosis. Let our municipal authorities, with strict but humane laws, reduce the danger of the transmission of tuberculosis from man to man. Let statesmen, municipal authorities, physicians, and philanthropists unite to establish sanatoria and kindred institutions for tuberculous patients, especially for the poorer classes, for from these arises the greatest menace to the public health. Then with the dawn of a new century we may hope to see a satisfactory solution of the tuberculosis problem in the United States."

THE RED INDIAN OF TO-DAY.

MR. GEORGE BIRD GRINNELL writes in the March *Cosmopolitan* on "The North American Indian of To-day," and publishes some of his magnificent photographs of famous and typical Indians to illustrate his essay. Mr. Grinnell is, perhaps, as thorough and unprejudiced a student of modern Indian life as exists in the United States. He has come face to face with the Indians and knows the conditions in which they live, and while he has been consistent in his advocacy of a better and juster scheme of treating with them, he cannot by any means be classed with the sentimentalists who become hysterical on the subject. He strikes the keynote of the vital defect in our present system when he says that the Indian can have but slow and imperfect advancement until the men employed in the field service of the bureau shall be sufficiently intelligent to understand the mental attitude of the Indian and sufficiently interested to give special attention to him.

"To-day Indians understand that they must work to live, but in many cases it is demanded of them that they shall make bricks without straw. They are asked to support themselves, but are given no tools to work with. Some tribes have had cattle issued to them, but little has been done to teach them how to care for these cattle, and the work with them which the agency employees are supposed to do is frequently altogether neglected. We blame the Indians for not being civilized by this time, but in fact the fault is curs and that of our representatives in Congress for assenting to a system which places the Indians in charge of men some of whom are unintelligent, inefficient, careless, and sometimes criminal.

WHAT MIGHT BE DONE FOR THE INDIAN.

"In many respects conditions are much better now than they used to be. The Indian Bureau struggles hard to improve matters, but is hampered by old methods and traditions, and above all by the manner in which a large number of the Indian agents are chosen. The condition of the Indians will not greatly improve until the agents are selected by reason of actual qualifications for their work, instead of receiving the position as a reward for political services performed.

"There is probably not an Indian tribe in the United States which could not, under the direction of the right kind of man, become entirely self-supporting within ten years, but it would be necessary that those tribes which to-day are absolutely without property—as the Northern Cheyennes—should be given a start in some way.

Thus these Cheyennes, to take a specific example, who live in a country which is too dry for farming yet is a good stock range, ought to have issued to them as their individual property fifteen hundred head of cattle and to be taught how to manage this live-stock. The continual agitation by the neighboring white population of the question of this tribe's removal to some other part of the West ought to be put an end to and the title to their lands to be confirmed. In the same way the condition of each individual tribe should be studied, and it should be treated according to its needs."

THE VENEZUELAN CHARACTER.

MAJ. STANLEY PATERSON, in the January *Geographical Journal*, describes his experiences in the valley of the Orinoco in the end of 1897. The pending arbitration with Great Britain gives interest to his impression of the people. He says:

"These up country Venezuelans, while boasting of pure Spanish descent, are all freely intermixed with negroes or Indians, frequently with both, and are quite a distinct and characteristic race. They are practically divided into three classes—the *ato* holders, or small farmers; the *canuqua* men, or squatters; and the *peons*, or laborers. Each class looks down on that below it, but the distinction between them is one of degree only, the general character of all being identical and, to our practical British minds, extremely paradoxical. All are avaricious, thriftless, independent, faithless, untruthful, lazy, capable of hard work, quick-tempered, vindictive, changeful, and full of laughter. Life, partly by their own fault, is hard with them; penury is their abiding condition; they daily live on the verge of starvation, frequently for lack of energy to hunt for food. But as their actual wants are few this seldom saddens them—they look on the whole thing as a vast joke. If there are clouds, these children of the sun see them not; nothing is really serious to them; poverty, starvation, and death only seem part of the natural order of things, and even these have their jocular side. But this very sunniness, childishness, and irresponsibility that makes these people in a way attractive and interesting also makes them terribly hard people for the energetic European to work with."

Their attitude to the English is given in these closing remarks:

"Contrary to expectation, we found the people all over the Orinoco Valley most friendly to the English, whose business qualities they respect, and disposed to view the boundary difficulty as

merely a question of brag, out of which their own politicians, whom they distrust, hope to aggrandize themselves in some unexplained way.

"I am fully convinced that this valley will one day develop into one of the richest commercial centers in the West, but its development requires capital, and English capital is naturally shy of entering the country in the present unsettled state of affairs."

SIR HENRY HAWKINS.

BY the recent retirement of Mr. Justice Hawkins from the High Court of Justice in England, remarks a writer in the *Green Bag*, the English bench loses one of its most conspicuous characters and a unique personality. He was better known to the public than any of his associates, having passed his eighty-first birthday and completed his twenty-second year of continuous and exceptionally active service before he finally laid the ermine aside.

He was not a university man, as are most English barristers, but he was a prodigious worker and had a large mental endowment, besides an overmastering will.

NOT ALWAYS FRIENDLY TO "COUNSEL."

"Old Hawkins," as he was not disrespectfully called, had the "show room" in the courts. He always attracted larger "audiences" than even the lord chief justice himself, and never failed to provide entertainment.

"If everything else failed, he could enliven the proceedings with a tilt against some one of the counsel who had excited his animosity, or an onslaught on the solicitors for the way they had worked up or failed to work up the case, or the poor solicitors' clerks for the illegibility of their writing or the manner in which the papers had been prepared.

"A dry commercial case had no attraction for him and aroused his sarcasm against the litigants and the lawyers alike. Upon taking his seat in the morning he would say: 'Who is in Jones versus Smith? Ah! you, Mr. Robes? Well, I have looked at the pleadings in that case and I can't make head or tail of them. Nobody could. The plaintiff don't seem to know what he is complaining about, and the defendant hasn't a ghost of an idea what sort of a case he is meeting. I can't try the case. No one could. You must put your heads together and settle it. If you can't agree, come to my room and I will help you.' And with that he would go on to the more congenial part of his day's list, leaving the unhappy parties in Jones versus Smith to make the best sort of a settlement possible under circumstances where neither is willing to incur the

ire of the judge by insisting on trial, and both have expended large sums of money in making their case and briefing counsel for their 'day in court.'"

Mr. Justice Hawkins' retirement did not cause unmitigated regret in the legal profession. Indeed, it has been intimated that to the bar his retirement has come as a relief and as "the realization of a wish that as years rolled on seemed to be incapable of fulfillment;" for he had unusual physical endurance and never seemed to know fatigue. The *Green Bag* writer cites a remarkable instance of this quality, which also serves to illustrate the strained relations between bench and bar:

"Only the week before his resignation was placed in the hands of the lord chancellor he sat at Maidstone for several successive days far beyond the hours customary in court, and on the last night until 11 o'clock, or a little more than twelve hours. He may be congratulated upon this show of capacity for judicial work in one who has passed his four-score of years, but those who were obliged to appear before him, and who had other cases to prepare for trial the next day in a distant court, were not gratified by the exhibition. In fact, Mr. Justice Hawkins has not always been successful in sparing inconvenience, annoyance, and expense to barristers, and he has not always been credited with an overwhelming desire to do so. In the course of the protracted sittings at Maidstone, already alluded to, more than one incident occurred to increase the friction between the bench and the bar, until it reached the point where it was agreed between the barristers present that they should rise and leave the court in protest. Cooler heads, however, exhorted to patience, and the sittings were concluded; but had the resignation of the judge not taken place, a repetition of the Maidstone experience would undoubtedly have led to a revolt such as has never before been seen in the courts of England."

A TERROR TO EVIL-DOERS.

He was most at home in the Criminal Court. Most of the famous criminal cases in England for the past fifteen years have been tried by Mr. Justice Hawkins, and he has been known as the "hanging judge." Nothing could be further from the truth, however, than any imputation that he was actuated by cruel or merciless sentiments. He is said to have been full of compassion toward a prisoner not properly defended or apparently innocent. But he had a "nose for crime," and he convicted many a rogue. In the *Green Bag* article two stories are told which well illustrate his attitude toward offenders:

"Mr. Justice Hawkins once had to sentence an old swindler, and gave him seven years. 'Oh, my lord!' whined the man, 'I'll never live half the time!' The judge took another look at him and answered: 'I don't think it is at all desirable that you should.'"

"On another occasion the usual formality was gone through of asking a prisoner who had been found guilty if he had anything to say. Striking a theatrical posture, and with his right hand in the air, the man exclaimed: 'May the Almighty strike me dead if I don't speak the truth—I am innocent of this crime!' Judge Hawkins said nothing for about a minute. Then, after glancing at the clock, he observed in his most impressive tones: 'Since the Almighty has not thought fit to intervene, I will now proceed to pass sentence.'"

Hawkins was counsel in the famous Tichborne trials—this was before he was elevated to the bench—and it is said that during the trial of Orton for perjury (which occupied one hundred and eighty-eight days of solid work) Hawkins was accustomed to work till past midnight and to rise every morning at 4 o'clock to read over the evidence given on the previous day. He endured this strain constantly for months, and finally got a verdict from the jury, and saw the claimant Orton sentenced to fourteen years' hard labor for perjury.

WIT AND HUMOR IN COURT.

Some of the stories told of Mr. Justice Hawkins in the *Green Bag* are worth retelling.

"As a junior counsel Mr. Justice Hawkins was once practicing before Lord Campbell, who was somewhat pedantic. In addressing the jury Mr. Hawkins, in referring to a brougham, pronounced the word with two syllables—'bro'-am.' 'Excuse me,' said his lordship blandly, 'but I think that if instead of saying "brough-am" you were to say "broom" you would be more intelligible to the jury, and, moreover, you would save a syllable.' 'I am much obliged to your lordship,' quietly replied Mr. Hawkins, and proceeded to bring his address to a close. Presently the judge, in summing up, made use of the word 'omnibus.' Instantly up rose Mr. Hawkins and exclaimed: 'Pardon me, m' lud, but I would take the liberty of suggesting that if instead of saying "omnibus" your lordship would say "'bus," you would then be more intelligible to the jury, and, besides, you would save two syllables.'"

"During the Tichborne trial, where he was opposed by Dr. Kenealy, in the course of a discussion whether equivalent terms could be found in English for French words, and *vice versa*, Mr.

Hawkins was asked whether he thought the word *canaille* could be adequately rendered in our language. He answered, without a moment's hesitation: 'Yes—'Kenealy.'"

"Sir Henry was once presiding over a long, tedious, and uninteresting trial, and was listening, apparently with great attention, to a very long-winded speech from a learned counsel. After a while he made a pencil memorandum, folded it, and sent it by the usher to the Q. C. in question, who, unfolding the paper, found these words: 'Patience competition: Gold medal, Sir Henry Hawkins; honorable mention, Job.'"

"The caustic remarks of his lordship have not always been confined to the bench. At the opening of an assize the chaplain preached what he conceived to be a distinctly good sermon, and he had the temerity to sound Mr. Justice Hawkins on the subject. 'Did you approve of my sermon, my lord?' he asked. 'I remarked in your sermon, Mr. Chaplain,' was the prompt reply, 'two things which, to be candid, I did not approve of, and which I have, I am glad to say, never remarked on a similar occasion.' 'They were, my lord?' was the anxious question of the preacher. 'The striking of the clock,' answered Mr. Justice Hawkins, 'twice, sir.'"

THE GIFFORD LECTURESHIPS.

THE recent appointments of two Americans, Prof. William James and Prof. Josiah Royce, of Harvard University, to the Gifford lectureships at the universities of Edinburgh and Aberdeen, respectively, have served to direct attention in this country to the special purposes and aims of this unique Scottish foundation. In the February number of the *Open Court* Prof. R. M. Wenley gives an account of Lord Gifford's deed of gift, as well as of the incumbents of the chairs.

Lord Gifford was one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Scotland. More than ten years ago it was found that he had by will left four hundred thousand dollars, to be divided among the four Scottish universities, for the purpose of founding lectureships on what he designated natural theology.

The precise nature of Lord Gifford's wishes is to be determined by reference to the testamentary deed. The important paragraphs in this document read as follows:

I having been for many years deeply and firmly convinced that the true knowledge of God, that is, of the being, nature, and attributes of the Infinite, of the All, of the First and Only Cause, that is, the One and Only Substance and Being, and of the true and felt knowledge (not merely nominal knowledge) of the relations of man and the universe to Him, and of the true foundations of all ethics or morals—being, I say, convinced

that this knowledge, when really felt and acted upon, is the means of man's highest well-being, I have resolved to institute and found lectureships or classes for the promotion of the study of said subjects among the whole people of Scotland. . . . The lecturers appointed shall be subjected to no test of any kind and shall not be required to take any oath, or to emit or subscribe any declaration of belief, or to make any promise of any kind; they may be of any denomination whatever or of no denomination at all (and many earnest and high-minded men prefer to belong to no ecclesiastical denomination); they may be of any religion, or, as is sometimes said, they may be of no religion, or they may be so-called skeptics or agnostics or free-thinkers, provided only that the "patrons" will use diligence to secure that they be able, reverent men, sincere lovers of and earnest inquirers after truth.

I wish the lecturers to treat their subject as a strictly natural science, the greatest of all possible sciences, indeed, in one sense the only science, that of Infinite Being, without reference to or reliance upon any supposed special exceptional or so-called miraculous revelation. I wish it considered just as astronomy or chemistry is. I have intentionally indicated, in describing the subject of the lectures, the general aspect which personally I should expect the lecturers to bear, but the lecturers shall be under no restraint whatever in their treatment of their theme. For example, they may freely discuss (and it may be well to do so) all questions about man's conceptions of God or the Infinite, their origin, nature, and truth, whether he can have any such conceptions, whether God is under any or what limitations, and so on, as I am persuaded that nothing but good can result from free discussion.

AN INCENTIVE TO CATHOLICITY.

In Scotland the university chairs devoted to the study of religion and theology are open only to clergymen who have pledged themselves to the Westminster Confession, and it is alleged that many of the incumbents of these chairs possess but a slight expert acquaintance with the subjects in which they offer instruction. The Gifford bequest was intended to remedy this deficiency.

Professor Wenley also commends the provision made by Lord Gifford for the election of incumbents of his professorships. All elections are remitted to the senates of the universities; all professors on the teaching staff have an equal voice in determining who the incumbent shall be.

"While this may conceivably result in occasional trials of strength between the 'humanists' and the 'scientists,' it is practically certain to issue in elections which are reputable, if no more. And to their credit be it said, the senates have to this point used their privilege with emphatic freedom from presuppositions, with an eye to the representation of divergent schools of thought, and with a catholicity of choice which guarantees that men of widely varied interests shall have opportunity to express their ideas. Moreover, no special favor has been extended to

Scotchmen; indeed, France is the one great contributor to the science of religion and the philosophy of religion (which have now driven antiquated natural theology from the field) whose resources have not been tapped. As witness of catholicity, take the present incumbents. At St. Andrews, Wellhausen, of Marburg, the Old Testament scholar; at Glasgow, Foster, of Cambridge, the physiologist; at Aberdeen, Royce, of Harvard, the idealist philosopher; at Edinburgh, James, of Harvard, the psychologist. A similar breadth of sentiment and of selection had marked the appointments since their commencement, in 1888."

Such men as Andrew Lang, Edward Caird, Lewis Campbell, John Caird, Max Müller, William Wallace, A. B. Bruce, E. B. Tylor, A. M. Fairbairn, J. Hutchinson Stirling, Sir G. G. Stokes, Otto Pfeiderer, Alexander Campbell Fraser, and Professor Tiele, of Leyden, have served as Gifford lecturers during the past ten years.

UNFAVORABLE CRITICISMS.

Unfavorable criticisms have come from both camps—the orthodox and the unorthodox.

"Curiously enough, the *personnel* has received unfavorable comment from the free-thinker so called; while, less curiously, the orthodox—though not the 'unco' guid,' as the Scotch pharisee is called—have entered their protest against the freedom used by some lecturers. In the former case it has been objected, for instance, that ministers of the churches ought not to be appointed. In other words, the patrons have been accused of unfaithfulness to their trust in electing men like Principals Caird and Fairbairn or Professors Campbell and Bruce. This criticism has raged chiefly round the appointment of the last—in some ways, it seems to me, an excellent testimonial for him. It implies that Dr. Bruce had something to say from his standpoint that might be weighty. The contention of these critics has been that one whose signature stood below the Westminster Confession had thereby unfitted himself for exercising that impartiality for which Lord Gifford was so solicitous. It must be obvious, of course, that this objection holds with reference to Christianity alone. The signatory of the confession retains perfect liberty to treat precisely as he chooses all matters that fall without the dogmas of the Church."

Professor Pfeiderer's Edinburgh lectures gave rise to much alarm among Scottish churchmen, and there was a demand that the records of the Christian faith be safeguarded from the onslaughts of Gifford lecturers.

THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

THE CENTURY MAGAZINE.

THE March *Century* has an article in its series on "Heroes of Everyday Life," dealing with "The Heroes of the Railway Service," by Charles De Lano Hine. Mr. Hine was a graduate of West Point and served for four years as an officer; then he voluntarily resigned his commission to become a freight brakeman. He worked for six months in that capacity and for two years as a yardmaster. So he has had peculiar opportunities to study the subject.

The *Century's* war papers are continued in Lieutenant Bernadou's account of "The 'Winslow' at Cardenas;" in Lieut. Cameron McR. Winslow's article on "Cable-Cutting at Cienfuegos;" in Lieutenant Hobson's further chapter on "The Sinking of the 'Merrimac'"; and in a first chapter by Gen. Francis V. Greene on "The Capture of Manila."

Prof. James Bryce contributes the most notable article of the number in his essay on "British Experience in the Government of Colonies." He gives us much good advice and emphasizes strongly the inadvisability of radical changes. He says most of the English blunders in India have been due to insufficient information, and he tells us what we are beginning to realize so clearly the truth of, that ordinary politicians are not fitted for investigation of the conditions in far-away colonies. He reminds us that a firm hand must be kept on white adventurers and argues for a continuity of policy as quite essential to success.

"Home politics should not be suffered to come into colonial administration at all, nor should political services at home be rewarded by colonial offices."

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

IN the March *Harper's* Senator Lodge continues his history of the Spanish-American War, and we have quoted from his conclusions concerning Dewey's victory in another department of this magazine.

Mr. Julian Ralph continues his serial, too, on "English Characteristics." He finds the Englishman fonder of the brute creation, with the exception of cats, than any other civilized man. Mr. Ralph is amazed at the number of dogs in every class of life, and he says the island is a paradise for horses. He speaks, too, with respectful admiration of the Englishman's capacity for eating and drinking. "Tea in bed," he says, "then breakfast, lunch, afternoon tea, dinner, and late supper before retiring are six of their meals, four of which are regular and habitual with all classes." Mr. Ralph attributes this capacity for eating to the enervating climate, which is also to account for the drinking habit. He tells us his very sober-sided banker told him that he would certainly be ill if he did not take two drinks a day, and added that it was impossible to live in the climate without stimulants.

Mr. Russell Sturgis, the eminent architect, contributes the first part of a masterly discussion of "The Building of the Modern City House," in which he describes the evolution in house-building which Ameri-

can cities have seen and compares our practices with regard to the European standards of construction.

A curious and interesting feature of this number of *Harper's* is an account of "The Massacre of Fort Dearborn at Chicago," by the late Simon Pokagon, chief of the Pokagon band of Pottawatomie Indians. It will be remembered that Simon Pokagon was a contributor of two articles to the *AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS*, and that he was by no means a bad writer, as well as a descendant of one of the most celebrated Indian chieftains of the middle West. He writes in this article in honest defense of his plea against the charges of savage cruelty which have always been made against the Indians, especially in connection with the massacre of the garrison of Fort Dearborn. His arguments bear the stamp of truth, although much of the data on which he founds them has been gathered from the traditions of Indian tribes which had to do with the massacre, as well as from the public accounts. Chief Pokagon makes an unanswerable plea for consideration of the habits and temptations of his people when he calls to mind that in those fur-trading days whisky was legal tender in trading with the Indians, and that to this day there remain in the old account-books in the Astor House at Mackinaw the values of various furs and hides reckoned in "fire-water." He tells us, too, that his father, a famous chieftain, described to him how musk-rat hides were sold to the white men for a swallow of gin, fox skins for a gill, and beaver skins for a pint.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE.

GOV. THEODORE ROOSEVELT describes in the March *Scribner's* the Rough Riders' part in General Young's fight at Las Guasimas. He gracefully takes occasion to say that the two newspaper correspondents, Richard Harding Davis and Edward Marshall, though non-combatants, "showed as much gallantry as any soldier in the field."

In the series on "The Conduct of Great Businesses" there is a very readable contribution from Mr. W. J. Henderson on "The Business of the Theater." He tells us that in the city of New York a prosperous theater may do a business of \$250,000 in a favorable season and keep in employment 150 persons; that there are 37 theaters in active operation in the Boroughs of Manhattan and Bronx, while the Borough of Brooklyn has a score or so in addition. He says that the business done by the theater is the most sensitive barometer to business in general, as play tickets are among the very first things that a man will renounce in efforts to economize.

Mr. Robert Grant continues his "Search-Light Letters," with a "Letter to a Modern Woman with Social Ambitions;" Mr. Harrison S. Morris has a short sketch discussing the portraits of John W. Alexander, interspersed with reproductions of some excellent examples of the artist's work; there is a further installment of the Colvin "Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson," and Senator George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, contributes "Some Political Reminiscences."

MCCLURE'S MAGAZINE.

WE have quoted in another department from the article on "Liquid Air," by Mr. Ray S. Baker, in the March *McClure's*.

The number opens with a sketch of the artist Tissot and a discussion of his paintings of the life of Christ, by Cleveland Moffett, which includes an interview with M. Tissot.

Lieut. Robert E. Peary, who is now well up in the arctic regions, having sailed from New York July 2 last, tells of his plans in an article entitled "Moving on the North Pole." Part of this outline of his campaign was written after he was actually on his way. The last word from Lieutenant Peary was brought by the steamship *Hope* last August, which reported the *Windward* as evidently frozen in and not able to return until the summer or early fall of 1899.

Captain Mahan continues his essays on the late war, with a fourth contribution discussing "The Problems Presented to Our Navy by Cervera's Appearance in West Indian Waters, and How They Were Solved."

Mr. Henry H. Lewis tells of the work of the Americans in Santiago in cleaning the city and starting right, and especially with General Wood's part in it.

Miss Ida M. Tarbell has a further chapter on Lincoln, headed "Lincoln's Method of Dealing with Men," and Mr. Rudyard Kipling gives another story of "Stalky and Co."

THE COSMOPOLITAN MAGAZINE.

THE March *Cosmopolitan* contains an article on "The North American Indian of To-day" by Mr. George Bird Grinnell, and we have quoted from it in another department.

The magazine opens this March issue with a continuation of the editor's serial on Mohammed, "The Building of an Empire," with imaginative illustrations by Eric Pape.

In the same vein there are some remarkably fine pictures in the following contribution on "The Real 'Arabian Nights.'" It is curious that this classic, which offers such magnificent opportunities for illustration, should have brought forth so little satisfactory work. Miss Leach, in her text, explains how important the "Arabian Nights" are as the documentary collection of so much otherwise scattered folk-lore of the East. She tells us that the tales were probably written in the eighth or tenth century after Christ, and she describes how Mr. Richard Burton devoted thirty years of his life in making an ideal translation, while his friend, Albert Letchford, did almost as great a work in his pictures. It is from the Letchford pictures that the illustrations are reprinted.

The series on "Great Problems in Organization" brings the *Cosmopolitan* this month to "Flour and Flour-Milling," which is described by B. C. Church and F. W. Fitzpatrick. These gentlemen, after giving the magnificent statistics of our Western mill industry, remark that there is perhaps an enormous problem ahead of us to feed the people of the earth. They cite Sir William Crookes' statistics, which show that while the bread-eating population of the world is ever increasing at an enormous ratio, the wheat-yielding territories are in no wise keeping pace to supply it. This authority attempts to prove that with annual deficits of wheat, always increasing, by 1931 most of us will have to begin

cutting down our bread-eating proclivities, and the poor will have to try something else.

The Hon. Thomas B. Reed makes a short excursion into literary criticism with an essay on Richard Brinsley Sheridan; Mr. Grant Lynd describes his experiences "In Southern Spain During the War;" and Edmund W. Roberts gives some instances of "Successful Attempts in Scientific Mind-Reading."

MUNSEY'S MAGAZINE.

THERE are some interesting pictures in the March *Munsey's* in the article by Henry H. Lewis on "The Santiago Battlefield as it is To-day." Mr. Lewis says that at present there is nothing to show the sunken *Merrimac* except the broken stump of the steamer's mast projecting just above the surface of the water a short distance off shore, opposite one of the oldest of the shore forts.

President Timothy Dwight, of Yale, contributes a very brief study of "The Collegian, Past and Present," sketching the spirit that is typical of the young college men of to-day, and especially as he is influenced by the growth of national wealth. President Dwight thinks that the old simple standards are in danger of being lost and that there is an enormous change from the time when there was in the student community almost a contempt for wealth.

Mr. R. H. Titherington, of the editorial staff of *Munsey's Magazine*, continues the story of the war with Spain in this number, with a great many excellent pictures to illustrate his sketches of the movements of the war.

Catherine F. Cavanagh contributes an article on "Historic Washington Homes," and Theodore Dreiser gives a pleasant sketch of "Edmund Clarence Stedman at Home," with pictures of the poet's house and its interior. As one might expect from Mr. Stedman's position of long years of literary eminence in this country, his home shows a mine of literary and art treasures. His library consists largely of volumes of poetry, including many scarce first editions and American, English, and French books, collected, Mr. Dreiser assures us, without bibliomania. Hundreds of these are autographed and otherwise made sacred by ties of friendship.

THE CHAUTAUQUAN.

THE *Chautauquan* for March opens with an article on "The City of Manchester," by E. A. Davies, and another article of English interest is the sketch of John Bright by Dr. Carl E. Boyd.

Prof. L. H. Batchelder discusses "Recent Progress in Physical Science" and says that no controlling invention in electricity has been made during the last five years, the advances having been chiefly in developing and expanding previous inventions. He notes that the telephone is now used over a circuit of nineteen hundred miles, from Boston to Little Rock, Ark.

Mr. E. C. Williams discusses "The Effect of Invention Upon Labor and Morals," basing his article largely on the investigations made under the direction of Col. Carroll D. Wright. He agrees with most of those who have given it special attention, that the moral condition of the laboring classes has improved quite as rapidly as the machinery operated by their hands and that low grades of labor are constantly giving way to educated labor.

Jane A. Stewart describes the workings of "The Underground Railway of Boston," and Mr. Edward Porritt writes on the "Liquor Interests in English Politics."

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE.

MR. OWEN HALL does some bookkeeping work in the March *Lippincott's* in his article on "Imperialism—An Estimate." He casts up the gains and losses of imperialism, especially Great Britain's imperialism. He decides that there is a good credit balance and that the original investment made by Great Britain to establish her colonies has made large returns. This is especially true in respect to her great colonies in Australasia, South Africa, and Canada. But on examining the details of the imperialistic enterprise as a business operation, Mr. Hall thinks that as a commercial speculation every phase of modern imperialism will fail which does not include settlement on a scale large enough to leaven the whole population. Under these conditions imperialism, he says, may lose its inherent vice of selfishness and may reap the reward of permanent success.

Among the brief essays and light sketches which make up this number of *Lippincott's* there is a clever contribution from Francis J. Ziegler on "Mendicity as a Fine Art," and a readable account of "Chinese Physicians in California" and their curious customs, by William M. Tisdale. The novel of the month is decidedly Southern—Clarinda Pendleton Lamar's story, "The Sport of Circumstances."

THE FORUM.

IN another department we have quoted at some length from the article in the February *Forum* by the Hon. George E. Roberts on the increasing supply of gold, and also from Walter Macarthur's story of the wrongs of the American seaman.

The Hon. David J. Hill, Assistant Secretary of State, writing on "The War and the Extension of Civilization," says:

"Having invoked 'humanity' and 'civilization' as the watchwords of the war, they now clearly prescribe our task in imposing peace. The current course of events has been described by its enemies as 'imperialism' and by its friends as 'expansion;' but neither of these terms quite accurately meets the case. The purpose of our Government has not been the subjection of foreign peoples for the sake of empire nor the enlargement of our territorial limits for the sake of expansion. Both of these words imperfectly express the situation and, thus far at least, are not true to history. A more fitting term to designate the aims and achievements of the nation is, perhaps, the phrase 'the extension of civilization,' for it expresses the motive and controlling principle of the war and of the treaty by which, when ratified, it is to be concluded."

In a paper on "Quarantine and Sanitation" Dr. Walter Wyman advocates the calling by this Government of a convention in which each of the American republics shall be represented by their sanitarians and civil engineers for the purpose of preparing a treaty providing for the examination of the chief yellow-fever ports by a representative commission. Each country should obligate itself to put into effect the measures recommended by the commission for the extirpation of yellow fever, or measures of its own which should be

approved by the commission. It is understood that our Government shall have first set a good example by freeing the cities of our own dependencies from yellow fever by sanitation.

Mr. Walter S. Logan contributes an interesting comparison of Saxon and Latin law courts. The distinguishing difference between them he illustrates from the form of pleadings.

"The common-law declaration, the Saxon's formulation of his claim, is the assertion of a right, and it concludes with a demand. The bill in equity, the typical Latin plea, is a petition, and except where we have Saxonized it, it ends with a prayer. The Saxon issue is sharp, clear, concise. It has a clear affirmative and a plain negative—something one can fight about. The Latin pleadings are long, complicated, verbose. They suggest much to talk about, but little to fight over. The Saxon declaration is the demand of a freeman for his rights: the Latin petition is a persistent plea for grace. The Saxon in a lawsuit seeks his own and is ready to fight for it: the Latin asks for bounty and begs for it."

Capt. A. P. Gardner says that the Porto Rico school system has a fairly good skeleton, from which, however, a few bones are lacking. Each community in the island is accustomed to handling and paying for its own schools. There is need of a higher grade of common schools, as well as of an increase in the number of primary schools. One of the greatest difficulties will be in the securing of teachers. The English language cannot, of course, be the medium of instruction for some time to come.

Commander Bradford, writing on the subject of coaling-stations for the navy, asks:

"Of what value will be a fleet of fifty magnificent ships of war on the Pacific coast if the enemy is located in the China Sea and there is not a chain of coaling-stations, which have been previously well stocked, stretching along the distance of eight thousand miles from the Pacific coast to China?"

The Hon. Charles Denby presents an argument for the ratification of the peace treaty with Spain; Otto Dorner states the case for good roads and State aid; Joseph King Goodrich describes "Some Japanese Ways;" Dr. Wilhelm Rein writes on "Culture and Education;" and John Gilmer Speed gives a *résumé* of recent performances at the New York theaters.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

ELSEWHERE we have quoted from three articles in the February *North American*—"Russia as a World Power," by Charles A. Conant; "America and the Wheat Problem," by John Hyde; and "The Tuberculosis Problem in the United States," by Dr. S. A. Knopf.

In the course of an article entitled "Imperial Responsibilities a National Gain," Sir G. S. Clarke declares that the interests of the world, no less than those of the United States, demand not only that the Nicaragua Canal shall be constructed, but that it shall be absolutely controlled by the United States. "We do not want to repeat in the western hemisphere the political complications in which the Suez Canal is involved."

Prof. F. Spencer Baldwin describes luxury as a factor in the social progress of the race. The luxuries of the few in one generation become the necessities of the many in the next. "Thus the whole society advances,

classwise, from stage to stage. The higher gains of civilization, at first enjoyed by only one class, are gradually diffused among the masses."

Commander Charles H. Stockton, U. S. N., president of the Naval War College at Newport, writes on the practice of seizing merchant vessels at sea in time of war. Commander Stockton is in favor of the repeal of all laws giving to naval officers prize-money from the capture of such vessels, but not in favor of doing away with the practice of capture. It has generally been argued by those opposing the practice that since private property on land is practically free from confiscation and capture, private property on the sea should be equally free, but Commander Stockton holds that this exemption on land has been greatly overestimated. In the Franco-Prussian War private property in the enemy's country was not respected. It has been authoritatively stated that the German armies in France took such property to the value of more than six hundred million francs, while the French navy captured ninety merchant vessels, valued at not much more than six million francs. In the case of land property, however, armies have justified themselves on grounds of military necessity. Such claims have no validity as applied to the ordinary merchant vessel, and, indeed, they are not urged. Commander Stockton holds that all merchant ships and their cargoes have belligerent uses, but while this is doubtless true theoretically, no pretense of the kind was made in reference to the merchant ships flying the Spanish flag that were captured by our blockading fleet off Cuba in the late war.

Dr. W. Thornton Parker gives an interesting account of the evolution of the colored soldier in the United States army. "Post schools and devoted and intelligent officers," he says, "have developed the colored recruit until he has become a trustworthy, brave, and intelligent soldier." His work in Cuba justifies this praise.

Dr. Judson Smith's article on "The Awakening of China" is decidedly optimistic in tone. Dr. Smith has only recently returned from China, where he spent some time last year. He finds much reason to hope for a complete rejuvenation of the Celestial Empire, in religion, politics, education, and the arts of civilized life.

Mr. Hiram S. Maxim contributes a technical article on the use of high explosives in large guns; Maj. Arthur Griffiths writes on "Old War Prisons in England and France;" and the Hon. Sereno E. Payne explains and defends the shipbuilding subsidy bill now before Congress. In "Notes and Comments" Earl M. Cranston points out certain defects in the existing court-martial system, Bessie B. Croffut describes the "poor colonies" of Holland, and A. H. Gouraud discusses the deficiencies of our fish supply.

THE ARENA.

THE leading article in the February *Arena* is Prof. John R. Commons' exposition of the right to work, from which we have quoted in another department.

Mr. J. M. Scanland traces Spain's decline to radical defects in the national character. He decides that a people so dependent on leadership is unworthy of liberty.

Apocryphal of the controversy over the seating of a polygamous Congressman from Utah, Ruth Everett makes

some startling revelations concerning the social condition of women under the system of polygamy as practiced in Utah.

The Hon. George Fred Williams writes in opposition to the currency-reform policy of the McKinley administration.

Moncure D. Conway, in commemoration of the birthday of Thomas Paine, contributes a study of Paine's Americanism. Mr. Conway attributes to the influence of the pamphlet "Common Sense" the conversion of Washington to the cause of the Revolution. He says on this point:

"Up to January, 1776, Washington had protested his loyalty to the crown. On the 10th of that month Paine's 'Common Sense' appeared; on the 31st of that month Washington wrote from Cambridge to Joseph Reed of 'the sound doctrine and unanswerable reasoning contained in the pamphlet 'Common Sense.' The die was cast."

In the department of fiction there is a brilliant piece of imaginative writing by Mr. Charles Johnston, entitled "Franz Josef's Dream."

Mr. Horatio W. Dresser discusses the question, "Has Life a Meaning?" Mr. Frank E. Anderson writes on American tendencies to militarism under the title "The Janizaries of Plutocracy." S. Ivan Tadjoroff, in a paper entitled "The Struggle of Absolutism," describes recent events in Europe.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE February number of the *Contemporary Review* gives a characteristic prominence to ecclesiastical and social questions. Articles by M. de Presensé and Mr. Shaw Lefevre have received special notice elsewhere.

"PLUGGING UP THE ZAMBESI."

Mr. J. T. Wills strongly opposes Mr. Rhodes' "wild-cat" scheme, as he calls it, of "the Cape-to Cairo" railroad. As an alternative he offers another road, from Bulawayo via Salisbury and Tete to the southern extremity of Lake Nyassa and from the north end of the lake to Tanganyika. He suggests, besides, a prodigious scheme for creating a gigantic chartered company's lake, something to eclipse Tanganyika and Nyassa, by erecting a dam across the gorge at Mount Morumbwa:

"I fancy that the engineering skill of the twentieth century will be able to plug this gorge up. At San Francisco they have lately blown the whole face of a mountain into a gorge by one simultaneous blast to make a reservoir. Perhaps one might float down caissons or frames half full of masonry and sink them, and get the rest of the masonry filled in before the water rose. They would be made to measure, to fit tight like wedges in the gorge. Every dry season one could pile on a few more, and make the dam up possibly to a 1,550 or 1,600 foot level, where the lake would conveniently overflow at another outlet. Part of the overflow let fall in turbines over the dam would make the finest electro-motor generator in the world. The famous ancient silver mines, for which wars were fought and natives tortured to reveal the hidden locality, are quite close by. Their deepest veins could be disemboweled by electric power."

SYMPHONIES AFTER BEETHOVEN.

Felix Weingartner, conductor of the Royal Opera of Berlin, contributes a very interesting study on the

"Symphony Since Beethoven." He admits that a single Beethoven symphony, even if not the greatest, is worth more than all the symphonies that have been composed after him. Nevertheless he does not depreciate his successors. Schubert stands close to Beethoven, lyric musician *par excellence*, a noble and, as it were, female complement of Beethoven. Next comes the clever and eloquent Mendelssohn, "master fallen from heaven," perfect artist but not great mind. Diametrically opposed to Mendelssohn is Robert Schumann, the first and most peculiar of subjective romanticists, impetuously striving forward in a struggle unto death for something new and more perfect. Brahms moves away from the often vague romanticism of Schumann and tries to approach the energetic and plastic mode of utterance of our great masters, of Beethoven in particular, but his works give only the abstract idea, while Brahms reveals the very essence of music. With Brahms closed the new classic school begun by Mendelssohn.

THE TROUBLES OF THE CHURCHES.

The Rev. Joseph Foxley derives certain lessons from the mass and the Roman formularies, which he interprets in a more Protestant sense than do modern Anglicans. He declares that the Oxford movement lost its head in the glare of the papacy. It has, as the *Guardian* confesses, never laid hold of the popular life:

"The time seems ripe for a new movement. The evangelicals revived personal religion; the tractarians have restored, though with grievous mistakes, ceremonial religion; broad churchmen have made religion credible. The next movement should renovate the ecclesia, the Church."

THE CHANGED POLICY OF THE VATICAN.

Professor Flamingo, writing on "The Policy of the Holy See," laments the retrograde attitude of the Vatican. He finds a marked contrast between the energy shown by Leo XIII. in promoting Christian reunion, Christian democracy and a better social state, and the present developments. He attributes the change to the personal influence of Cardinal Rampolla and to the worldly policy that subordinates everything to the regaining of the temporal power. Cardinal Rampolla is declared to desire that Italy should become a republican federation with the Pope as president. With this end in view, he has made the Vatican abjectly subject to France. He is actively preparing the ground for a great *coup* in Italy. He has set up the backs of the German Catholics; he has backed up Spain until the drastic results of the late war have compelled Vatican diplomats to think of turning from the *débâcle* of the Latin races to the vigorous Anglo-Saxon nations.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Sir John Lubbock, writing on "The Indian Currency," points out that what Lord Northbrook proposes is not a gold standard, but an exchange standard. He incidentally mentions that the French have not a gold standard, but an exchange standard. It is regulated by the Bank of France, so as to maintain a steady exchange with England of about 25f. 20c. to the pound sterling. He adds: "It is, I think, rather a proud position for us that the French standard at this moment is a standard based on the pound sterling." He deprecates the raising of a gold loan, and recommends the imposi-

tion of an import duty of, say, 6d. an ounce on silver. R. B. Cobbold describes his trip to Lake Balkash among the Kirghiz Tartars, a lake never visited before, he believes, by an Englishman. M. Maeterlinck writes in French on the "18 Brumaire."

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

A PART from the courage of the anti-peace articles and the tenor of Lord Halifax's disavowals, both of which are noticed elsewhere, there is little of distinction in the February number of the *Nineteenth Century*.

ALL-BRITISH CABLES WANTED.

Mr. A. S. Hurd condemns England's present telegraphic communications as insufficient and exposed in time of war. He supports Sir Sandford Fleming and advocates a system which may be summarized as follows:

"A Pacific cable passing from Vancouver by Fanning Island, Fiji Islands, Norfolk Island, then branching to New Zealand and to Australia.

"An Indian Ocean cable from western Australia to Cocos Island, Mauritius, Natal, or Cape Town. From Cocos to Singapore and Hong Kong. From Cocos to Colombo or other port in Ceylon. From Mauritius to Seychelles, Aden, Bombay.

"An Atlantic cable which would avoid the shallow seas along the west coast of Africa, Spain, Portugal, and France, by going from Cape Town to Bermuda, touching at St. Helena, Ascension, and Barbados as mid-ocean stations. At Bermuda a connection would be formed with the existing cable to Halifax."

The whole system would cost thirty million dollars; the Pacific portion ten million dollars. In a postscript Mr. Rhodes declares that the Cape-to-Cairo telegraph will not be complete in less than three years.

"THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY" VERY OLD.

Dr. St. George Mivart expounds "the new psychology" founded by Wundt, and inveighs against the Platonic and Cartesian abstractness which would separate soul from form. He insists that "in the complex unity of our bodily life it is the immaterial dominant physical principle which is the man or woman *par excellence* as compared with the mere body, and it is this psychical nature which reveals itself through and gives all its value to the form and manifestations of the living body. . . . The views herein advocated are those of Aristotle, who taught, as before said, that all living beings were each a unity formed by the coalescence of an immaterial form with a certain quantity of matter. But Descartes, from whom almost all modern philosophers descend, entirely separated, as we before pointed out, an immaterial substance of mere thought from a material body which had no property but motion. The new psychology will have nothing of this. It directly connects psychical phenomena—sensation, and thought, and action—with what is material and can be precisely and accurately measured and enumerated. Originating in Germany, it has been greatly developed in America and promises to extend itself quickly in our own country from very small beginnings."

THE LATE CZAR A CURED CONSUMPTIVE.

Dr. J. G. S. Coghill, writing on "The Prevention of Consumption," declares that even "theoretical scien-

tists" have always held that consumption is not a fatal disease:

"Carswell, the greatest scientific physician of his time, says: 'Pathological anatomy has perhaps never afforded stronger evidence of the curability of a disease than in the case of phthisis.' The post-mortem investigations of many observers, both in this country and on the continent, prove that spontaneous cure of consumption occurs in from one-third to one-fourth of all adults dying after the age of forty years. When the body of the late Emperor of Russia, who died of another quite different disease, was examined, a scar was found at the apex of the right lung, indicating a former seat of tubercular disease that had run its course unrecognized from the first stage to the last."

Though not hereditary, pulmonary tuberculosis is known now to be an infectious disease, being readily transferable by the sputum. The public precautions suggested are notification, inspection, disinfection of houses, teaching of elementary rules of health, prohibition of spitting in public places, appointment of sputum analysts, and isolation of hospital consumptives.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Arthur Shadwell replies to Mr. Shaw Lefevre's paper on the London water supply, and points out the boon which the companies conferred on the metropolis by providing it with water, at first at a dead pecuniary loss.

Mr. J. P. Wallis writes on liberty of the press in France. He shows that the law of libel, which is on the lines of ours, is rendered inoperative by two facts. Affronted honor in France refuses to claim heavy damages, despising these as a sordid amends, but overlooking their deterrent power; and French juries, as Napoleon said, nearly always acquit the guilty. The French judges, moreover, have not our summary powers of punishing contempt of court, and only one person may be held guilty of the libel. Many papers, therefore, "keep a tame *gérant*," or manager, "described as a *procureur à prison*, whose one duty it is to be fined and sent to prison."

Mr. W. F. Lord admits and deplors that Lord Beaconsfield's novels are not read. "Their high spirits, intense vitality, variety of plot, beauty of language, and lofty tone justify us in calling them masterpieces."

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE February *Fortnightly* is an excellent number, a trifle overbalanced, perhaps, on the political and economic side. We have quoted in another place from the articles by Mr. Brooks Adams and Mr. Benjamin Taylor, which are of special interest to American readers.

Under the title of "The Settling Day," Mr. Geoffrey C. Noel proposes to make a clean breast of England's grievances with France, and invites some French writer to be equally frank in formulating the complaints of his country against Great Britain. By specifying their mutual irritations in black and white both nations may be able to come to a clearer understanding. The writer traverses well-trodden ground in the Soudan, in Egypt, in West Africa, in Newfoundland, and in Madagascar. He then passes to what he calls "the open secrets of diplomacy," and alleges that "in every foreign court where Great Britain has interests not altogether identical with those of some other power or powers the French

ambassador or minister, acting under instructions, has of late years thrown the weight of his influence into the scale against England." It was so in Constantinople over the Armenian question. It was so in Peking. It was so in Madrid and at the Cape.

THE MILLIONAIRE AND THE FRENCH SHORE.

Mr. Beckles Willson writes on "Newfoundland's Opportunity," and after reiterating the case for the colony against France, puts a question which has doubtless occurred to many minds:

"What has caused the Newfoundland question to suddenly become paramount? Is there not some concentrated force, some propelling power, at work behind the scenes? There is—and that power is a millionaire. The name of this millionaire is Robert Gillespie Reid, who, having voluntarily assumed, by means of the measure known as the Reid contract, the responsibility of developing the island's resources, finds himself at the outset confronted by a situation which precludes all present enterprise. This gentleman has acquired in fee simple some three or four million acres of land in Newfoundland; and where the islanders were content to wait patiently for justice, he, as a business man, eager to exploit his mines and timber, can hardly be expected to pin his faith to assurances so frail and of fulfillment so remote. The abortive attempts to nullify his patents of monopoly have failed—as they deserve to fail—and the man in possession is now, although not overtly, at the head of the movement for the immediate cession or extermination of the French rights."

Mr. Willson concludes appositely: "Pecuniary compensation must settle the question," and in "not many weeks' time."

MAYO IN REVOLT.

"An Irish Unionist" describes the working of the United Irish League in County Mayo. The object of the agitation is to "bring such pressure on the government, the landlords, and the graziers that the former may be induced to buy up compulsorily the interests of the latter, and then divide the grazing farms thus obtained among the people." The result is "to make the life of every grazier in County Mayo who lives within easy access of a congested area as intolerable as was that of one who took an evicted farm in the early days of the Land League agitation." Landlord and grazier accordingly clamor for government protection against intimidation—in a word, more coercion.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Maj. Arthur Griffiths reviews Butler's life of Sir G. Pomery-Colley—the unfortunate hero of Majuba Hill—and rejoices in its vindication of an unduly aspersed character.

Baron de Coubertin begins a series of articles on France since 1814, and sets the conduct of Louis XVIII. and his ministers in a very favorable light.

Mr. F. S. Boas contributes "New Light on Marlowe and Kyd" from recent researches. This goes to prove that the "atheism" charged against both dramatists was really no more than a sort of Unitarian theism. On the other hand, Kyd's own words attest that Marlowe, with whom he had lived and worked, was "irreligious, intemperate, and of a cruel heart."

Mr. Richard Davey announces a new novelist, strongly opposed to the realism of the Zola school, in Count Albert du Bois, who is now residing in London as *attaché* to the Belgian legation.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

THE February number of the *Westminster* begins with an article on Liberal prospects, and it insists that the House of Commons, as the best club in London and the most expensive, entails an entrance fee of fourteen hundred pounds and an annual subscription of five hundred pounds paid to the electing body. This restricts membership—as witness the unwillingness of any Liberal to contest the Aylesbury division—to wealthy men. Since mere wealth furnishes the passport to the most distinguished society, money has ebbed away from the democratic side like water from a tilted soup-plate. Democratic principles have become vulgar and imperialism only is respectable. The result is the practical undoing of the first reform act and the practical disfranchisement of the democratic man in the interest of the aristocrat who has come down and the millionaire who has gone up. The writer denounces as most impotent and pernicious the claim put forward by a little clique, with Lord Rosebery at their head, that they have removed foreign policy from the reach of popular control. He hopes that the line will be more clearly drawn than ever between the Roseberyites and the cherishers of the Gladstonian tradition.

PEACE VERSUS EMPIRE.

There are two articles on the peace crusade. The first, on the peace movement, is a labored endeavor to prove the idea that empire has always made for war:

"Fifty years ago the peace movement was the outcome of a love for the democratic ideal. The peace movement of to-day is the outcome of jealousies between competing empires. It may possibly benefit these competing empires by putting a check upon a ruinous military expenditure. But who is so blind as not to see that the day of the agreement of the great competing empires will also be the day for the wiping out of small nationalities?"

The writer's conclusion is that we should attack empire as the cause of war, and suspects that the whole movement is hollow.

The second article is entitled "A Pseudo-Millennium" and is signed "Haguch." The writer, by proving to his own satisfaction that it is to the interest of Russia to secure a halt or diminution in armaments, thinks that he has exposed the sinister motive of the Muscovite. The writer also requests the Czar to disarm, to sell his battleships and recall his troops from the Indian frontier on pain of the writer regarding the scheme as only a diplomatic move. After this argument Mr. John Foreman ventures a forecast of the twentieth century, describing the effects of a war supposed to have taken place between England on the one side and France and Russia on the other. Mr. Foreman has no very gruesome picture to draw. The contest is declared to have been a drawn game, but the indirect results seem to afford him much satisfaction—i.e., the adoption of bimetalism, free trade, decimal coinage, imperial federation. The practical point seems to be a claim for more encouragement to men in the naval service and the forward policy of opening up new fields of labor.

THE ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE.

J. Donovan offers a new approach to the problem of the origin of language. From the general use of the drum and rattle among primitive savages he infers a

felt want of sensations or impressions to overcome brute instincts and paralyzing superstitions and to preserve the germs of human habit. This suggests, he thinks, the origin of the sounds out of which man made his speech. They were sounds made vocally to supply the same want as is now met by bangs and clangs and yells. The writer refers to the meaningless syllables uttered in sport and excitement by civilized man, and goes on to argue that the irreducible elements of words signify actions, and that the oldest roots of our language are the fossils of long-extinct dramas.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Miss Gertrude Slater, writing on politics and assassination, traces the existence of anarchism to the over-government prevailing on the continent. Government, she says, alternates between the two poles of individuality and socialism. Anarchism is individualism intensified to absurdity, just as communism is extreme socialism. She says, in conclusion, that this terrible taxation may be removed from Europe and that the anarchist may become as extinct as the dodo.

Paolo Zendrini attributes the Spanish decline to superstition, loyalty, ignorance, clericalism, need of acute sensations, and pride.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

MR. REEVES' account of old-age pensions in New Zealand in the February number of the *National* has claimed separate notice.

The valuable survey of Greater Britain records important projects of improved Canadian communications with the ocean highway:

"Enthusiastic meetings have been held to urge upon the Dominion government the immediate prosecution of the scheme for securing direct access for ocean-going vessels from the head of the Atlantic navigation on the St. Lawrence, at Montreal, to the great interior lakes, by deepening the Ottawa River to fourteen feet draught and connecting it by a canal with Georgian Bay, on Lake Huron. This undertaking would enable ocean-going steamers to unload and load their cargoes on the western shores of Lake Superior, in the heart of the North American continent. The governor-general, Lord Minto, and the prime minister, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, are understood to have expressed approval of the scheme, and all that the Dominion government is asked to do is to guarantee 2 per cent. on the sum of seventeen million dollars, for which Messrs. Pearson & Co. are prepared to undertake the contract.

"Public opinion is at the same time busying itself again with the question of direct and rapid steam connection between Great Britain and Canada. The new line of steamers recently started under the auspices of the Great Western Railway between Milford Haven and the hitherto almost unknown port of Paspébiac, on the Bay of Chaleurs, on the northeastern coast of New Brunswick, may serve to divert some of the heavy freight traffic from the New York route."

THE PARADOX OF AMERICAN CHARACTER.

Mr. A. Maurice Low, in his "Month in America," takes occasion from the Southern ovation given to Mr. McKinley to make an interesting observation, the truth of which will be generally felt:

"Psychologically and ethnologically America and the Americans are a curious contradiction in that as indi-

viduals they are the most hard-headed, business-like, and practical of people, subordinating pleasure to the materialistic, always with an eye to the practical so as to produce profitable results, unemotional, phlegmatic even, as units, but as a race their emotions are almost as easily stirred as those of the Latins by a plausible orator or one who appeals to their sentiments."

AN ARTISTIC REVIVAL.

Lord Balcarras, in enforcing the duty of South Kensington Museum to put its exhibits into fuller circulation through the provincial centers, declares that so far as artistic tendencies are concerned there are many who argue that the outlook is brighter than it has been for several generations:

"It is impossible to deny that the activity of the producer is increasing. Our architecture shows it in a marked degree. Schools of painting have arisen which are provincial in the best sense of the word, full of personality and vigor, and glad to take a name from the sea-coast or city where they have chosen their home. Birmingham is becoming the center of those who work in gold and silver; Manchester has struck out a line for itself in glass-work. Edinburgh is active; likewise some of the progressive towns in the North Country. The revival of bookbinding and working in enamels is best seen in London. Everywhere we find the 'arts and crafts' movement—one of the most hopeful signs. The fact that a chair, or kettle, or coal-scuttle need not be vulgar or offensive is gradually being recognized, and with it we learn that the lesser arts have a stately dignity of their own.

OTHER ARTICLES.

There are three more articles devoted to the Dreyfus case. Sir Godfrey Lushington deals with the scope of the inquiry, and urges that the *Cour de Cassation* has complete power to ascertain the whole of the facts. Mr. F. C. Conybeare shows the anti-Dreyfus agitation to be "a clerical crusade." The editor finds the only mystery to be the French military authorities' furious opposition to an inquiry which they say will overwhelmingly prove the prisoner's guilt.

Admiral Maxse seeks to vindicate the fair fame of Admiral Dundas and Sir Edmund Lyons—"my two chiefs in the Crimea"—from reflections cast upon them by Mr. Kinglake.

BLACKWOOD.

WITH February *Blackwood's Magazine* has attained its thousandth issue, and comes out accordingly as a stout double number. It opens with a poem by Mr. Andrew Lang on "Our Fathers," describing the founders and earliest contributors to *Blackwood*. Then follows "Noctes Ambrosianæ No. 72," supposed to be held in Elysium, and consisting of a conversational criticism of present-day doings and writings. Neither fun nor flavor are wanting. Special greetings are sent by Edward A. Irving and Sir Henry Brackenbury. The latter contributes also a letter from the field of Salamanca which was written by his father and two uncles descriptive of the great victory. Sir John Mowbray continues his reminiscences of "Seventy Years at Westminster," which he brings up to the death of Palmerston, in 1865. He recalls the solitary occasion on which Disraeli was seen to laugh in the House of Commons. It was when he had

nonplussed Mr. Gladstone by disavowing a reference seen by the latter to himself in a remark on "the rhetorician of the age."

Mr. Ian Malcolm, M.P., gives his "impression" of Jamaica, and declares "lethargy and want of push and enterprise" to be responsible for much of the existing stagnation and depression. He mentions a new industry set up within the last twelve months, "to dry bananas for home consumption and foreign export, as figs are now dried. By one process an excellent preserved fruit is thus added to our dessert-table, while by another the coarser species of banana are converted into first-rate cattle food."

Mr. Charles Whibley tells the extraordinary story of Arthur Rimbaud, "vagabond poet," scholar, gypsy, and just man of affairs, born at Charleville in 1854 and dead in 1891—a wanderer by nature and habit.

"The Looker-on" seems bent on showing that *Blackwood* is a "good hater," reverts to the subject of Mr. Gladstone again, and proves that certain personal antipathies are stronger than death. He recounts a story he had from Boehm, how Mr. Gladstone had once paralyzed Professor Blackie with the angry glare of his eagle eye: "The inner lids had been opened on Blackie and he had looked into the pit."

As though to keep alive memories of the ancient Toryism, "A Note on Eastern Policy" inquires why England has reversed her traditional policy of supporting the Turk. The answer suggested is the Bulgarian atrocities and the Armenian massacres. But, the writer argues, England and Russia are responsible for the Bulgarian atrocities. England incited the Circassians to fight Russia during the Crimean War, but at the end left them in the lurch. They fled for refuge to Bulgaria, where the Sultan allotted them land and houses. Friction with their new neighbors led to the Bulgarian atrocities! The writer goes on to point out that since England has sided with Russia in clearing the Turks out of Crete, Germany has taken the place formerly held by England as an ally of Turkey. A Germanized Turkey may yet have a great rôle to play. But in the last paper in this record number we are reminded that even "Maga" can no longer press for the old unbending Toryism. The Unionist party must accept the new conditions. It is identified with a policy of constructive progress. "Their only possible policy is to insure constitutional stability by the satisfaction of popular demands." The party having become really and truly a national party must as such "take cognizance of what all classes in the nation want." The old-fashioned Conservative theory that whatever democratic changes may be necessary it is for the democratic party to effect, the writer declares obsolete.

The chapter "from the new Gibbon" claims special notice. The Californian gold discoveries are graphically recounted as a "romance of the mines."

CORNHILL.

BEYOND a mine of good stories there is not much calling for notice in the February number of *Cornhill*.

Mrs. Archibald Little gives a very graphic account of her summer trip to Chinese Thibet—the first ever taken by a European woman. One of the wonders she describes is "the celebrated bridge three hundred feet long, and with hardly any drop in the nine iron chains of which it is composed. Planks were laid loosely upon

the chains, starting up at each of the ponies' steps, and the whole bridge swayed like a ship at sea. Two guardians of the bridge at once rushed forward and placed their arms under mine to support me across, taking for granted that I should be frightened. But looked upon as a yacht pitching and tossing, the bridge really did not make bad weather of it, so I preferred to walk alone and to notice how sea-sick our coolies looked getting over."

Miss Eleanor Hull treats of Western precursors of Dante. She says:

"An immense mediæval literature, descriptive of future joys and woes, sprang up in every country, but it concerned itself chiefly and with terrific positiveness with the pains and torments of hell. Germany, France, and Italy each contributed largely to this cycle of visions of the other world, but it would seem to have originated in England under the influence of Irish monks. A regular series of visions can be traced from the time of Bede to the time of Dante, and even later, gradually expanding in detail and acquiring a greater precision as time went on, with a minuter correspondence between special crimes and their punishments. This literature of vision spread rapidly among the people. It was especially acceptable to preachers and missionaries and was abundantly utilized to point the moral of their discourses; the English and Irish visions, as being both the earliest and the most important, being disseminated with astonishing rapidity through the continent by the preaching of wandering Irish missionaries and teachers."

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

THE *Quarterly Review* for January is a good average number. It is perhaps more tinged with appreciation of democracy, of an Anglo-Russian *entente*, and of woman as a literary power than might have been expected from the Tory traditions of the *Review*. Articles bearing on these topics have been separately noticed.

WHAT TO DO WITH DOGMA.

"Ethics of Religious Conformity" is the title of a suggestive, if vague, discussion. The problem considered is how far those who cannot regard Christian dogmas as adequate expressions of the transcendent reality are justified in subscribing to them and employing them in public worship. The idea suggested is that though dogmas as formerly understood may cease to satisfy the intellect, they may not for that reason be renounced. Just as little would the discovery that sensations give no adequate account of the causes of sensation, and that language is no adequate expression of thought, justify us in refusing to trust our senses or to employ language:

"To discard dogma in the interests of religion, then, would be like discarding language in the interests of thought. In both cases the inadequate symbol preserves what we wish to preserve. To discard the symbol would be to run the risk of losing the thing symbolized. We must instead help on the process of the evolution of dogma—of making our interpretation of dogma truer, as a preliminary to a very gradual amendment of the dogmatic formulæ."

But while preserving a purely negative attitude to the dogmas of the faith, public adhesion to its forms of worship for reasons of inward or outward utility is denounced by the writer as immoral.

AN ENGLISH CODE OF STATUTE LAW.

The improvement of statute law is described in an interesting article. It recounts the useful work done in consolidating and codifying statute law by the Statute Law Committee and the Parliamentary counsel, who altogether form the nucleus of a legislative department. It has performed the gigantic task of boiling down all statutes passed between 1239 and 1875 into thirteen volumes at 7s. 6d. each. The process of improving the statute law by expurgation of the dead and republication of the living law, after having been carried on for nearly thirty years, is now approaching its completion. At present the work is hindered by the over-great facility given to members of the House of Commons to obstruct consolidation bills, but this defect once remedied we may hope for a complete codification of English law. As the writer says:

"English laws, based as they are on an unrivaled store of legal and administrative experience, ought to supply models to our colonies and to foreign countries. But they are severely handicapped by their defective form. If they were better expressed and better arranged, they could be more readily and advantageously adopted by colonial legislatures. And if countries like Japan look to France rather than to England for their models in legislation, it is not because the law of France is better in substance, but because it is better in form."

THE NEGRO STRAIN IN DUMAS.

A bright and picturesque paper on the travels of Dumas speaks of his parentage in a way which suggests how the infusion of African blood may yet rejuvenate the decaying French stock—an aspect of French expansion in tropical countries which may not be overlooked. He says:

"Dumas was undoubtedly indebted to a pure-blooded negro grandmother for his indomitable capacity for work and even drudgery, though it was his lot to cultivate letters in place of sugar-canes or coffee. Perhaps the only quadroon ever distinguished in literature, he had thick curly black wool, broad negroid features, and a complexion which was rather bronzed than swarthy. The cross of the black proved a rare combination with the strain of the Frenchman. From the one side came the nimbleness of thought, the exquisite lightness and brilliancy of fancy, the spirit that danced and sparkled like the bubbles in what he calls his '*joli petit vin d'Anjou*,' also the buoyancy that floated him superior to circumstances whenever any temporary pressure was removed. On the other side was not only the capacity for labor to which we have referred, but the rich and garish exuberance of the wayward and emotional tropical temperament. He had the negro passion for gorgeous coloring."

SPANIARDS AND MOORS.

A paper on Spaniards and Moors concludes with the remark that "the Spaniards repeated the crime of Rome in destroying Carthage. They blotted out a nation, and they have paid the penalty in the decay of four centuries."

Yet he recognizes that "the Moors had reached the highest point of civilization which is possible to Islam. In the poems of Hafiz, in those of Omar Khayyám, and in the Arabian and Indian romances the same level is reached; a delicacy of sentiment, a subtlety of philosophy, a refinement of sensuousness, and enjoyment of

luxurious life without sense of sin or incompleteness, which is unlike the Greek ideals, because it is bounded by what is experienced and does not aspire to perfection. If we set against this the rugged strivings of the North, the hard justice of William of Normandy, the angry seriousness of Henry II. and his sons, the saintly sin-laden philosophy of Anselm and Bernard, the stubborn liberty of Norman barons and English freemen, the romantic enterprise of Godfrey and Tancred, we become aware that the Mohammedans had done all that was possible to them, and that promise and hope, invention and change were on the side of the Christians. Christianity was the force which moved the nations of the North and West; Mohammedanism, though it has accepted European inventions, remains to-day where it was in the Middle Ages. If you cross from Gibraltar to Tangier, you find yourself in three hours transported from modern Europe to the 'Arabian Nights' and the Bible."

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

THE January number of the *Edinburgh* possesses a large variety of interesting contents, but has few articles of exceptional importance.

AMERICAN REGULARS AND VOLUNTEERS.

A paper on "The United States as a Military Power" is contributed by one who manifestly writes from interior information. He comments on the fluctuations of the regular army—16,000 at the outbreak of the Civil War, 1,000,000 seasoned soldiers at the close, and, again, some 27,000 at the beginning of the Spanish war. At the close of the Spanish war the regular army numbered 50,000, the volunteer army 212,000 men, badly officered, "most imperfectly trained, and not to be depended upon for serious purposes of war." He speaks of "the heroism and superb quality of the regulars, white and colored," as also of the high worth of the volunteer rough riders. "Of the other volunteer regiments little more need be said than that they did as much as could be expected—raw, untrained levies and armed with inferior weapons."

"From the American standpoint, perhaps the most instructive feature of the campaign was the vindication of the regular soldier and the proof of his immense superiority over the untrained volunteer. Probably few regular troops in the world could have triumphed over the physical hardships and moral conditions of the Santiago campaign. . . . The men selected are probably physically and intellectually superior to any troops in the world, and drunkenness or other crimes are almost unknown among them. It is interesting to note at this point that the standard of the colored troops is, physically, even higher."

The writer remarks that the best opinion in America is opposed to expansion, but at the same time admits the obligations involved in the results of the war, and recognizes also the strange and irresistible *Drang* of the Anglo-Saxon race. He finds that the new responsibilities are breeding a new sense of responsibility, and are already attracting a fresh class of men of high position and intelligence into Congress and other walks of public life. Of the Anglo-American good feeling the writer suggests that "while our national circumstances preclude an early marriage, there is a warm mutual desire for a long-standing engagement." The English-speaking race must present an unbroken front.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN SCHISM DUE TO FRANCE.

The article suggested by Sir George Trevelyan's book on the American Revolution revises some popular misconceptions of that event. The dispute was eminently fitted for adjustment and compromise.

"Englishmen desired that Americans should contribute to the general defense of the empire, and the wish was a reasonable one. Americans were rightly jealous of any external authority infringing on the privileges of taxation enjoyed by their local Assemblies. The two views might have been and ought to have been reconciled. A very striking portion of Mr. Lecky's book consists of the evidence he produces that throughout the war the cause of American independence had called forth very little general enthusiasm among the colonists, and he cites the highest American contemporary authority to support the conclusion at which he arrives, that without the immediate and very energetic French assistance the colonists would not have prolonged the war, and even that the bulk of the inhabitants of Maryland, Georgia, and the Carolinas would have rejoiced if early in the year 1781 Washington and Greene had been captured and the rebellion suppressed."

NEXT STEP IN ENGLISH SECONDARY EDUCATION.

An instructive paper on "Secondary Education in England" recalls the recommendations of the royal commission and supports the Duke of Devonshire's bill for the establishment of a minister and board of education. The creation of a strong central authority is the first essential step, though by no means all that might have been at once attempted. The writer suggests that a reasonably complete measure on secondary education ought to be passed before another session ends, and he refers to the wonderful outburst of zeal for higher culture which has followed the Welsh intermediate education act. He would at least urge the desirability "of removing without any further delay the two greatest hindrances to wise and economical administration on the part of these authorities by (1) appropriating the 'residue' permanently to educational purposes, and (2) extending its application to the whole field of secondary instruction. These two simple but important objects might (as was shown in the bill of 1896) be attained in a single clause of no great length. A small expenditure of Parliamentary time would thus achieve great and far-reaching results."

OTHER ARTICLES.

A survey of the gradual reform of the law of evidence leads the writer to conclude that the enabling of prisoners to give sworn evidence and to submit to cross-examination is not likely to be abused by English judges after the manner of judges on the continent.

The life of Stonewall Jackson is vividly reviewed. The Confederate leader is warmly commended as soldier and man. Napoleon was his great master in war, but his tactical school was rather that of Wellington than of Napoleon.

A writer on "The Unrest in the Church of England" argues that the projects of Canon Gore and his friends inevitably lead to disestablishment, misled as they are by the false analogy of the Church of Scotland. The reviewer ridicules the "nonsense talked about the secularism of the House of Commons;" he is "by no means sure that as a Christian assembly an ordinary House of Commons would compare very badly with many a great council of the old or modern Roman Church."

THE CONTINENTAL REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

THE January numbers of M. Brunetière's review compare favorably with those of December in interest and importance. We have dealt elsewhere with M. Billot's astonishingly indiscreet article on Franco-Italian commercial relations, which attracted so much attention in France.

CHINA AND THE "FOREIGN DEVILS."

M. Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu continues, in the first January number, his series of articles on the Chinese problem with one in which he deals with the Chinese people and their actual relations with Europeans. So true is it that the fringe of this wonderful empire has hardly as yet been touched by Europeans that it is even a matter of speculation how many people there are in China—the estimates varying from 200,000,000 to 402,000,000. The empire is based on practically the same principles which were laid down two thousand years ago, before any of the states which now possess the remainder of the globe were even in process of formation. This fixed civilization has marvelous latent force. Thus even the introduction of a new religion had nothing like the same effect in China as the introduction of Christianity had in the West. Buddhism did not transform the Chinese; rather it was the Chinese who modified Buddhism. Even the waves of conquest have broken in vain against this stubborn wall of national ingrained conservatism, and China has always rapidly absorbed her barbarous conquerors.

The Chinese do not trouble themselves about their weakness as a state. It is their racial habits and manners and customs that they are determined to preserve, therein differing radically from their neighbors, the Japanese, who willingly throw off their old religious and social organization for the sake of the charming novelty of Western civilization. Is it possible, one wonders, that China may after all modify our Western civilization more than we dream of—more, in fact, than it will modify her? M. Leroy-Beaulieu declares that Christianity profoundly shocks all traditions and strikes at the very foundations of society in China just as a propaganda of polygamy would in Europe. The missionaries set their faces against ancestor-worship and they employ young women as their assistants—both unspeakably infamous things in the eyes of a good Chinaman. It is a pity that ordinary Europeans, not missionaries, are so careless about offending the prejudices of the Chinese. Both peoples are profoundly convinced each of its own superiority to the other, while the contempt of the Chinaman for the European is as a rule much greater than the European's for the Chinaman. Thanks to the treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895, cotton and silk mills are being established at Shanghai, in which the workers are Chinese married women who are assisted by their little children. This is really a promising sign, for China is never likely to be self-supporting, and the richer she becomes obviously the better customer she will be in Western markets.

ALCOHOL IN MODERN LIFE.

The Vicomte d'Avenel deals with alcoholic liquors as part of his survey of the mechanism of modern life in a particularly interesting and instructive paper. Quite apart from its function as the active principle of intoxi-

cating liquors of every kind, alcohol plays an often unsuspected part in the comforts and even the necessities of our daily existence. As vinegar it enters into the composition of the refreshing salad; it helps sometimes to warm and light our houses; and on its wings divers subtle perfumes are conveyed to ladies' pocket-handkerchiefs. Without it we should lack quinine, ether, and chloroform; we should have no satisfactory furniture polish; sportsmen would be deprived of proper ammunition; and photographers would be left lamenting without collodion. M. d'Avenel shows what a great part alcohol plays in French industry, and he is struck by the moderation of the state in only getting \$54,000,000 out of it in taxes, as compared with \$66,000,000 out of tobacco. There is no need, however, to follow him in his researches into the history of the taxation of alcohol in France or into the chemistry of the process of distillation. Lovers of "fine champagne" and "vieux cognac" would be horrified at his revelations. Apparently alcohol extracted from beet-root is the basis of most liqueurs, the expressed juice of raisins, oil of almonds, vanilla, caramel, and so on, furnishing the necessary variety of flavorings. There is, however, some consolation for the consumer, since the best qualities seem to be always exported from France. M. d'Avenel laughs at the modern taste for whisky, "Scotch" or "Irish," which he considers more injurious than the sophisticated brandy which it has largely ousted, and he laughs still more at the connoisseurs who demand in their rum a flavor of old leather, which the Almighty never put there, but which is, of course, inserted by the manufacturer in obedience to the popular taste. M. d'Avenel points out that alcoholic liquors really contain a very small proportion of pure alcohol, and when people show by experiments how injurious alcohol is, it must be remembered that everything depends on how it is taken into the human body. Thus injections of pure cold water into the veins are highly injurious, while one can swallow with impunity the contents of a viper's poison-bags. He attributes the decrease of drunkenness in England entirely to the enormous taxation imposed on alcoholic liquors, and not at all to the influence of temperance societies. Similarly he attributes the fact that the consumption of alcoholic liquors in France is greater than in any other country in the world in proportion to the population to the comparatively light taxation of those liquors in France. Thus the same quantity of alcoholic liquor pays a duty of \$100 in England, \$65 in Russia, \$50 in Holland, \$49 in the United States, and only \$31 in France.

COCAINE.

M. Dastre writes rather a technical paper on this somewhat disappointing anæsthetic, which it was thought at one time would supersede ether and chloroform. It is rather alarming to learn that its employment in dentistry has led many dentists to use the drug on themselves to such an extent as to become cocaine-maniacs! The terrors of the dentist's chair are already sufficiently great without the added fear of being operated on by one who may—for all we know—be secretly devoted to the abuse of cocaine, the charms of which apparently rival those of morphia. Although on the whole cocaine is disappointing, because its effects when it is injected hypodermically vary greatly with the in-

dividual, it can nevertheless be employed with advantage in a large number of common surgical operations, but only with the greatest precautions and in extremely weak solutions.

THE GERMAN EMPEROR IN PALESTINE.

M. Lamy finishes his account of the German Emperor's tour with some discussion of its results. He explains William's desire to snatch from France her ancient protectorate over Catholics of whatever nation in the East, but he also brings prominently forward the Emperor's successive advances to the Protestants, to the Mohammedans, and to the Jews, dryly suggesting that the congress of religions has found refuge in the imperial soul. M. Lamy, as might have been expected, does not think that the Emperor has been successful in his designs. Nowhere have the Emperor's advances been met so coldly as by the various bodies of Protestants, German, English, and American, who have no idea of ranging themselves under the hegemony of William. M. Lamy recalls in this connection the affair of the Jerusalem bishopric, the significant absence of Church of England clergy when the Emperor opened the Lutheran Church of the Saviour, and the consecration of the Anglican church in Jerusalem about the same time, as a rival demonstration, by the Bishop of Salisbury, whom M. Lamy creates for the occasion an archbishop and metropolitan of Jerusalem! Briefly, M. Lamy believes that the Emperor's policy is a thoroughly selfish one, and that the various religious bodies he has courted so zealously know this perfectly well and are proof against his blandishments.

NOUVELLE REVUE.

MADAME ADAM'S review continues to maintain its standard of interest and importance, and her patriotism is no whit weakened, but rather enhanced, by recent events.

REVELATIONS OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY.

In two articles, one in each of the January numbers, M. de Ganniers claims to reveal the secret negotiations relative to Cuba from 1820 to 1898. These revelations, which are of course adduced to prove the shocking hypocrisy of "Uncle Sam," are based, M. de Ganniers explains, on hitherto unpublished documents preserved in Madrid. He incidentally pays a compliment to British colonial methods by saying that when the Spaniards recovered Cuba by the peace of 1763 they hardly knew it again, so marvelously had the English improved it during their brief ownership of eight months. Practically, the charge against the United States is that they have always coveted Cuba, and that the cruelties of the Weyler régime merely served as an excuse for seizing the island. James Monroe, of Monroe doctrine fame, approached Spain in 1823 with a view to its acquisition, and in 1825 an undertaking was given that at any rate Cuba should not be ceded to any other power than America. Afterward the United States made an attempt to buy Cuba. M. de Ganniers traces the course of the negotiations in some detail, and he represents the final annexation of Cuba as the triumph of a masterly but unscrupulous diplomacy, the reward of singular foresight and ceaseless vigilance.

FRENCH NAVAL POLICY.

Commandant Chassériaud continues his series on French naval policy with a pessimistic computation of

the weakness of the combined French and Russian fleets as compared with the British. He attributes British policy over Fashoda to a clear consciousness of naval superiority, declares that the French fleet has been built on a radically false theory, and anticipates that the inferiority of France in this respect will increase rather than diminish, as England is determined to remain mistress of the sea at any cost.

MADAME ADAM ON FOREIGN POLITICS.

It is a melancholy picture of 1896 which Madame Adam draws for her readers. She sees America militarized; England imperialistic; the Russian autocracy at the head of a movement in favor of peace; the Lutheran German Emperor traveling to Palestine for the benefit of the Catholic section of his kingdom and under the friendly protection of the Crescent; the Slav empire of Austria allowing itself to be oppressed and ruled by a group of Germans devoted to Berlin Chauvinism; Italy allied with England, while the latter proclaims her policy of grab, and France forced by the hypocrisy of Anglo-Saxon humanitarianism to defend her very existence. She regards the Liberal party in England as split into fragments, most of its former chieftains being occupied in trying to beat the imperialist tom-tom louder than the Tories. In the second January number she returns to the charge, persisting in regarding the attitude of England toward France as full of menace and fire-eating aggression. As for the German Emperor, "he likes to live like an Englishman; he has English tastes, and he loves England to such a pitch that he envies and imitates her. He would give his army for the English fleet; he would prefer a win for his yacht at Cowes to any diplomatic success, no matter where." A Russian friend of Madame Adam's has been trying to persuade her that as things are it would be in every way better for France to ally herself with England and Russia against Germany. But she is not convinced, regarding it as France's mission to oppose the British ambition to "Britishize" the world. She even declares that Mr. Stead preaches humanitarian principles in order that the Dum-Dum bullets and the odious and cruel massacres may be forgotten amid the voices of innumerable Englishmen proclaiming the beauty of arbitration, the progress of civilization, and the admirable idea of a "war against war."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Among other articles may be mentioned some curious letters of Louis XVIII. to his minister Decazes, edited by M. Ernest Daudet; a study of M. Edouard Rod and his works by M. Prozor; a charming little study of a poor *bourgeois* family—father, mother, and three children—by M. Rasco; and two papers on literary style by M. Albalat.

REVUE DE PARIS.

THE *Revue de Paris* is scarcely so interesting as usual this time.

M. D'Estournelles de Constant urges in the first January number the abolition of the representation of the colonies in the French Chamber. It was instituted, he says, immediately after the war, when Algeria was the only colony of any importance; and now Madagascar, Tonquin, Annam, the Congo, Obock, Tunis, Dahomey, the French Soudan, New Caledonia, and others may demand in their turn the right of sending representatives

to Parliament. M. de Constant objects to the system because, in his opinion, it forms an insurmountable obstacle to reform and destroys independent initiative. He regretfully admits that the colonies have hitherto furnished nothing but hopes. The remedy is organization. The elections in most of the colonies are farcical, the native chiefs bringing up the voters, who have not the remotest notion what they are doing. In the little bit of India which belongs to France the electorate numbers 76,591, of whom only 569 are French or Europeans, while 72,828 are natives not subject to French laws, not speaking French and knowing nothing of French customs! Of course agents manage the whole business, and the candidates need not leave Paris. The amusing part of it is that though scarcely anybody troubles to record his vote, the urns are always found to contain many thousands of ballots. Naturally the success of England with her colonies is appealed to as an argument against colonial representation, as is also the fact that both Spain and Portugal had colonial representatives in their parliaments.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Among other articles may be mentioned some curious notes taken by Gen. Baron Gourgaud of his conversations with Napoleon at St. Helena; M. Lavisse, in a speech delivered to the students of the University of Paris, and now printed, appeals to the youth of France to effect that union of which she stands in such need; and some historically important correspondence which passed between the Comte de Blacas, the confidant of Louis XVIII., and the Duke of Wellington just before and just after the battle of Waterloo.

THE ITALIAN REVIEWS.

THE *Nuovo Antologia* (January 1) has identified itself with the peace crusade not only by reprinting several pages of Mr. W. T. Stead's article on Nicholas II. from the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*, but by publishing an admirable article by Professor Chiappelli, of Naples, on "The Czar's Proposals."

Dr. Mazzini, in the *Rassegna Nazionale* (January 16) disposes convincingly of a Bryonic legend. Outside a cave near Portovenere a marble slab testifies that on that spot Byron conceived his poem, "The Corsair," and that he swam across the bay from Portovenere to Lerici. This is the adopted tradition of the countryside. Unfortunately "The Corsair" was written eight years before the earliest date at which Byron could possibly have visited the bay, and the only occasion on which he was actually at Lerici was in the late autumn, when he was detained there, as he himself relates in a letter, for four days by illness and acute rheumatism. Dr. Mazzini suggests that the local municipality should remove the misleading inscription.

The *Civiltà Cattolica* (January 7) has a useful article explaining clearly the theological attitude of the Church in respect to relics, so habitually misunderstood by Protestants. The author makes it plain that there can be no divine certainty concerning the authenticity of relics; there can only be human certainty, arrived at by ordinary human methods. Consequently it is never "of faith" to believe in the authenticity of any particular relic, nor, we may add, of any miracle outside of Holy Scripture. In the case of false relics, although sentiment is naturally much shocked at the notion of their falseness, the Church can afford to be

philosophical, for the sole object of the outward veneration of relics being to stimulate the soul to greater devotion to the saint represented, the action on our part is as praiseworthy and may be as beneficial as if the relics were genuine. In "Evolution and Dogma" the controversy is continued with the *Rassegna Nazionale*, which has recently made itself the mouth-piece of the evolutionary theories put forward by the American Dr. Zahm and by the Catholic Bishop of Newport. To evolution in any shape or form the Jesuit organ opposes a stern front. Meanwhile the *Rassegna* (January 16) reaffirms its attitude and expounds in further detail the opinions held by Dr. Zahm.

TILSKUEREN.

"TILSKUEREN" for January is a good number, opening with a long criticism by Dr. Georg Brandes on "French Lyrists" from Lamartine to Verlaine. The category includes Victor Hugo, Théophile Gautier, Leconte de Lisle, and Heredia, who is a Spaniard born in Cuba and married to a French lady. He is now living in Paris, where his house is the rendezvous of all the younger bards and *littérateurs* of the day, his eldest daughter being herself a poetess and married to a poet—Henri de Regnier, one of the chiefs of the younger symbolistic school. Of Verlaine, Dr. Brandes says in the concluding paragraph of his article:

"Here is Lamartine's old tunefulness revived. And yet in spirit Verlaine reminds one not at all of the sound and refined Lamartine, while personally there could surely be no one less reminiscent of a *grand seigneur* than this poor bohemian who lived out his life in garret and *café*, in evil houses and hospitals, drink-sodden and diseased. No; one must turn back past Alfred de Musset to the very well-spring of French poetry—to its very ancestor, to find the origin of Verlaine. Less fresh, less sound and great, but to the full as poetical, as naive and more depraved, he is descended from François Villon, that great jail-bird, that genuine vagabond and genuine genius. Verlaine is Villon dressed in the fashion of the dying nineteenth century."

Julius Lange contributes an article on "The Jewish Antipathy to Pictures." While in all the countries about the Mediterranean—in Greece, Italy, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt—countless pictures and images of the human form might be found, there was one race of people, he tells us, who had a deeply rooted objection to such works of art and would on no account tolerate them in their towns or country. These were the Jews. Not only were they averse to their existence in their midst, but they could not tolerate that any such pictures or statues should be brought into their land from neighboring countries, and a traveler in days of old would have been startled on entering the gates of Jerusalem at the utter and complete absence of any sort of imagery of the human form. He would not have found so much as a doll for a child. The only pictures of the kind, and these the Jews were forced to tolerate, were the imperial portraits on the Roman coins, but even these occasioned them deep pangs of conscience. On their own coins were no such portraits nor any sort of picture of the human figure. Jewish monuments prove that they had no such scruples about the imagery of plants or dead things, real or symbolical. There were, indeed, plenty of beautiful specimens of this class of art in Jerusalem.

THE NEW BOOKS.

RECENT AMERICAN AND ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS.

HISTORY, TRAVEL, AND DESCRIPTION.

The Story of France. By Thomas E. Watson. Vol. I, 8vo, pp. 727. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

It was once the well-established custom of French political and social reformers to write a history of France with a view to making the story of their country's political vicissitudes demonstrate the wisdom and the necessity of the remedies which they themselves had invented. French history appeals greatly to the mind of the political idealist or Utopian reformer. The Hon. Thomas E. Watson of Georgia, in retelling the story of France from early times down to the domination of Napoleon Bonaparte, is not, of course, actuated by the spirit of the so-called scientific historian of our day, and he makes no use of the historian's methods. What Mr. Watson has done is to read thoroughly the accessible and standard books until the whole course of French history had become familiar to his mind, and the great personalities have lived and moved before his imagination with just as much vividness as, for example, Jefferson Davis, Abraham Lincoln, Grover Cleveland, William J. Bryan or Admiral Dewey. Having thus for his own purposes mastered French history, Mr. Watson proceeds to tell us the story. We were aware that Mr. Watson had, for a good while, been engaged upon this task; and no one who had followed his career and was familiar with his written and spoken style could for a moment doubt Mr. Watson's ability to produce a noteworthy result. The first volume is now before us. It comes down to the time of Louis XVI., thus covering more than a thousand years. The second volume will deal with the French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon. Mr. Watson's narrative has some of the breeziness of Mark Twain's "American Yankee at the Court of King Arthur." There was grim earnestness and conviction under the garb of humor and satire in Mark Twain's attack upon English feudal institutions. "Tom" Watson, in the very nature of the case, writes of French monarchical and feudal periods from the standpoint of the political and social faith of the eloquent leader of the Georgia Populists. There is something in the style and method that reminds one at times of Carlyle, and at other times of Victor Hugo; but there is no conscious imitation on Mr. Watson's part, and no straining after effect. The calm reader might have preferred a less turbulent style, and an abandonment of the jerky short paragraphs, in favor of something a little less declamatory and high-keyed. But Mr. Watson has, in any case, made a book that will be read and that interprets French history,—whether always accurately or not—with a strong and logical grasp.

Spain: Its Greatness and Decay (1479-1788). By Martin A. S. Hume. With an Introduction by Edward Armstrong. 12mo, pp. 470. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

Mr. Hume's volume on Spain (which appears in the "Cambridge Historical Series," edited by Professor Prothero of Edinburgh) appears at a particularly opportune moment. It deals with the three centuries in which Spain's greatest glory was attained, and in which all the elements of Spain's decay made their full appearance. Mr. Hume has edited the *Calendars of Spanish State Papers*, and written other well-known works dealing with epochs in Spanish history.

Campaigning in Cuba. By George Kennan. 12mo, pp. 206. New York: The Century Company. \$1.50.

Mr. Kennan's letters to the *Outlook* from Cuba during

the war with Spain attracted the attention of the country and won deserved commendation. Mr. Kennan told about conditions in our army as he saw them, and criticised the management without fear or favor. The material that he contributed to the *Outlook*, with revisions and a great deal of new matter, forms the basis of a book just published by the Century Company. Mr. Kennan's powers as a descriptive writer, to which was due the extraordinary success of his Siberian papers many years ago, have not forsaken him in the least, as this narrative of "Campaigning in Cuba" amply demonstrates. Above all, Mr. Kennan's well-known diligence and highly-trained intelligence in securing information give permanent value to his work.

The "Maine." An Account of Her Destruction in Havana Harbor. By Charles D. Sigsbee. 12mo, pp. 270. New York: The Century Company. \$1.50.

The Century Company very fittingly commemorate the first anniversary of the *Maine's* destruction by the publication in a handsome volume of Captain Sigsbee's personal narrative, including a description of the ship, an account of her trip to Havana, the exchange of official courtesies on arrival there, the week's stay in Havana Harbor, a vivid description of the explosion and the escape of the survivors from the wreck, the care of the wounded, the burial of the dead, the wrecking operations, and the official inquiry. Captain Sigsbee presents his own reasons for the belief that the explosion was due to external causes. The volume is profusely illustrated.

Cartoons of the Spanish-American War. By "Bart." Paper, 4to. Minneapolis: Journal Printing Company. 25 cents.

The Tribune Cartoon Book. By R. C. Bowman. Paper, 4to. Minneapolis: The Tribune Company. 25 cents.

The esteem in which the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* holds the political cartoons that appear in the *Minneapolis Journal* and the *Minneapolis Tribune* is sufficiently shown by the frequency with which it has reproduced them. Mr. Charles L. Bartholomew of the *Journal*, whose work is signed "Bart.," has not merely a very ingenious and ready pencil, but he has a remarkable political instinct that makes his drawings to a very unusual extent valuable as elucidating a situation or reinforcing an editorial position or point of view. Mr. Bowman, of the *Tribune*, has a method of drawing that is distinctly his own; but his conception of the function of the cartoonist is similar to that of Mr. Bartholomew. There is staying quality in the work of these two cartoonists, because they study the news, are in sympathy with their editors, show convictions of their own, and aim to make their cartoons a help to the quick comprehension of a situation, and, at the same time, an argument for the side of the question that they believe to be sound. In the technical artistic quality of their work there is still room for improvement; but in this regard both have shown rapid and steady progress.

Fighting for Humanity; or, Camp and Quarter-Deck. By Oliver Otis Howard. 12mo, pp. 237. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. \$1.25.

General Howard, in this volume, tells the story of the Y. M. C. A. campaign in the army camps last summer. This was a campaign for the relief of the physical and mental, as well as of the spiritual needs of the soldiers, and General Howard was one of the commanding officers throughout.

The Philippine Islands. By Ramon Reyes Lala. 8vo, pp. 342. New York: Continental Publishing Company. \$2.50.

An historical and social study of the Philippines by a cultured and traveled native of Manila is truly a novelty in our literature. Mr. Lala began the collection of data for a history of his native land many years ago. At that time he had access to the official archives in Manila. After his banishment by the Spaniards in 1887 he continued his intimate relations with leading Filipinos, and has kept pace with the march of events in the archipelago up to the remarkable developments of 1898. No one is better qualified to describe the islands and their people. The volume just published is the fruit of Mr. Lala's devoted labors. Many of the illustrations are reproductions from photographs taken by the author. The work is to be sold only by subscription.

Puerto Rico and Its Resources. By Frederick A. Ober. 12mo, pp. 290. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

Mr. Ober's personal knowledge of our new West Indian acquisition is intimate and of many years' standing. As long ago as in 1880 he had visited every part of the island and later, as commissioner for the World's Fair of 1893, he renewed his acquaintance with the country and its inhabitants. His book is therefore authoritative. It is provided with interesting illustrations and a good map. Mr. Ober retains the original Spanish orthography, "Puerto Rico," instead of the Portuguese "Porto," notwithstanding the fact that the United States War Department adheres to the latter. For the American business man seeking light on the commercial possibilities of our new possession Mr. Ober's book is a valuable compendium of information.

The Porto Rico of To-day. By Albert Gardner Robinson. 12mo, pp. 254. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

This volume contains a series of pleasant "pen-pictures" of the Porto Ricans and their country made by a correspondent of the *New York Evening Post* during the three months ending in the capitulation of October 18, last. Photographic illustrations and several maps are supplied by the publishers.

America in Hawaii. By Edmund Janes Carpenter. 16mo, pp. 286. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$1.50.

A convenient and readable history of the growth of American influence and sentiment in the Hawaiian Islands during the past century which has found its culmination in annexation to the United States.

The Imperial Republic. By James C. Fernald. 12mo, pp. 192. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company. 75 cents.

The writer of this little book is an expansionist,—and an expansionist who clearly marks the distinction between "imperialism" and expansion. Mr. Fernald undertakes to show that the dangers of an expansion policy are not such as should deter this country from adopting such a policy and at the same time to point out the material advantages that lie along the line of national expansion. His treatment of the subject is original, suggestive, and highly pertinent.

The Story of the Civil War. By John Codman Ropes. Part II., The Campaigns of 1862. 8vo, pp. 487. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.

Mr. Ropes' skill as a narrator of military history has been frequently tested. Utilizing the abundant materials made accessible by the publication of the Official Records of the War by the Government, Mr. Ropes is able to impart to his narrative an element of personal interest in the commanders on both sides. The letters, dispatches, and reports of officers in the field have been extensively drawn upon. Some of the author's criticisms and conclusions regarding particular campaigns will be resented by

partisans and admirers of the leaders censured, but the great value of the work as a whole will not be questioned. It sifts out and makes available for the general reader a great mass of information which he could not easily glean for himself, even from the published documents.

The American Revolution. By Sir George Otto Trevelyan. Part I., 1766-1776. 8vo, pp. 447. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$3.

Perhaps no living Englishman is better qualified to write the history of the American Revolution than the author of "The Early History of Charles James Fox." It was from the purpose to complete the account of the life of Fox from the point at which he dropped it eighteen years ago that the historical studies resulting in the present work took their original impulse. The story of Fox, between 1774 and 1782, his biographer tells us, is inextricably interwoven with the story of the American Revolution. The difficulties of writing a political biography, as distinguished from a political history, seemed in this case insuperable, and biography had to give way to history. The result is a comprehensive review of the struggle for American independence from the point of view of British policy.

Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri. The Personal Narrative of Charles Larpenteur. 1833-1872. Edited by Elliott Coues. 2 Vols., 8vo, pp. 263-245. New York: Francis P. Harper. \$6.

Dr. Coues deserves great credit for his untiring efforts to bring to light the long-neglected records of Western exploration and settlement. The first volume published in the "American Explorers' Series" was the journal of Jacob Fowler, an unknown explorer who made an expedition from Fort Smith to the Rocky Mountains and return to St. Louis in 1821-22. The second work is an autobiography of a French fur-trader on the Upper Missouri during the years 1833-72—a representative of a race of men now extinct and a witness of memorable episodes in the drama of our national progress.

Heroes of the Middle West. The French. By Mary Hartwell Catherwood. 12mo, pp. 141. Boston: Ginn & Co. 60 cents.

Mrs. Catherwood has undertaken to write a series of sketches of the "Heroes of the Middle West." The first volume is devoted to the story of French discovery. Most of the book is taken up with accounts of the explorations of Marquette, Jolliet, La Salle and others; but the last chapter tells the story of "The Last Great Indian"—Pontiac, whose achievements have been so graphically portrayed by Francis Parkman. Mrs. Catherwood has prepared her picture of early French and Indian life "for young minds accustomed only to the modern aspect of things," but we are sure that among older people her little book will find many appreciative readers. The materials have, of course, been gathered from such sources as Parkman, Shea, Hennepin, Windsor, Roosevelt, and many other well-known authorities, besides public records and local traditions. To the modern dwellers in the great region of the Middle West the book will have a special interest.

American Indians. By Frederick Starr. 12mo, pp. 237. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 45 cents.

Dr. Frederick Starr's "reader" on the American Indians, while not in the strict sense a history, still deals with conditions that are rapidly becoming historic. It should be read by students in our schools in connection with their work in American history. All its statements of fact may be relied on as authoritative, since they are all the result of first-hand research, and the author is one of the leading ethnologists of the country. Dr. Starr's treatment of an old subject is so fresh and clear that it cannot fail to interest such older readers as chance to take up his book. It is one of a series of three "Ethno-Geographic Readers," of which the first and third volumes are still in preparation.

The History of Mankind. By Friedrich Ratzel. Translated by A. J. Butler. With Introduction by E. B. Tylor. Vol. III., 8vo, pp. 612. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$4.

The first two volumes of this great work were noticed soon after their appearance. The third and final volume of the English edition is largely given up to an account of the so-called cultured races of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Some of the representatives of these races, as pictured by Dr. Ratzel, do not gain by comparison with the barbarians described in earlier chapters of the work. Ratzel takes unchallenged precedence as the standard authority for reference in this department of knowledge. The illustration of the work is carried through to the end on the elaborate and costly plan to which the two preceding volumes conform. This last volume has eleven full-page colored plates and countless wood-cuts of high merit.

A History of Greece. By George Willis Botsford. 8vo, pp. 394. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.10.

Dr. Botsford has prepared an unpretentious manual of Greek history for use in high schools and academies. This book differs from predecessors in the same field chiefly in the fuller presentation which it makes of the social and intellectual phases of Greek history. Less emphasis is placed on military campaigns and battles, and more on national character and civilization. The style is attractive, and the mechanical make-up of the volume is fully in harmony with its purpose. There are numerous maps and illustrations.

A Short History of Switzerland. By Karl Dändliker. Translated by E. Salisbury. 8vo, pp. xvi—322. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

A translation of the second edition of what is regarded in Switzerland as the standard short history of that country. This should not be confused with the author's larger work, published in Switzerland in three volumes.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

Municipal Functions: A Study of the Development, Scope and Tendency of Municipal Socialism. By Milo Roy Maltbie. 8vo, pp. 211. New York: Reform Club, Committee on Municipal Administration. Paper, 50 cents.

Dr. Maltbie, in his capacity as secretary of the New York Reform Club's Committee on Municipal Administration, edits the very excellent quarterly periodical entitled *Municipal Affairs*, which makes its appearance under the auspices of that committee. The present monograph appears as the December number of the quarterly, and it is certain to attract very wide attention and to be in much demand for purposes of reference. It is a remarkably thorough compilation of facts as to the nature and extent of actual municipal undertakings in the principal cities of the world. The compilation has been made by gleaning from municipal publications and reports, and a great variety of printed data. Dr. Maltbie has done this work with industry and thoroughness.

London Government. By Frederick Whelen. 12mo, pp. 301. London: Grant Richards. 3s. 6d.

Mr. Whelen is a well-known English writer and student of politics and administration, whose qualifications to write about the present organization and work of municipal government in London will not be questioned. This volume is systematic in its plan, and is probably the best summing-up of the complex municipal system of the great metropolis that can be found.

John Ruskin: Social Reformer. By J. A. Hobson. 12mo, pp. 357. Boston: Dana Estes & Co. \$1.50.

Mr. Hobson offers a summary and interpretation of Ruskin's social philosophy and influence rather than a

biographical or critical study. The biography had already been written by other hands. Mr. Hobson has found no lack of materials in Ruskin's voluminous writings. Not every admirer of Ruskin, however, would claim for him the distinction of being "a philosophic thinker upon the nature and modes of social progress, particularly on its economic side." It is interesting to see how Mr. Hobson justifies this claim by his very readable and instructive little volume.

Legislation by States in 1897. Ninth Annual Comparative Summary and Index (State Library Bulletin.) Paper, 8vo, pp. 169. Albany: University of the State of New York. 25 cents.

A new feature of the New York State Library's Annual Bulletin of State Legislation is a review of the most important and distinctive legislation of the year, indicating the general trend by references to laws of previous years. There is also included with the references to the State laws a digest of such Supreme Court decisions as have declared certain statutes unconstitutional, thus in effect repealing them. Constitutional amendments submitted to the future action of legislatures or of voters, as well as those voted on since the last bulletin was issued are placed in the summary under their proper subject-heads; and there is a separate table arranged by States showing the result of votes. The new constitution of Louisiana is summarized. This bulletin is being made more useful and helpful each year.

How to Prepare for a Civil Service Examination. By Francis E. Leupp. 12mo, pp. 583. New York: Hinds & Noble. \$2.

This volume has been compiled by one of the Washington correspondents of the *New York Evening Post*. It gives complete and accurate information regarding all the government positions within the competitive list. It shows just the kinds of questions actually put to candidates in recent examinations. We do not see how the needs of a prospective candidate for any branch of our national civil service could be more fully met than in this book.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll. By Stuart Dodgson Collingwood. 8vo, pp. xx—448. New York: The Century Company. \$2.50.

Lewis Carroll (the Rev. C. L. Dodgson), whose "Alice in Wonderland," much to his own surprise, won for his pen-name a place in England's literary annals such as few writers in our century have attained, was a man who shunned the publicity that usually accompanies successful authorship. It seems almost incredible (especially here in America) that one could so fascinate by the charm of his writings the reading public of his time, could enjoy in so large a measure the personal friendship of celebrities, and yet could remain to the mass of those who read and enjoyed his books so little known. Much of the mystery in Lewis Carroll's life is cleared up by his nephew's extremely interesting memoir, just published in this country by the Century Company. His letters are themselves a revelation of the man. Many of these were addressed to children, and all children—and grown people as well—will find them highly entertaining. It will always be a source of gratification to Lewis Carroll's admirers, young and old, that he kept a copy of each letter he wrote and filed all that came to him. This body of correspondence is something unique in literature. The illustrations of the volumes are especially interesting. Many of them are photographs taken by Lewis Carroll himself; these include portraits of Tennyson, Ruskin, Tom Taylor, George MacDonald, Ellen Terry, Sir John Millais, and other friends. There are also early drawings and sketches of a curious interest and photographs of Carroll at different ages.

Alphonse Daudet. By Léon Daudet. The Daudet Family. By Ernest Daudet. Translated by Charles de Kay. 12mo, pp. 477. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$1.50.

These memoirs of the great French writer are published in England and America by special arrangement with the Daudet family. Léon Daudet, the author's son, contributes chapters on his father's last moments, his literary aims and methods, and his home life, and to these is added Ernest Daudet's spirited account of the early life of his brother Alphonse and himself—"My Brother and I." There is a certain informality in these affectionate tributes—a departure from the conventional lines of biographical writings—which makes the little book the more attractive.

John Sullivan Dwight. By George Willis Cooke. 8vo, pp. xiv+297. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$2.

"Brook-Farmer, editor, and critic of music"—these three words serve to epitomize John S. Dwight's career. It was for his interest in music that Dwight was best known beyond the confines of Boston. Perhaps it will be for the semi-romantic Brook Farm episode that Mr. Cooke's memoir of his life will be read and cited in years to come. But for Lowell's allusion to Dwight in "A Fable for Critics" we should not now class him with Hawthorne and the other brilliant writers who were his contemporaries. That he was so highly regarded by Lowell is significant, at least, of the respect which his devotion to music inspired among his friends. His was truly an attractive personality.

The Hero of Erie, (Oliver Hazard Perry.) By James Barnes. 12mo, pp. 167. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.

Mr. Barnes' skill in naval biography has been shown in his sketches of "Commodore Bainbridge" and "Midshipman Farragut." In Commodore Perry Mr. Barnes has found another hero much to his liking. While his narrative is given with close reference to dates and other historic details, Mr. Barnes allows himself considerable freedom in the introduction of dialogue among his principal characters, and in other matters of literary mechanism. The result is a story that appeals with peculiar force to the American boy. The writer's evident aim is to inculcate patriotism, and he is undoubtedly right in assuming that no better way can be found to do this than by simply telling of the achievements that have made the American Navy a synonym for the highest type of valor in times past.

LITERATURE.

A Short History of the English People. By John Richard Green. With a Biographical and Critical Introduction by George Burton Adams. 2 Vols., 8vo, pp. xv+530-564. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Roman History. By Titus Livius. Translated by John Henry Freese, Alfred John Church, and William Jackson Brodribb. With a Critical and Biographical Introduction and Notes by Duffield Osborne. 8vo, pp. xvii+486. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The Seven Lamps of Architecture. Architecture and Painting. By John Ruskin. With a Critical and Biographical Introduction by Russell Sturgis. 8vo, pp. xxiv+375. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The Collegians. By Gerald Griffin. With a Biographical and Critical Introduction by James, Cardinal Gibbons. 8vo, pp. 478. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The Betrothed. By Alessandro Manzoni. With a Critical and Biographical Introduction by Maurice Francis Egan. 8vo, pp. 597. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

"The World's Great Books" series, which made so auspicious a beginning last year under the editorship of Dr. Rooster Johnson, with the help of Speaker Reed, Dr. Hale, President Harper and Mr. Spofford as a committee of selection, loses nothing of interest and attractiveness as successive volumes appear. The inclusion of "Green's Short History of the English People" in two volumes shows that

popular favorites are not to be neglected; while the presence of a translation of Livy's "Roman History" in this fresh type and binding reminds us that the classic historians are still adjudged to be books that one ought to read. The Ruskin volume includes both "The Seven Lamps of Architecture" and the "Lectures on Architecture and Painting" which Ruskin wrote several years later. The introduction to this volume by Mr. Russell Sturgis will be found exceptionally useful to the reader. The introduction to Griffin's "The Collegians: A Tale of Garryowen," is by Cardinal Gibbons. Griffin was an Irish writer who died in 1840. He has sometimes been called "Ireland's Sir Walter Scott." He published "The Collegians" in 1823, before he had reached his twenty-fifth year. It is remarkable for its delineation of Irish character. Mr. Maurice Egan, who writes the introduction to the translation of Manzoni's famous Italian historical novel, "The Betrothed" (*I Promessi Sposi*), compares Manzoni's work, as exhibited in this novel, with the romances of Sir Walter Scott. Manzoni, who lived to be a very old man, died in 1873. This novel is a story of the first half of the seventeenth century in Italy, and the book was about fifty years old and had won a firm place as an Italian classic when its author died.

BIBLICAL AND RELIGIOUS LITERATURE.

General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture. By Charles Augustus Briggs. 8vo, pp. xxii+388. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.

The work entitled "Biblical Study," the most successful of Dr. Briggs' books, has been revised, enlarged to twice its former size, and brought out under a new title. It brings the record of work in each department of Biblical investigation up to date, throwing light on the various problems, methods, and aims of modern scholars in this field of research.

The History of the English Bible. By S. G. Ayres and Charles F. Sitterly. With an Introduction by Henry M. MacCracken. 12mo, pp. 127. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham. \$1.

A convenient syllabus and reference-list, printed with alternate blank pages for use in annotation.

Bible Difficulties and Their Alleviative Interpretation. By Robert Stuart MacArthur. 12mo, pp. 450. New York: E. B. Treat & Co. \$1.50.

The substance of the chapters comprising this volume formed a series of Sunday-evening addresses in Dr. MacArthur's New York City ministry.

Biblical Apocalypses. By Milton S. Terry. 8vo, pp. 513. New York: Eaton & Mains. \$3.

This study of scriptural revelation is the contribution of one of the honored and able professors in the Garrett Biblical Institute.

The Book of Daniel from the Christian Standpoint. By John Kennedy. 12mo, pp. 231. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co. \$2.50.

This volume contains a conservative discussion of the difficulties found by modern students in assigning a date of authorship to the prophecies of Daniel.

The Age of the Maccabees. By A. W. Streane. 12mo, pp. 277. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co. \$2.50.

This work is especially valuable for its comments on the apocryphal books and the conditions and circumstances attending their composition. An appendix reviews the evidence bearing on the date and authorship of the Book of Daniel, the origin of which has been placed by eminent scholars in this period of Jewish history.

Illustrative Notes: A Guide to the Study of the International Sunday School Lessons. 1899. By Jesse Lyman Hurlbut and Robert Remington Doherty. 8vo, pp. 392. New York: Eaton & Mains. \$1.25.

Outline of the Moral Teachings of the Bible. By Georgiana Baucus. 24mo, pp. 48. New York: Eaton & Mains. 20 cents.

The Teaching of Jesus. Extracted from the Four Gospels and Arranged by Jean du Buy. 18mo, pp. 80. Boston: James H. West. 50 cents.

The Kingdom. By George Dana Boardman. 8vo, pp. 848. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

This is an exegetical study, confined in the main to those passages of Scripture in which the phrase, "Kingdom of God" occurs. The author's aim is to set forth the nature and laws of that Kingdom.

The Life and Teachings of Jesus Christ. With an Introduction by the Very Rev. Frederick W. Farrar. 12mo, pp. 176. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. \$1.

A continuous narrative collated from the four Gospels. The book is illustrated from photographs of actual scenes in modern Palestine.

The Prince of Peace, or The Beautiful Life of Jesus. By Isabella M. Alden. 12mo, pp. 561. Boston: Lothrop Publishing Company. \$1.50.

A Life of Christ for the Young. By George Ludington Weed. 12mo, pp. 400. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co. 50 cents.

The Living Saviour. By S. F. Hotchkiss. 12mo, pp. 181. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co. 50 cents.

In Christ Jesus, or The Sphere of the Believer's Life. By Arthur T. Pierson. 16mo, pp. 199. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company. 50 cents.

Human Immortality. By William James. 12mo, pp. 70. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.

In this little book we have presented to us the professional psychologist's view of a subject commonly left to the religious teacher for treatment and amplification. While not directly addressed to the spiritual needs of man, Dr. James' discussion of the scientific grounds of a hope of immortality deserves serious consideration at the hands of men of every form of faith.

Friendship. By Hugh Black. 12mo, pp. 237. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. \$1.25.

The Rev. Hugh Black, associate pastor of Free St. George's Church, Edinburgh, has been described by Dr. Robertson Nicoll as "the most popular preacher in Scotland." In this dainty little volume Mr. Black expresses in a simple and unaffected manner the results of much thinking and experience. Dr. Nicoll commends the book especially to young men.

Spiritual Consciousness. By Frank H. Sprague. 12mo, pp. 238. Wollaston, Mass.: Published by the Author. \$1.50.

An able attempt to discuss the vital problems of life from a point of view at once rationalistic and spiritual, while independent and unconventional.

The Confessions of Saint Augustine. Edited, with an Introduction, by Arthur Symonds. 12mo, pp. xviii—297. London: Walter Scott. 40 cents.

An excellent cheap edition of this classic autobiography. The translation used is Pusey's.

Christian Rationalism. By J. H. Rylance. 12mo, pp. 220. New York: Thomas Whittaker. \$1.25.

A series of inspiring and helpful essays on "matters in debate between faith and unbelief" by one of the most respected clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New York.

Quiet Talks with Earnest People in my Study. By Charles Edward Jefferson. 12mo, pp. 196. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. \$1.

The pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church in New York has made a praiseworthy attempt to bring to the attention of serious laymen a clear and frank statement of what, in his view, should constitute the relations of pulpit and pew. Dr. Jefferson discusses delicate questions in a way that can give no offense to either clergy or laity; one reason that goes far to explain his success in this undertaking lies in the fact that for more than ten years he was himself a layman, and "has never recovered from it."

The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria. By Morris Jastrow, Jr. 8vo, pp. xvi—780. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$3.25.

Dr. Jastrow offers in this volume a convenient summary of our recently-acquired knowledge relating to the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians. With a scholar's modesty Dr. Jastrow refrains from any claim to completeness for his work, but asserts that the time has come "for focusing the results reached, for sifting the certain from the uncertain, and the uncertain from the false." For this service he will receive the gratitude of many intelligent people who have found themselves unable to pursue their search for this information through the scattered periodicals and monographs in which it has remained half-hidden since the labors of learned investigators first brought it to the surface.

The Best Life. By Charles Franklin Thwing. 12mo, pp. 82. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 35 cents.

What a Carpenter Did with His Bible. By John Franklin Genung. 12mo, pp. 31. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 35 cents.

Luxury and Sacrifice. By Charles Fletcher Dole. 12mo, pp. 63. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 35 cents.

The Marriage Altar. By J. R. Miller. 12mo, pp. 32. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 35 cents.

The Secret of Gladness. By J. R. Miller. 12mo, pp. 32. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 35 cents.

The Everlasting Arms. By Francis E. Clark. 12mo, pp. 31. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 35 cents.

The Fruit of the Vine. By Andrew Murray. 12mo, pp. 48. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 35 cents.

Ideal Motherhood. By Minnie S. Davis. 12mo, pp. 34. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 35 cents.

The Christian Ideal. By J. Guinness Rogers. 12mo, pp. 32. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 35 cents.

The Greatest Thing ever Known. By Ralph Waldo Trine. 12mo, pp. 55. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 35 cents.

Don't Worry. By Theodore F. Seward. 12mo, pp. 61. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 35 cents.

The Culture of Manhood. By Silas K. Hocking. 12mo, pp. 32. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 35 cents.

Blessed are the Cross Bearers. By W. Robertson Nicoll. 12mo, pp. 32. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 35 cents.

Sermons Preached in Westminster Abbey. By Basil Wilberforce. 12mo, pp. 252. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co. \$1.75.

- The Master's Blesseds.** By J. R. Miller. 12mo, pp. 182. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. \$1.
- Eminent Missionary Women.** By Mrs. J. T. Gracey. 12mo, pp. xv—215. New York: Eaton & Mains. 85 cents.
- The Spiritual Life.** By Andrew Murray. 12mo, pp. 248. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co. 50 cents.
- A Spiritual Tour of the World.** By Otto A. de la Camp. 12mo, pp. 213. Chicago: F. M. Harley Publishing Company. \$1.
- The Wondrous Cross, and Other Sermons.** By David James Burrell. 12mo, pp. 351. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham. \$1.50.
- Millennial Dawn. Volume IV. "The Day of Vengeance."** 12mo, pp. 660. Allegheny, Pa.: Tower Publishing Company. Paper, 35 cents.
- The Gawktown Revival Club: A Satire on Hypocrites.** By J. Walter Davis. 16mo, pp. 89. Minneapolis: The Gleaner Publishing Company. Paper, 50 cents.
- Things of Northfield and Other Things that Should be in Every Church.** By David Gregg. 12mo, pp. 148. New York: E. B. Treat & Co. 60 cents.
- One Thousand Questions and Answers concerning the Methodist Episcopal Church.** By Henry Wheeler. With an Introduction by Henry A. Buttz. 12mo, pp. 239. New York: Eaton & Mains. 90 cents.
- Civil Church Law.** Edited by George James Bayles. New York. Flexible cloth, 8vo, pp. 72. New York: James Pott & Co. \$1.
- The Converted Catholic.** Edited by Father O'Connor. Bound volume XV., January to December, 1898. 8vo, pp. 880. New York: James A. O'Connor. \$1.50.
- Cathedral Bells: A Souvenir of St. Patrick's Cathedral.** By John Talbot Smith. Long 8vo. New York: William R. Jenkins. \$1.25.
- Catharine of Siena, an Ancient Lay Preacher.** By Arthur T. Pierson. 16mo, pp. 68. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company. 50 cents.
- The Truth about Hell, As Christ Taught It in the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus.** By Wilbur C. Newell. 24mo, pp. 46. New York: Eaton & Mains. 20 cents.
- Kiddush: or, Sabbath Sentiment in the Home.** By Henry Berkowitz. 12mo, pp. 71. Philadelphia: Published by the Author. \$1.

ETHICS AND PSYCHOLOGY.

- The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct.** By Alexander Sutherland. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 474—842. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$3.
- An exhaustive study of human morals from the Darwinian point of view. The development of social sympathy in the race is the central thought of the work. This idea is elaborately worked out and illustrated in two portly volumes. After a full discussion of the parental instinct, conjugal influences, and allied subjects, the author proceeds to treat of the growth of the sense of duty, self-respect, the beauty of right conduct, responsibility, the influence of the family on the growth of morals, the growth of law, the nature of the emotions, and, finally, right and wrong.
- Theories of the Will in the History of Philosophy.** By Archibald Alexander. 12mo, pp. 866. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.
- A concise account of the development of the theory of the will, from the earliest days of Greek thought down to the middle of the present century.

- Instinct and Reason.** By Henry Rutgers Marshall. 8vo, pp. 588. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$3.50.

Perhaps the most significant part of this work is the discussion of religion. Indeed it was for the sake of presenting his conception of this theme, the author tells us, that the book was first undertaken. His thesis is that religious activities are the expression of a true instinct and that the function of this religious instinct in the development of our race is "to bring about the subordination of the individual variant influences, and to affect the emphasis of the racial influences; and at the same time to emphasize within us Nature's established order of instinct efficiency."

SCHOOL TEXT-BOOKS.

- Critique of Some Recent Subjunctive Theories.** By Charles Edwin Bennett. (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, No. IX.) Boards, 8vo, pp. 76. New York: The Macmillan Company. 50 cents.
- French Sight Reading.** By L. C. Rogers. Boards, 12mo, pp. 138. New York: American Book Company. 40 cents.
- French Review Exercises for Advanced Pupils.** By P. B. Marcou. Paper, 12mo, pp. 34. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 20 cents.
- Conjugaison des Verbes Francais.** By Paul Bercy. Paper, 12mo, pp. 84. New York: William R. Jenkins. 50 cents.
- Paul et Virginie.** By Bernardin de Saint-Pierre. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Oscar Kuhns. 16mo, pp. 170. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 50 cents.
- La Bibliotheque de Mon Oncle.** By Rodolphe Töpffer. With Introduction and Notes by Robert L. Taylor. 16mo, pp. xx—201. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 50 cents.
- La Main Malheureuse.** With Vocabulary by H. A. Guerber. Boards, 12mo, pp. 106. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 25 cents.
- Le Siege de Paris.** By Francisque Sarcey. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by I. H. B. Spiers. Boards, 12mo, pp. 195. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 35 cents.
- On the Study and Difficulties of Mathematics.** By Augustus De Morgan. 12mo, pp. 204. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. \$1.
- Elements of the Differential and Integral Calculus.** By James M. Taylor. 8vo, pp. 282. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$2.15.
- Elements of the Differential Calculus.** By James McMahon and Virgil Snyder. 8vo, pp. 351. New York: American Book Company. \$2.
- An Elementary Course in Analytic Geometry.** By J. H. Tanner and Joseph Allen. 8vo, pp. 410. New York: American Book Company. \$2.
- Text-Book of Algebra, with Exercises.** By George Egbert Fisher and Isaac J. Schwatt. Part I., 8vo, pp. 606. Philadelphia: Fisher & Schwatt. \$1.25.
- American Elementary Arithmetic.** By M. A. Bailey. 12mo, pp. 205. New York: American Book Company. 35 cents.
- A Primary Arithmetic.** By A. R. Hornbrook. 12mo, pp. 258. New York: American Book Company. 40 cents.
- A Laboratory Manual of Physiological and Clinical Chemistry and Toxicology.** By Arthur E. Austin and Isador H. Coriat. 12mo, pp. 97. Boston: Lamson, Wolfe & Co. \$1.25.

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Africa, South, The War Game in, M. Roberts, FR.
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On the Malollica of Faenza, C. D. E. Fortnum, NC.
Our Rising Artists: Thomas Mostyn, W. M. Reekie, MA.
Pennsylvania Academy Exhibition, F. J. Ziegler, BP.
Pictures of the Reformation Period, Miss J. M. Stone, DR, January.
Portrait Exhibition in New York, E. Knauff, AI.
Primitive Art from Benin, H. L. Roth, IntS, January.
Secession and Glaspast Exhibitions at Munich, A. Werschler, Art, January.
Sir Thomas Wardle and the Decorative Treatment of Textile Fabrics, W. S. Sparrow, MA.
Some Recent Pictures of George Inness, Jr., AI.
Suppressed Plates, G. S. Layard, PMM.
The Royal Academy in the Present Century, G. D. Leslie and F. A. Eaton, AJ.
The Statuettes of Théodore Rivière, H. Frantz, MA.
The Work of Arthur T. Nowell, W. H. Ward, Art, January.
The Work of Harold Speed, A. L. Baldry, IntS, January.
Verrecchio or Leonardo da Vinci, C. Phillips, AJ.
Arts, The Grub Street of the, A. Dobson, NatR.
Astronomical Outlook, The, C. A. Young, Harp.
Austrian Empire, The, QR, January.
Austria, The Future of, K. Kramarsch, RP, February I.
Authors, Some American, The First Books of—V., Mark Twain, Bret Harte, and Artemus Ward, L. S. Livingston, Bkman.
Balloon, A Wedding Tour in a, M. D. Griffith and Mme. Camille Flammarion, Str.
Ballooning, European Military, A. Delmard and R. Blathwayt, PMM.
Banking Methods, Modern, BankNY.
Banking, Present-Day, BankL.
Banking Systems, National and Other, Losses of, BankNY.
Barneveldt, John of—VI., H. E. Dosker, PRR, January.
Beaconsfield, Lord, Novels of, W. F. Lord, NC.
Belgian Parliament and Gambling, The, M. Hoyois, RefS, January 18.
Beres College, W. E. Barton, Ed.
Bernhardt, Sarah, V. Morello, NA, January I.
Bible Dictionary, The Hastings, AJT, January.
Bible, Palestinian Syriac Lectionaries of the, Agnes S. Lewis, LQ, January.
Bibles, British Museum Collection of, L. W. Lillingston, SunM.
Bible, The, in Higher Institutions of Learning, E. P. Gould, MRNY.
Bicycle Company Failures in England, E. E. T. Irons, JF.
Billings, Josh, The Home of, Edith P. Thomson, NEM.
Birds' Songs, C. Trollope, GM.
Bismarck and His Memoirs, L. de Brotonne, NR, January 15.
Bismarck: Painted by Himself, LH.
Bismarck, Prince, in His "Recollections," G. Negri, NA, January I.
Black, William, The Novels of, Agnes Repplier, Crit.
Blackwood, John: A Great Editor, CJ.
Blackwood Publishing House, The, J. Dennis, LH.
Bodley, Sir Thomas, Jennett Humphreys, Long.
Bookbinding, Artistic, by Hand, Lenore Van Der Veer, Dem.
Book Bindings, Early Stamped, S. T. Prideaux, BB.
Book, The First Printed, and Its Printers, P. Fitzgerald, GM.
Booth, Mrs. Ballington, The Prison Work of, LHJ.
Boston's Insane Hospital, W. I. Cole, NEM.
Bowling, J. P. Paret, O.
Brace, Charles Loring, Emma Brace, CRev.
Buddhistic Funeral Rites, Mrs. W. D. Tillotson, OM.
Building, The Tall, Versus Fire, H. de B. Parsons, EngM.
Bull-Fight, A Spanish, Mrs. Frank Leslie, FrL.
Butler's "Life of Sir G. Pomeroy-Colley," A. Griffiths, FR.
Calman Capture in Venezuela, Winifred Johnes, O.
Californian Gold Discoveries, Black.
California, Shipbuilding in—IV., E. M. North, OM.
Canada, Place-Names of: The Carletons, G. Johnson, CanM.
Canada, The French Problem in, S. Rondeau, MisR.
Canadian Dailies, Editors of Leading, J. A. Cooper, CanM.
Canadian Writers, Some—II., T. O'Hagan, R.
Carroll, Lewis, the Creator of Wonderland, Crit.
Cartagena, Republic of Colombia, F. Williamson, FrL.
Catholicism and Spiritualism, H. C. Corrance, DR, January.
Cavalry Reconnaissance, Scouts for, E. A. Stothard, USM.
Ceremonialism Versus Experimental Religion, J. G. Rogers, CR.
Charities in Cities, M. R. Maltbie, MunA, December.
Charities, Jewish, of the United States, C. S. Bernheimer, SC.
Charity: A Cheerful View of a Hard Problem, Rose H. Lathrop, CW.
Charity: How Holland Helps the Helpless, Bessie B. Croft, NAR.
Charity, The Subtle Problems of, Jane Addams, AM.
Chemistry in Modern Civilization, L. H. Batchelder, Chaut.
China as a Mission Field, H. P. Beach, MisR.
China, Democracy in, A. H. Smith, MisR.
China, Russia and England in, P. S. Reinsch, A, January.
China, The Awakening of, J. Smith, NAR.
China, The Siege of, J. Van den Heuvel, RG, January.
Chinese Army, The—III., E. H. Parker, USM.
Choral Society, The Royal, S. H. Hamer, Cass.
Christ, Greek Contemporaries of, A. Church, SunM.
Christianity and the Cosmic Philosophy, H. C. Minton, PRR, January.
Christianity, Foreshadowings of, M. O'Connor, DR, January.
Christ's Consciousness, Transcendental Element in, W. F. Adeney, AJT, January.
Christ, The Historical and Spiritual, R. M. Pope, LQ, January.
Christmas, The History of, F. C. Conybeare, AJT, January.
Church of England, The Present Crisis in the, ER, January; J. S. Lidgett, LQ, January; Viscount Halifax, NC.
Church of England: Ritualism and Disestablishment, G. W. E. Russell, NC.
Church, The, the Patron of Intellectual Training, J. F. Hurst, HomR.
Cities, The Summer Heat of, S. Smith, APS.

- City, Evolution of the, M. R. Maltbie, MunA, December.
 City Functions: See Municipal Functions.
 Civil War, The Last Battle of the, B. C. Truman, OM.
 Clearing-House, The, J. H. Blacklock, BankNY.
 Coal-Mining, Health Conditions of, J. Barrowman, CasM.
 Coaling Stations for the United States Navy, R. B. Bradford, F.
 College Property, Taxation of, C. F. Thwing, EdR.
 Cologne, The Rome of the Rhine, J. C. Paget, TB.
 Colonial and Protectorate Governments, The Drift Toward, D. Dorchester, AMRR.
 Colored Soldier, Evolution of the, W. T. Parker, NAR.
 Columbia University, G. R. Carpenter, SC.
 Commercial Sovereignty of the Seas, B. Taylor, FR.
 Commissions on Tariffs and Money, J. L. Laughlin, SC.
 Confederate, Stories of a—IV., NatM.
 "Congress" and the "Merrimac," The, F. S. Alger, NEM.
 Conquest, The Spirit of, J. Novicow, APS.
 Consular System of Various Nations, The, G. McAneny, CM.
 Consumption, Prevention of, J. G. S. Coghlin, NC.
 Consumption, The Open-Air Treatment of, CJ.
 Corsica, Driving Tour in, G. J. Goschen, Jr., Bad.
 Court-Martial System, The Existing, E. M. Cranston, NAR.
 Courts-Martial: The Dreyfus Case, A. Ameisen, ALR.
 Courtship, An Eastern, Caroline A. Powell, NatM.
 Courts, Saxon and Latin, W. S. Logan, F.
 Cramp, Charles Henry, CasM.
 Crawford, Marion, The "Ave Roma" of, AM.
 Crawford, Marion, Inexcusable Mistakes of, G. M. Searle, CW.
 Crete, The Admirals and the Navy in, USM.
 Crimea, My Two Chiefs in the, F. A. Maxse, NatR.
 Criminals, The Making of, C. D. Warner, A, January.
 Cross-Examination, GBag.
 Cuba, Mineral Resources of, J. S. Cox, Jr., EngM.
 Cubans, The Character of the, C. Marriott, AMRR.
 Cuban, The, J. W. Steele, EM, January.
 Cuba's Industrial Problems, GMag.
 Culture and Education, W. Rein, F.
 Currency Reform, G. F. Williams, A.
 Currency Reform, Economists on, BankNY.
 Currency Reform from a Country Standpoint, J. W. Fries, BankNY.
 Cyrano de Bergerac, L. Strachey, Lipp; C. Secretant, RN, January 1.
 Cyrano, The Parisian First Night of, P. S. Vimbert, NatM.
 Czar's Peace Proposal, The, H. Dunant, DeutR; Sir H. Howorth, NC; A. Chiappelli, NA, January 1; H. Davies, SC, WR.
 Dante, Western Precursors of, Eleanor Hull, C.
 Deaf, The Language of the, WM.
 Democracy and Foreign Affairs, QR, January.
 De Mortillet, Gabriel, Sketch of, APS.
 Derby, Lord, T. Raleigh, Chaut.
 De Reiset, Marie-Antoine, Fragments from the Memoirs of, RDM, February 1.
 Dervishes, A Day With the, G. Grahame, GM.
 Devil's Island—Dreyfus' Prison, G. D. Fairfield, SC.
 Devil's Own in Nature, The, NIM.
 Dialect in America, E. A. Allen, MRNY.
 Dickens, Charles: What He Did for Childhood, J. L. Hughes, CM.
 Diplomacy and Journalism, Mac.
 Diplomatic Forecast, A, A. Bierbower, Lipp.
 Disarmament and Peace—II., E. Tallichet, BU.
 Dreyfus Case, The: The Scope of the Inquiry, G. Lushington; A Clerical Crusade, F. C. Conybeare; The Only Mystery, L. J. Maxse, NatR.
 Drysdale, Donald Munro, D. E. Anderson, MisR.
 Dubois, Albert: A New Novelist, R. Davey, FR.
 Duff, Sir M. E. Grant: "Notes from a Diary," W. Ward, DR, January.
 Dumas, Alexandre, Père, The Travels of, QR, January.
 Dumas, Père, Author of "The Three Musketeers," A. F. Davidson, Mac.
 Duncan, Admiral, QR, January.
 Dundas, Admiral, in the Crimea, F. A. Maxse, NatR.
 Dyaks of Java, Among the, J. T. van Gestel, Cos.
 Education:
 Constructive Work in the Common Schools, W. S. Jackman, EdR.
 Continuous Sessions for Colleges and Universities, J. H. Raymond, SRev.
 Educational Movements in England—II., W. K. Hill, SRev.
 Education in Cities, M. R. Maltbie, MunA, December.
 Education of Englishmen, Mary A. De Morgan, Chaut.
 English in the High School, T. F. Huntington, SRev.
 Harrow School, QR, January.
 Higher Education and Citizenship, J. M. Hawley, MRNY.
 History of Scientific Instruction—II., J. N. Lockyer, APS.
 Honor in Student Life, J. C. Mackenzie, SRev.
 How to Study History, Anna B. Thompson, EdR.
 Methods of Teaching Mathematics, J. V. Collins, SRev.
 Pedagogics of George MacDonald, Frances W. Lewis, Ed.
 Reading as a Means of Nature-Study, E. L. Thorndike, Ed.
 Secondary Education in England, ER, January.
 Secondary Education in the United States—III., E. E. Brown, SRev.
 Talks to Teachers on Psychology, W. James, AM.
 The Kingdom of the Head Master, R. B. S. Blacklock, DR, January.
 The Pubescent Period, O. Chrisman, Ed.
 The Series Method, Charlotte Taylor, APS.
 Too Many Pupils in the High School? C. F. Carroll, Ed.
 Value of Latin and Algebra in the Eighth School Year, N. C. Dougherty, EdR.
 Women's Clubs and Education, L. G. Crozier, EdR.
 Egypt and the Soudan, U. A. Forbes, LQ, January.
 Egyptian Finances, R. G. Lévy, RDM, February 1.
 Electric Utilization of Water Powers, L. D. W. Magie, CasM.
 Elucutory Training, Value of, D. Millikin, WM.
 Engineering, Marine, The Outlook in, G. W. Melville, CasM.
 Engineers, Civil, Boston Society of, Addresses at Semi-Centennial of, JAES, December.
 Engineer, The Civil, and National Public Works, G. Y. Wisner, JAES, December.
 Engineer, The Civil, as a Guardian of the Public Health, J. B. Johnson, JAES, December.
 England, A Threatened Railway Monopoly in, NatR.
 England, Railway Conditions in, W. J. Stevens, JF.
 Englishmen, Education of, Mary A. De Morgan, Chaut.
 English Poor Law and English Charities, C. H. D'E. Leppington, Chaut.
 Etchingham Letters, The, C.
 Ethics: The Science of Duty—III., J. J. Tigert, MRNY.
 Explosives, High, Experiments With, H. S. Maxim, NAR.
 Farmer's Year, A—VI., H. R. Haggard, Long.
 Fire Islands—III., L. Sambon, LH.
 Fishery Legislation, International, O. Pettersson, NC.
 Fish Supply, Our, and its Deficiencies, A. H. Gouraud, NAR.
 Florentine Gardens in March, Emily Lawless, NC.
 Flowers and Fancies, C. Wilhelm, MA.
 Football, American, Theodora A. Cook, Cass.
 Forrest, Lieutenant-Colonel, at Fort Donelson, J. A. Wyeth, Harp.
 Fox-Hunt, The New England, H. L. Jilson, O.
 France:
 Dissolution of La Chambre Inouvable, E. Daudet, RP, February 1.
 England and France, F. de Pressensé, CR; G. C. Noel, FR; E. Lavisse, RP, February 1.
 French Finance and the Budget, RPP, January 10.
 French Women of the Old Régime, Countess de Courson, R.
 Liberty of the Press in France, J. P. Wallis, NC.
 Naval Politics: The Numerical Position of the Fleet, Commandant Chasseraud, NR, January 15.
 Our Children, A. Martin, RRP, February 1.
 The Constitution of 1875 and M. Wallon, D. Marcère, RP, February 1.
 The Franco-Italian Agreement, P. Louis, RSoc, January.
 The French Army in 1899, A. Veuglaire, BU.
 The French Budget, C. Peletan, RRP, February 1.
 The French Magistracy, H. Joly, RefS, January 18.
 The Northern Railway of France, C. Rous-Marten, EngM.
 The Press of Paris, Mac.
 France in the Levant, E. Lamy, RDM, January 15.
 France Since 1814, Baron P. de Coubertin, FR.
 Franco-Prussian War, New Documents Concerning the, C. Simond, RRP, February 1.
 Franklin's (Benjamin) Religion, P. L. Ford, CM.
 Franklin Institute, The, J. Birkinbine, CasM.
 Franz Joseph's Dream, C. Johnston, A.
 George, Henry, in California, N. Brooks, CM.
 Germany:
 America and Germany as Competitors, L. J. Magee, EngM.
 Contemporary German Literature—IV., J. F. Coar, Bkman.
 Fourteenth German Army Corps, 1898, A. E. Turner, USM.
 German Commercial Policy, G. Blondel, RefS, January 1.
 German Poets, Rome and the, R. Kilmsch, DH, Heft 5.
 German South Polar Exploration Expedition, Count von Erhardt, DeutR.
 Germany's Commercial Colonies, F. Vie, RDM, February 1.
 Legal Observations in Germany, E. A. Krauthoff, GBag.
 The German Emperor as He Is, C. F. Dewey, RRL.
 The Period of 1870 in Parliamentary History (From Forckenbeck's Letters to His Wife), M. Philippson, DeutR.
 Gibbon, From the New, Black.
 Gifford Lectureships, The, R. M. Wenley, OC.
 Gold, The Increasing Supply of, G. E. Roberts, F.
 Gomez, Campaigning with—II., T. R. Dawley, Jr., FR.
 Gospels, The Newberry, E. J. Goodspeed, ATJ, January.
 Grafton, The Third Duke of, QR, January.
 Grant's Life in the West—XLVI., J. W. Emerson, MidM, January.
 Gray's Elegy, The Birthplace of, H. C. Shelley, CanM.
 Great Britain:
 An All-British Cable System, A. S. Hurd, NC.
 A National Pension Scheme, BankL.
 A Note on Eastern Policy, Black.
 A Point of Naval History, P. H. Colomb, USM.
 Bank Premises in the Provinces, BankL.

- Does Trade Follow the Flag?—A Reply, Lord Masham, CR.
Educating the Liberals: Lord Rosebery and Home Rule, FR.
- England and France, F. de Pressensé, CR; G. C. Noel, FR; E. Lavis, RP, February 1.
- Imperial Education at Home and Abroad, CJ.
Liberal Prospects, WR.
M.P.s and Their Fads, A. Mackintosh, NIM.
National Institutions and Popular Demands, Black.
Neglecting Our Customers: A Postscript, Agnes Lambert, NC.
- Private Bill Legislation, ER, January.
Provincial Obligations of South Kensington Museum, NatR.
- Russia and England in China, P. S. Reinsch, A, January.
The British Volunteers, Sir H. Vincent, Cass.
The Effects of England's War, J. Foreman, WR.
The Liberal Party and Local Veto, F. Dolman, FR.
The Mercantile Marine, L. G. C. Laughton, USM.
The Part of Women in Local Administration—IV., WR.
The Royal Military College, R. H. Rosser, USM.
The Rule of the Chartered Company, H. C. Thomson, NatR.
The Training Ship "Exmouth," C. H. Leibbrand, Str.
- Greene, Herbert Wilber, WM.
- Guanajuato, The Ancient City of, Vera Granville, OM.
Guillotined, Farewell Letters of the, J. G. Alger, AM.
Harnack's Chronology of Early Christian Literature, E. C. Butler, DR, January.
- Harrow School, QR, January.
- Hawaiian Islands, The Present Religious Condition in the, J. Leadingham, MSH.
- Hawkins, Justice, GBag.
- Heidelberg, Past and Present, Anna L. W. Smith, SC.
Heidelberg, The Hirschgasse in, E. Kleinschmidt, Chaut.
Hill, David, S. R. Hodge, LQ, January.
- "Holland," Under Water in the, F. Matthews, McCl.
Hope, Anthony—II., A. Glardon, BU.
Hospital for Sick Children, Toronto, A. Wood, CanM.
Hospital, The Floating, in Boston, Florence Hunt, Str.
Howe, Julia Ward, Reminiscences of—III., AM.
Hypnotism and Spiritism, A. G. Tononi, RN, January 15.
Ice, Snow, and Frost, G. H. Johnson, FR.L.
Ice Yachts and Yachting, W. P. Pond, FR.L.
Illustration, American, A Century of—VIII., A. Hoeber, Bkman.
- Imperial Responsibilities a National Gain, G. S. Clarke, NAR.
India, A Prime Minister and a Child-Wife in Bhavnagar, F. Max Müller, FR.
- Indian (East) Currency, The, Sir J. Lubbock, CR.
Indian, The, on the Reservation, G. B. Grinnell, AM.
Indian Therapeutics, South American, CJ.
Industrial Symphony, An, H. Fletcher, Kind.
Insane Hospital, Boston's, W. I. Cole, NEM.
International Struggle for Life, B. Adams, FR.
Interstate Commerce, Federal Taxation of, H. C. Adams, AMRR.
- Irish League, The United, in County Mayo, FR.
Irish Roman Catholic University, An, CR.
Irrigation Canals in Montana, W. M. Wooldridge, IA.
Irrigation, Garden, in Kansas, E. Taylor, IA.
Irrigation Problems of Wyoming, E. Mead, IA.
Issiah, Fulfillment of Prediction in, O. H. Gates, AJT, January.
- Italian Renaissance, The History of, E. Masi, NA, January 1.
Italy, Foreigners in, M. Ferraris, NA, January 1.
Italy: The End of the Century and the Italian Revolution, G. McDermot, CW.
Italy: The Franco-Italian Agreement, P. Louis, RSoc, January.
- Jackson, Stonewall, ER, January.
Jamaica: An Impression, I. Malcolm, Black.
Japan, Outlook for an American Bank in, BankNY.
Japan, Social Life in—II., E. Tissot, BU.
Japanese Metal and Machinery Trade, BTJ, January.
Japanese Ways, Some, J. K. Goodrich, F.
"Japanismus," W. Seidlitz, DeutR.
Java, The Dutch Management of, S. Baxter, AMRR.
Java, Recollections of, Duc de Dino, NR, January 1.
Jewels, Ancient and Modern, Mrs. Bruce Clarke, AJ.
Jewish Charities of the United States, C. S. Bernheimer, SC.
Jewish Question, The, G. Rouanet, RSoc, January.
Josephus: A Soldier Historian, G. Martin, GM.
Judiciary, The Southern, and Slavery, A. W. Gaines, GBag.
Kenilworth, A Chapter from, C. F. Young, TB.
Khartoum, The Sirdar's College at, CR, Mac.
Kindergarten Association of Cincinnati, Annie Laws, Kind.
Kindergarten, The Peeresses', in Tokyo, Nora A. Smith, Out.
- Kipling, Rudyard, R. Bridges, Out.
Kitchener of Khartoum, Out.
Klondike, The, A. A. Hill, MM; E. J. Lamare, RRP, February 1.
- Kropotkin, P., Autobiography of—V., AM.
Labor Problem in the Tropics, The, W. A. Ireland, APS.
Labor: The Old Factory Towns in New England, C. B. Spahr, Out.
- La Fayette, Adrienne, the Wife of, L. W. Reilly, CW.
Lafayette, General, A Sketch of, Mary H. Evans, AMonM.
Land Title Registration in Massachusetts, W. D. Turner, ALR.
- Language, Problem of the Origin of, J. Donovan, WR.
Laundry Machinery, Steam, S. Tebbutt, CasM.
Law, Civil and Common, Analogies and Differences of, H. Denis, ALR.
- Law Customs, Quaint Old, J. De Morgan, GBag.
Law of Evidence, Reform of the, ER, January.
Law Statute, Improvement of the, QR, January.
Legal Profession in the South, The, W. L. Miller, ALR.
Levees, F. M. Kerr, JAES, December.
Lewis, Ida, the Grace Darling of America, YW.
Life Assurance, Stability of British, BankL.
Life Masks of Great Americans, C. H. Hart, McCl.
Lincoln (Abraham) Gathering an Army, Ida M. Tarbell, McCl.
Lincoln, Abraham, Recollections of, J. M. Scovel, Lipp.
Lincoln, Abraham, Suggestions from the Life of, F. W. Sheppardson, SC.
- Liquefied Gases and Air in the Industries, E. Mancini, Chaut.
Literary Neighbors, My, T. W. Higginson, Out.
Literature: Contemporary German Literature—IV., J. F. Coar, Bkman.
Literature: Cosmopolitan Writers, M. Prozor, NR, January 1.
- Literature as a Personal Resource, H. W. Mable, WM.
Little Touches, The, H. T. Peck, Bkman.
London Street Improvements, G. S. Lefevre, CR.
London Water Supply, The—An Answer, A. Shadwell, NC.
London: The Grub Street of the Arts, A. Dobson, NatR.
London, The Port of—IV., W. J. Gordon, LH.
Lumber, American, B. Fernow, Chaut.
Luxury, Some Aspects of, F. S. Baldwin, NAR.
Lyons, Sir Edmund, in the Crimea, F. A. Maxse, NatR.
Machine-Shop Management, H. F. L. Orcutt, EngM.
Manzoni, Religious Aim of, L. Vitali, RN, January 15.
Manufacturing, Depreciation and General Expense in, H. M. Norris, EngM.
Marlow and Kyd, New Light on, F. S. Boas, FR.
Marshall, John, John Scott and, J. B. Cassody, ALR.
Mass, Lessons from the, J. Foxley, CR.
Massachusetts State House, A. S. Roe, NEM.
Mathematics, Limitations of, J. H. Gore, EdR.
Meat, Unwholesome, Prevention of, E. Parkes, San.
Melba, Madame, Interview With, P. C. Standing, Str.
Merchant Marine, Our, S. E. Payne, NAR.
Meteorites, The Bombardment of, C. F. Holder, APS.
Methodism and the Age, LQ, January.
Methodist Colleges, Science Teaching in, A. M. Muckenfuss, MRNY.
- Methodist Confession, Articles Omitted from the, T. O. Summers, MRNY.
- Mexican Ports, Shipping Regulations in, BTJ, January.
Mill Operatives in the South, D. A. Willey, Chaut.
- Missions:
Asia at the Close of 1908, R. E. Speer, MSH.
Ch'ang—the Blind Apostle of Manchuria, A. T. Pierson, MSH.
China as a Mission Field, A. P. Beach, MSH.
Pasumalai College, India, J. L. Barton, MSH.
Touring With Missionaries in China, J. Smith, MSH.
William Koyl: An African Saved by Grace, W. A. Elmslie, MSH.
- Mitchell, Arnold: His Cottage at Harrow, IntS, January.
Mivart's Groundwork of Science, W. K. Brooks, APS.
Mohammed, J. B. Walker, Cos.
Money, Functions and Qualities of—II., C. A. Conant, BankNY.
- Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley, S. G. Tallentyre, Long.
Moorish Service, Europeans in the, B. Meakin, USM.
Mormon Propaganda, The, S. E. Wishard, HomR.
Mowbray, John R., Reminiscences of—II., Black.
Municipal Functions: Evolution of the City: Protective Functions; Charities: Education: Recreation; Street Facilities; Industrial Functions; Tendency Toward Municipal Socialism, M. R. Maltbie, MunA, December.
- Music as an Educational Factor, Marcella Reilly, CW.
Music, The Intellectual Side of, W. F. Gates, Mus.
Music, The Three Elements of, V. K. Sakai, Mus.
Musical Professors, German, Mus.
Mushrooms, Edible and Poisonous, A. de Jazcowski, BU.
Napoleon, The Betrothed of, Marion Quekett, TB.
Napoleon III. and Italy, G. Rothan, RDM, February 1.
National Cash Register Company, The, H. Fletcher, Kind.
National Conventions, Four, G. F. Hoar, Scrib.
Naturalist, Vacation Rambles of a, L. C. Mial, LQ, January.
Nature Study, J. Burroughs, Out.
Nature's Workshop, In, G. Allen, Str.
Naval Engineering, Experience in, G. W. Melville, EngM.
Naval Heroes at Westminster Abbey—II., E. T. M. Smith, PMM.
- Negro Melodies, Recent, W. E. Barton, NEM.
New Britain, Connecticut, May C. Talcott, NEM.
Newfoundland, C. W. Dilke, PMM.

- Newfoundland's Opportunity, B. Willson, FR.
 Newspaper, The, the Magazine, and the Public, R. W. Gilder, Out.
- New York, Great Buildings in, S. Veyrac, RRP, February 1.
 New York's Social Life, Story of, Eureka Van Vorst, LHJ.
 New Zealand Old-Age Pensions Act, W. P. Reeves, NatR.
 Nicaragua Canal, The, B. Taylor, Cass.
 Nicaragua and Costa Rica, Trade and Industry of, BTJ, January.
- Nice Carnival, The, W. LeQueux, Cass.
 Nile, Harnessing the, F. C. Penfield, CM.
 Northwestern State University, The, W. K. Clement, EdR.
 Nugent, William L., C. P. Galloway, MRNY.
 Nursery, Rationalism in the, P. Carus, OC.
 Observation, The Science of, C. L. Whittle, APS.
 "Open Door" Policy, The, and the Law, B. S. Dean, GBag.
 Oratory, Happy Hits in, E. Manson, TB.
 Orchestra, The Story of the, WM.
 Organ Pipes, Medieval, C. K. Wead, Mus.
 Paine, Thomas, The Americanism of, M. D. Conway, A.
 Palestine, A Glimpse of, M. Cowen, Men.
 Palladia and His Work, A. Melani, ARec.
 Panama Canal, The, W. H. Hunter, EngM.
 Parker, Joseph, as a Preacher, D. Gregg, HomR.
 Party, The New, B. F. Mills, A, January.
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 Yahweh, The Natural History of, W. W. McLane, HomR.

Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index.

[All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

AHR. American Historical Review, N. Y.
 AJS. American Journal of Sociology, Chicago.
 AJT. American Journal of Theology, Chicago.
 ALR. American Law Review, St. Louis.
 AMonM. American Monthly Magazine, Washington, D. C.
 AMRR. American Monthly Review of Reviews, N. Y.
 AAPs. Annals of the American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, Phila.
 APS. Appleton's Popular Science Monthly, N. Y.
 ARec. Architectural Record, N. Y.
 A. Arena, Boston.
 AA. Art Amateur, N. Y.
 AI. Art Interchange, N. Y.
 AJ. Art Journal, London.
 Art. Artist, London.
 AM. Atlantic Monthly, Boston.
 Bad. Badminton, London.
 BankL. Bankers' Magazine, London.
 BankNY Bankers' Magazine, N. Y.
 BW. Biblical World, Chicago.
 BSac. Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O.
 BU. Bibliothèque Universelle, Lausanne.
 Black. Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh.
 BTJ. Board of Trade Journal, London.
 BB. Book Buyer, N. Y.
 Bkman. Bookman, N. Y.
 BP. Brush and Pencil, Chicago.
 CanM. Canadian Magazine, Toronto.
 Cass. Cassell's Magazine, London.
 CasM. Cassell's Magazine, N. Y.
 CW. Catholic World, N. Y.
 CM. Century Magazine, N. Y.
 CJ. Chambers's Journal, Edinburgh.
 CRev. Charities Review, N. Y.
 Chaut. Chautauquan, Meadville, Pa.
 CR. Contemporary Review, London.
 C. Cornhill, London.
 Cos. Cosmopolitan, N. Y.
 Crit. Critic, N. Y.
 Dem. Demorest's Family Magazine, N. Y.
 DH. Deutscher Hausschatz, Regensburg.
 DeutR. Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart.
 Dial. Chicago.
 DR. Dublin Review, Dublin.

ER. Edinburgh Review, London.
 Ed. Education, Boston.
 EdR. Educational Review, N. Y.
 EngM. Engineering Magazine, N. Y.
 EM. España Moderna, Madrid.
 FR. Fortnightly Review, London.
 F. Forum, N. Y.
 FrL. Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y.
 GM. Gentleman's Magazine, London.
 GBag. Green Bag, Boston.
 GMag. Gunton's Magazine, N. Y.
 Harp. Harper's Magazine, N. Y.
 HM. Home Magazine, N. Y.
 HomR. Homiletic Review, N. Y.
 IJE. International Journal of Ethics, Phila.
 IntS. International Studio, London.
 IA. Irrigation Age, Chicago.
 JAES. Journal of the Ass'n of Engineering Societies, Phila.
 JF. Journal of Finance, London.
 JMSI. Journal of the Military Service Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y. H.
 JPEcon. Journal of Political Economy, Chicago.
 Kind. Kindergarten Magazine, Chicago.
 LHJ. Ladies' Home Journal, Phila.
 LH. Leisure Hour, London.
 Lipp. Lippincott's Magazine, Phila.
 LQ. London Quarterly Review, London.
 Long. Longman's Magazine, London.
 LuthQ. Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, Pa.
 McCl. McClure's Magazine, N. Y.
 Mac. Macmillan's Magazine, London.
 MA. Magazine of Art, London.
 Men. Menorah Monthly, N. Y.
 Met. Metaphysical Magazine, N. Y.
 MRN. Methodist Review, Nashville.
 MRNY. Methodist Review, N. Y.
 MidM. Midland Monthly, Des Moines, Iowa.
 MisH. Missionary Herald, Boston.
 MisR. Missionary Review, N. Y.
 Mon. Monist, Chicago.
 M. Month, London.
 Muna. Municipal Affairs, N. Y.
 MM. Munsey's Magazine, N. Y.
 Mus. Music, Chicago.
 NatGM. National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C.
 NatM. National Magazine, Boston.
 NatR. National Review, London.
 NEM. New England Magazine, Boston.

NIM. New Illustrated Magazine, London.
 NW. New World, Boston.
 NC. Nineteenth Century, London.
 NAR. North American Review, N. Y.
 NR. Nouvelle Revue, Paris.
 NA. Nuova Antologia, Rome.
 OC. Open Court, Chicago.
 O. Outing, N. Y.
 Out. Outlook, N. Y.
 OM. Overland Monthly, San Francisco.
 PMM. Pall Mall Magazine, London.
 PRev. Philosophical Review, N. Y.
 PT. Photographic Times, N. Y.
 PL. Poet-Lore, Boston.
 PSQ. Political Science Quarterly, Boston.
 PRR. Presbyterian and Reformed Review, Phila.
 PQ. Presbyterian Quarterly, Columbia, S. C.
 QJEcon. Quarterly Journal of Economics, Boston.
 QR. Quarterly Review, London.
 RN. Rassegna Nazionale, Florence.
 Refs. Réforme Sociale, Paris.
 RRL. Review of Reviews, London.
 RRM. Review of Reviews, Melbourne.
 RDM. Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris.
 RG. Revue Générale, Brussels.
 RP. Revue de Paris, Paris.
 RPP. Revue Politique et Parliaméntaire, Paris.
 RRP. Revue des Revues, Paris.
 RSoc. Revue Socialiste, Paris.
 R. Rosary, Somerset, Ohio.
 San. Sanitarian, N. Y.
 SRev. School Review, Chicago.
 Scrib. Scribner's Magazine, N. Y.
 SC. Self Culture, Akron, Ohio.
 SR. Sewanee Review, Sewanee, Tenn.
 Str. Strand Magazine, London.
 SunM. Sunday Magazine, London.
 TB. Temple Bar, London.
 USM. United Service Magazine, London.
 WR. Westminster Review, London.
 WM. Werner's Magazine, N. Y.
 WWM. Wide World Magazine, London.
 WPM. Wilson's Photographic Magazine, N. Y.
 YR. Yale Review, New Haven.
 YM. Young Man, London.
 YW. Young Woman, London.

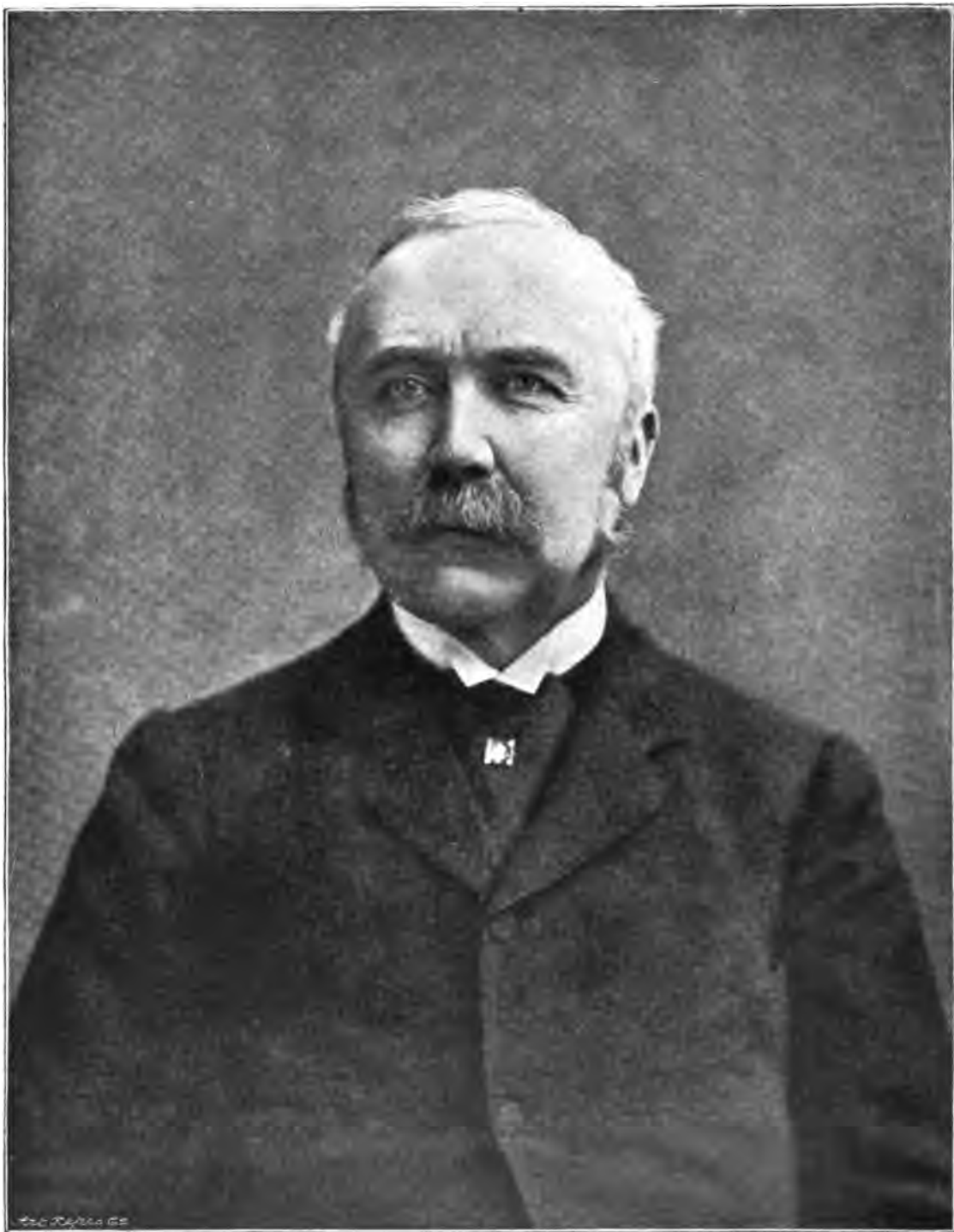
THE AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW.

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SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN,
The new Liberal leader in the House of Commons.

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY

Review of Reviews.

VOL. XIX.

NEW YORK, APRIL, 1899.

NO. 4.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

Peace and a Quiet Life for Uncle Sam.

The passage of the great appropriation bills and the acceptance of a compromise in lieu of the pending army reorganization bill obviated the necessity of a special session of Congress. Unless something very unusual should occur, the law-making chambers at Washington will be closed until next December. Affairs at home will go on as usual, with a very excellent outlook for a continuance of agricultural and commercial prosperity. President McKinley remarked to a visitor the other day that the United States was never before in its history on terms of such cordiality with all nations as to-day. It is an extremely unpleasant situation in the Philippines; but there is nothing in it to prevent the American

nation at large from enjoying a season of repose. The local and municipal elections that occur in the spring-time are now for the most part out of the way. Those Legislatures that have been in session are nearly all adjourned *sine die*. The Czar's peace conference, which will be held next month at The Hague, will find the United States represented by men of good-will toward all nations. The President has been taking a well-earned and much-needed holiday in Georgia.

A History-Making Congress.

However one may regret the failure of this favorite measure or that in the closing days of the session at Washington, it is fair to say that the Fifty-fifth Congress made a very notable and, in the main, a very creditable record. It was this Congress that history will hold responsible for the precipitation of the war with Spain; and that war will stand in the permanent record as redounding to the honor of America. It was an extra session of this Congress, convened within a fortnight after President McKinley took the oath of office, that enacted the Dingley tariff bill. Later it became necessary to enact a war revenue measure in view of extraordinary expenditures. The enlargement of the regular army and the creation of a volunteer force, the annexation of territory, and many other matters of moment devolved upon the Fifty-fifth Congress. As compared with the parliamentary bodies of other leading nations, the character of our last Congress must stand very high indeed. The House of Representatives has been strongly dominated by the will of its Speaker, Mr. Reed. At some times his masterful methods are grievous to bear; but in the long run they seem to work for efficiency and good results. Mr. Reed could not hold the position of enormous power that has been assigned to him if it were not generally believed that he exercises power with fairness and with good conscience. It is not at all likely that there will be any appreciable opposition to Mr. Reed's choice as Speaker of the Fifty-sixth Con-



A SPLENDID RECORD.

Surely the Fifty-fifth Congress will never be charged with having gone to sleep.—From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

gress. It would be strange indeed if there were never any differences of opinion among the leading spirits of a great party, and it may be true that policies favored by the President and Cabinet have not always been those that appealed most strongly to the Speaker and his leading chairmen in the House. The late Mr. Dingley, of the Ways and Means Committee, was supposed to be in close accord with Mr. Reed; and Mr. Dingley's successor, Mr. Payne, of New York, is presumably in cordial agreement with the Speaker, who fills the chairmanships. Mr. Cannon, of Illinois, the active and courageous chairman of the Appropriations Committee, is also accounted as an exponent of the programmes that are arranged under Mr. Reed's leadership. But it would be a great mistake to magnify rumored differences between Mr. Reed and his friends and the White House policy. The public has not been treated to any unpleasant exhibition of disagreement, and the Republican party as a whole has shown a surprising ability to avoid serious differences and to work harmoniously since the election of President McKinley.

*Parties and
Prospects
for 1900.*

The opinion as expressed privately by Republican leaders is that there will be no systematic opposition next year to the President's renomination. The only element of serious dissatisfaction in the popular judgment has grown out of the army scandals. The lightening by the President of General Eagan's sentence was disapproved with a unanimity that might well have made the President doubt the wisdom of his clemency. The remarkable unwillingness of the President's commissioners to find anything whatever the matter with the army supplies has also been unfavorable, rather than favorable, to Mr. McKinley. Instead of convincing the public, the report has had the oppo-



HOW MR. REED FINDS IT HIS DUTY AT TIMES TO "HOLD UP" UNCLE SAM.—From the *Herald* (New York).



HON. SERENO E. PAYNE, OF NEW YORK.

(Who succeeded Mr. Dingley as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee.)

site effect; and it has very possibly aroused suspicions of an entirely groundless nature as to the determination of the Government to keep the truth in the background. The evidence that the army investigating board has been finding as to the shockingly bad quality of much of the beef that was furnished to the soldiers will have made a powerful impression that no explanations can efface. The Democrats will be almost certain to find a good deal of campaign material for next year in this testimony about the way Uncle Sam's army was treated under a Republican administration. The two most conspicuous men in the Democratic party during the past month have been Mr. Croker in the East and Mr. Bryan in the West. Mr. Bryan has been opposed to what is called "imperialism," and Mr. Croker has come out in a carefully prepared statement glorifying imperialism to the skies and demanding it in unlimited quantities. Mr. Bryan refuses to yield a hair's breadth of the Chicago platform on the money question, and Mr. Croker is supposed to be in general agreement with the New York bankers on all such questions as money and banking. Mr. Croker had arranged for a Jefferson's birthday dinner on a mammoth scale, and the question of Mr. Bryan's attendance involved all the phases of Democratic doctrine and policy. In the West Mr. Bryan is considered not only the

logical Presidential candidate for next year, but the acceptable and inevitable candidate. If Eastern Democrats do not take that view, they have at least not discovered a candidate to take Mr. Bryan's place. Mr. Gorman, of Maryland, having lost prestige at home, is not a name to be conjured with elsewhere. It is scarcely possible that Mr. Croker could lift either one of



DOESN'T LIKE THE MENU.

PERRY BELMONT (President New York Democratic Club): "Walk right in. Here's the place to get your big harmony dinner."

BRYAN: "Young man, I'm afraid your bill of fare doesn't agree with me."—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

the Van Wyck brothers to the Presidential plane on so short a notice, although if the Hon. Augustus Van Wyck had defeated Governor Roosevelt last November the case would have been wholly otherwise.

The Nicaragua Canal bill as a separate measure was evidently doomed as *Status of Inter-Oceanic Ship Transit*. Congress neared the day of adjournment. Although it had passed the Senate, it was evidently in a hopeless case at the other end of the Capitol building. Speaker Reed and the programme makers had ordained that the bill should not pass the House. The Senate attached it as a "rider" to the river and harbor bill; but the House refused to accept the amendment, and this refusal was maintained when the matter went into conference. Finally, on the very morning of adjournment, it was agreed to give up the bill and to substitute for it a clause

appropriating \$1,000,000 for a new investigation of the whole subject of trans-isthmian waterways. The measure as passed does not confine the inquiry to the Nicaragua route, but specifically authorizes an examination into the status of the Panama project, while giving the President full discretion in considering other routes. Large authority is also conferred upon the President to negotiate with the Central American countries for cessions or franchises which would give the United States control of the land upon which to construct the waterway by the direct agency of our Government. While the desirability of a canal is urgent, it has for years been the contention of this magazine that the canal ought preferably to be built, owned, and operated directly and exclusively by the Government of the United States, and that it ought not to be constructed until our Government had purchased or otherwise obtained full territorial and jurisdictional rights over a zone or strip of ground which would enable us to say that we were cutting the canal upon our own soil, as a part of the navigable waters of the United States or as an extension of our shoreline. The canal ought to be as truly under the control of our Government as the proposed ship canal across Florida. If the reward of some delay should be the construction of the canal upon this thoroughly satisfactory basis, the delay would have been amply justified. As to the inclusion of the Panama route for purposes of investigation, the American people ought not to be hoodwinked. The projector of the Panama Canal, M. de Lesseps, was wont to say that if a canal were to be constructed with locks, the Nicaragua route was undoubtedly preferable. The original argument for the Panama route was the advantage to be derived from a passage at tide level. But the impossibility of such a canal was long ago admitted. All prudent public men at Washington, after the hideous Panama revelations in France, will wish to keep their skirts clear.

The Panama Revival.

It was a curious, if not a suspicious, movement which suddenly made so pretentious an appearance in the United States a few months ago in favor of the resuscitation of the once hopelessly discredited Panama project. The effective opposition to the Nicaragua Canal has always come from the transcontinental railroads. Such opposition has, naturally, found indirect methods better than direct ones. Thus the plausible advocates of the Panama Canal have now been put forward, apparently with the one object of raising doubt and preventing action. The country was on the point of proceeding vigor-

ously and promptly to dig the Nicaragua Canal. The great voyage of the *Oregon* around Cape Horn had provided an object-lesson. Nobody was hearing a word about the defunct Panama enterprise, except as its reminiscences continued to play an ugly part in the scandals of French politics. Suddenly and without warning there began to appear pro-Panama articles in a considerable number of American papers. It was not particularly difficult to trace this simultaneous outburst of interest in Panama to its sources. It had just one definite and immediate purpose, and that was to head off the Nicaragua Canal bill. It did not succeed in influencing the Senate very strongly, but it seems to have had some measure of success in the other house. The Nicaragua bill was killed, and in the substitute clause providing for the reinvestigation of the subject—which the United States has been regularly investigating for about half a century—it was expressly provided that the President should examine the Panama route and project as well as the Nicaraguan. This Panama revival has the aspect of a piece of skillful and ingenious lobbying strategy, with less reference to the actual construction of a canal across the Panama Isthmus than to the maneuvering which is intended to interfere with the thoroughly practicable project of the Nicaragua Canal.

The Canal, the Navy, and the Finances. The pretense of the gentlemen who dominated the action of the House of Representatives in defeating the Nicaragua Canal bill was that they stood as the great champions of economy, and that the United States, on account of the war, was just now

spending too much money to build a canal. This argument will not bear close analysis. The United States would hardly be expected to build the Nicaragua Canal out of current revenues, but by the sale of bonds, which it would probably market at 2½ per cent. The annual interest charge on \$100,000,000 of bonds would be \$2,500,000. There is some reason to believe that the tolls that could be collected from the use of the canal for commercial purposes would pay operating expenses and the interest on the bonds. Further than that, however, it must be remembered that we are now spending in round figures \$50,000,000 a year for the maintenance and growth of our navy. The Nicaragua Canal, even if it were boycotted by commerce and used exclusively as a convenience for the United States navy, would be a measure of actual monetary economy. With such a canal built, the Gulf of Mexico would obviously be our great naval rendezvous, and the ability to send vessels quickly from the Atlantic to the Pacific and *vice versa* through a canal would add so much to the efficiency of our navy that we could accomplish given results with a much smaller relative number of vessels. When one considers that commercial uses would support the canal and that the existence of the passage would save us several million dollars a year in our naval bills, it is plain enough that the plea of economy as the reason for killing the Nicaragua Canal bill is not entitled to serious respect. The argument that the bill itself was objectionable in some of its features and that the Government needs more time to perfect preliminary plans is, of course, an argument of a different sort; and



WHILE ANNEXATION IS IN ORDER, THIS STRIP DESERVES UNCLE SAM'S ATTENTION.

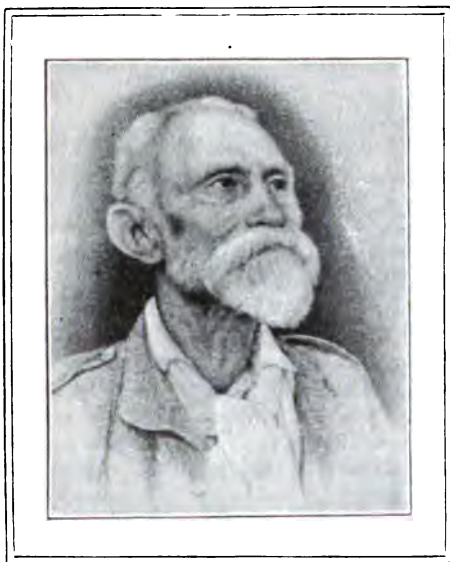
if urged with sincerity it is deserving of very great weight. The Walker-Haupt commission had not made its final report, although its preliminary statements had been wholly encouraging.

*The
Compromise
Army Bill.* The Senate was as determined to defeat the army bill, which had passed the House by so large a majority, as the House was determined to defeat the Nicaragua Canal bill. The administration's views, embodied in the Hull bill, were therefore abandoned at the last, and a compromise was adopted for immediate purposes. This compromise may be said to extend the existing war conditions to July 1, 1901. If no further legislation should be enacted, the army would return at that time to the basis that existed previous to the war legislation of last spring. For the coming two years, under this compromise, the President is authorized to maintain a regular army of about 65,000 men and volunteer troops to the number of 35,000, making a total in round figures of 100,000. The object of this legislation was to avoid immediate embarrassment while gaining time for a careful consideration of the whole question of army reorganization. The subject is one that presents serious difficulties. The people of the United States do not want and will not have a large permanent army. On the other hand, the people seem now to want a considerably enlarged number of well-trained young officers and an improvement in the efficiency of the militia. There is also a demand for some kind of radical reorganization of the staff departments at Washington, for the sake of avoiding in the future the condition of divided responsibility which was disclosed in the organization of the Santiago campaign. There was anticipated no difficulty whatever in recruiting all the men needed to take the place of those whose period of enlistment "for the war" was ending.

*Paying
the Cuban
Soldiers.* While the situation in Cuba, as already said, is making improvement, it would be manifestly impossible that the great transformation now taking place should be accomplished without any frictions or differences of opinion. The greatest source of difficulty for several months past has been the fact that there is an idle Cuban army of very considerable proportions refusing to disband without first being paid off, and meanwhile expecting to be fed by contributions from planters and others—these contributions in some cases being exactions rather than voluntary gifts. As we have remarked in previous numbers of the REVIEW, the first important step in reconstruction ought to have been the mustering out of these Cuban

troops under circumstances which would enable them to enter upon productive labor as farmers or otherwise. After tedious weeks and months of hesitation, our Government has advanced \$3,000,000 to be distributed among these troops, on condition of their giving up their guns and going to their respective homes. In consenting to pay this \$3,000,000 our authorities at Washington have conceded every point of principle that was involved. But our Government has seriously offended many Cubans by ascribing to itself generosity in advancing this \$3,000,000—as if the United States Treasury were making a gift to the Cubans. There is, of course, no intention whatever to make a gift, and our Government, being in control of the Cuban custom-houses and all other sources of Cuban revenue, can collect this small loan with perfect ease at any time. It would have been better policy to advance to the Cuban soldiers a sum of money satisfactory to those who understood the situation—a sum large enough to accomplish the purpose intended and to make the Cuban troops feel that they had been well treated. From \$15,000,000 to \$20,000,000 would probably have sufficed amply for that purpose. The case was one where it was the part of wisdom to act quickly if any action were to be taken at all. Cuba to-day is absolutely without any public debt. The individual towns and communities, of course, have a certain amount of outstanding local indebtedness pertaining to certain public improvements of times past; but there is no general Cuban debt, and the United States would have been more than justified in advancing money for the payment of the army of liberation with which to enable the troops to begin life again on their devastated farms. If our authorities at Washington had absolutely refused to advance a penny or even to consider the question on some ground of principle, their conduct might have been understood in Cuba. But in agreeing to advance \$3,000,000 they conceded the entire argument. It is entirely easy to understand the attitude of the Cuban Assembly, which was a body representing the various military organizations in Cuba. This body found itself violently angry at the conduct of the Washington authorities, as was not wholly to be wondered at. But when it went so far as to talk of fighting Uncle Sam and to depose General Gomez as commander-in-chief of the Cuban forces—because he took the view that half a loaf was better than no bread, and therefore consented to aid General Brooke and the American military authorities in making a careful and just distribution of the \$3,000,000—it destroyed itself. It did not follow in the least that General Gomez was satisfied with that sum or that he considered it

sensible, on the part of the United States, to grant the principle while refusing to carry out the principle in a satisfactory way. But the Cubans had waited a long time and they were in a helpless position. The United States, with a strong army and an iron hand, had laid firm hold upon all sources of public income in Cuba, and apparently Washington officialdom had reached the point of thinking that even Cubans, as well as Filipinos, were not to be listened to with respect, but to be dealt with—for their own good, of course—in a somewhat arbitrary manner.



A RECENT SNAP-SHOT OF GENERAL GOMEZ.

Economic Condition of Cuban Soldiers. So far as we are aware, no one has as yet vouchsafed to explain why it was that our authorities at Washington hit upon \$3,000,000—neither more nor less—as the amount to be advanced for paying off the Cuban army. There has been a very unfortunate failure in this country to comprehend the facts. Many people have thoughtlessly declared that the Cuban army ought to have disbanded long ago and that its officers were guilty of a rather serious offense in keeping their men together. But a moment's reflection will show the erroneous nature of such expressions. While they hold together as companies and organizations the Cuban troops are able, by one means or another, to obtain food enough to keep themselves alive. But if they were scattered and disbanded they would no longer have any prestige as soldiers; they would not be able to obtain transportation to the remote places on the island where many of them live; and being without a penny of money, they would not be

able so much as to buy a single meal. The conduct of their leaders in keeping them in camp and endeavoring to provide for them while a commission of cultivated and gentlemanly officers visited Washington to explain the circumstances was not reprehensible. On the contrary, it was meritorious in the highest degree. If there was anything reprehensible or anything really humiliating, it was the spirit in which some of the officials at Washington treated these Cuban gentlemen and brave officers, who were kept waiting week after week as if they were more or less suspicious characters. We have a great deal to learn at Washington; and it is just possible that the widening of our interests and the growingly complicated nature of our foreign relations may gradually bring about an improvement in our official manners. It was nothing short of an outrage upon Cuba for us to keep control of the Cuban revenues on the one hand and refuse on the other hand to aid in the disbanding of the Cuban army. Not only were the Cuban soldiers in their penniless condition unable to make their way to their homes except as tramps and beggars, but they would have been entirely unable, for the most part, when they reached their homes to enter upon productive work. The devastating processes of four years of warfare, including the results of the *reconcentrado* policy, have turned farms into desolate bramble-grown wilds, with houses destroyed, animals long ago slaughtered, implements lacking, and ruin everywhere. To begin farming



CUBA IN THE HANDS OF HER FRIENDS.
(The Cuban Assembly threatens Gomez and McKinley and spurns the \$3,000,000, while the army waits.)

From the Tribune (Minneapolis).

operations again, even on the scale of a quarter of an acre, would be manifestly impossible without some money to buy seed, some for tools, and still more for food in the interval before the harvesting of the first crop. To restore agriculture and industry throughout Cuba will require patient and unremitting toil under the best conditions for a number of years. By far the easiest and most economical way to get that process well begun would be to distribute among the Cuban soldiers a reasonable amount of back pay, and then allow them to set to work in their own way. The money, after all, would come back to the United States in purchase of supplies.

*The Legal
Finalities of
Peace.*

The Queen Regent of Spain signed the peace treaty on March 17. This act removed all possibility of any question arising on either side to prevent the consummation of the arrangements negotiated at Paris last winter. The change of ministry in Spain, as is customary in that country, was followed by the dissolution of the Liberal Cortes and the ordering of a new election for the sake of putting a Conservative parliament behind the ministry of that party. The elections are not expected to have the slightest significance, inasmuch as they will result exactly as planned in advance. There only remained, after the signing of the treaty, the necessity for a formal exchange of ratifications, to be followed by President McKinley's proclamation. The end of the war with Spain, in the strictly legal sense, will fall upon the date of the exchange of ratifications. The successive important stages were, of

course, the signing of the peace protocol last August, the signing of the peace treaty at Paris in December, the ratification of the peace treaty by the United States Senate on February 6, and the ratification by the Queen Regent of Spain on March 17. The completion of peace in the legal sense will be followed by the revival of direct diplomatic relations between the two countries. It was intimated last month that possibly Mr. Whitelaw Reid, who was one of the peace commissioners, might go to Madrid as United States minister. It will be necessary to negotiate for new treaties of commerce and extradition in place of those which existed previous to the war, and thus there will be a large amount of difficult and delicate business to be transacted. The consular services in both countries will have to be re-established. On the part of the American people there will be a great desire to overcome Spanish feelings of animosity and bitterness.

*The Changed
Status
of the
Philippines.*

For the United States, the most important consequence of the full establishment of peace between the United States and Spain is its effect upon the legal status of the Philippine Islands. Up to this time, in the sense of international law, the title to the islands has been vested in Spain. Aguinaldo and his men have been merely Spanish subjects in a state of insurrection. The United States has had no legal status there except that afforded by the peace protocol, which authorized us to hold the city and harbor of Manila until the political future of the Philippines had been settled by the terms of a peace treaty. General Otis has been debarred from negotiating with Aguinaldo by the anomalous legal situation just set forth. The large questions as to what may be our wisest policy and highest duty are, of course, not easily answered; but we shall be able to deal more effectively with those matters by reason of the final elimination of Spain from the complex situation. With the acceptance of the treaty by the Queen Regent and the final transfer to the United States of the technical title to sovereignty over the archipelago, the Filipinos, who previous to March 17 owed allegiance to the government at Madrid, came to owe allegiance to the Government at Washington.



UNCLE SAM'S SAD EXPERIENCE—CONFER FAVORS AND MAKE INGRATES.

From Don Quixote (Madrid).



Photo by Putney.

BRIG.-GEN. LOYD WHEATON.

(Who led the aggressive fighting of March in Luzon.)

Whereas before the acceptance of the treaty by Spain General Otis was merely protecting himself and his men in the temporary occupation of Manila, they have now been put into the very different position of suppressing a rebellion against the United States in territory belonging to our Government. Back of Manila, to the east, the island of Luzon is almost cut in two by a large body of water called by the Spaniards Laguna de Bay, which is connected with the bay of Manila by the short but navigable Pasig River. The town of Pasig is situated at the point where the Laguna de Bay has its outlet into the river. The Laguna occupies 350 square miles, but is very shallow. It is navigable for gunboats, however, and, as reported last month, it was destined to play an important part in the strategy by which General Otis and his vigorous associates of the United States army were planning to divide the forces of Aguinaldo and to surround each division. The familiarity of officers like General Otis with aggressive Indian campaigns over great areas of rough Western country makes it seem comparatively easy for them to do things in the

island of Luzon that the Spaniards had either failed to do or had done with inaptitude. The administration at Washington was greatly encouraged by a full dispatch from General Otis, received on March 17, which, while not at once given to the public, was said to contain the information that the principal bodies of Aguinaldo's troops in Luzon would be forced to surrender within three weeks.

*The
Aggressive
Campaign.*

Upon the arrival of reinforcements last month an energetic effort was made in the direction of bringing the war with Aguinaldo's followers to a conclusion by pushing vigorously away from Manila toward the heart of the island of Luzon. We had confined our occupation within a very circumscribed line close to the compact town of Manila. It would perhaps be hardly just to say that for several months we had been hemmed in and besieged by the Filipinos, who held the whole of the vast island of Luzon excepting the one little spot where our troops were, and about which the Filipinos had stretched their investing line. But that is the way the Filipinos themselves regarded the situation. They had finally, in the opening days of February, made an attacking movement and had been repulsed with severe loss. Our troops had thereafter maintained a somewhat extended line, but otherwise, from the standpoint of Aguinaldo, the situation remained virtually unchanged,



UNCLE SAM HAS THE SITUATION IN THE PHILIPPINES WELL IN HAND.—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

our forces being concentrated at Manila and the adjacent or neighboring points on the coast, while the Filipinos held the island at large. In all the fighting in that vicinity our troops, of course, had been successful, although they had by no means been engaged in child's play. Before the middle of March plans were perfected for an advance movement by our troops away from the seaboard. On the 13th, according to reports, the town of Pasig was captured. This town lies upon the river of the same name, which has its mouth at Manila. The river is navigable for vessels of light draught, and Gen. Loyd Wheaton's capture of Pasig was assisted by a river gunboat. As some of the maps are drawn, Pasig would seem to be a considerable distance inland; but as a matter of fact it lies hardly more than five miles in a direct line from Manila, although the distance would be considerably greater if one followed the windings of the river. The opinion at Washington has seemed to be that the war would now be very quickly concluded. Guerrilla warfare in the interior might, of course, be indefinitely prolonged on account of the nature of the country; but, considered as a general movement throughout the archipelago, the cause of Aguinaldo, it is thought, no longer has any coherence or prospects. Yet reports from the Orient have been very conflicting, and the real strength of Aguinaldo's army remains an undisclosed mystery.

Pacifying the Archipelago. The arrival at Manila of Messrs. Schurman, Denby, and Worcester was confidently expected to promote a speedy termination of hostilities. The best policy would seem to be that of making haste to show to the people of the smaller islands, where American representatives meet with little or no resistance, that the United States has no purposes inconsis-

ent with the welfare of the inhabitants. It will be hard to draw the line between a firm administration that will merely promote justice and order and a meddling administration that will endeavor to force the white man's point of view upon people whose manners and customs ought



MAJ.-GEN. HENRY W. LAWTON.
(Now in the Philippines and active in the campaign.)

to be interfered with as little as possible. It must be remembered that President McKinley has sent to the Philippines an excellent commission, the make-up of which was unanimously commended in this country, and that the labors and recommendations of this board will undoubtedly have great influence upon the detailed methods and policies that will be adopted.



VIEW OF JOLO, IN THE SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES, WHERE THE AMERICAN PROTECTORATE IS WELCOMED.

Our Expeditionary Forces in the Far East. We now have in the Philippines about 41,000 American soldiers and sailors. In the expedition to eastern Cuba last summer we employed less than 17,000 soldiers. Dispersed throughout Cuba at the present time, as the army of occupation that has taken the place of the repatriated Spanish soldiers, there are about 45,000 American troops. In Porto Rico

our "dictator," General Henry, has a force of perhaps 3,600 men. We have a small garrison force in Hawaii also, but it is numerically unimportant. The Philippine military situation is certainly very different from what had been anticipated last autumn. The temporary employment of soldiers in Cuba for a reasonable length of time after the withdrawal of the Spaniards was universally expected and is not seriously criticised in any quarter. The work of political and industrial recuperation in the long-suffering island goes on hopefully, and it will be feasible in all likelihood very soon to employ Cubans to succeed Americans, precisely as Americans have succeeded Spaniards. After a brief further interval, moreover, a well-organized general constabulary force, somewhat after the plan of the famous "Royal Irish Constabulary," capable of keeping the peace everywhere and of suppressing bandits, might well supersede soldiery altogether. About the general conditions in Cuba, therefore, there is nothing of an unexpected nature to report, and the eyes of the world at large are not at present gazing in that direction. It is the military situation in the Philippines that has presented extraordinary aspects, and it certainly continues to demand the attention of Europe and Asia as well as of America.

Some Comparisons.

It is only after some processes of reflection and comparison that we can fully appreciate the magnitude that our expedition to Asiatic waters has assumed. General Kitchener performed wondrous feats last year in his marching against the "Fuzzy-wuzzy" of the desert, but there were only 7,000 or 8,000 white soldiers under his command, the remainder of his expedition (12,000 men approximately) being made up of the Egyptian troops of the Khedive's army. We are now, therefore, using five times as many white-skinned English-speaking men in our campaign for the pacification of the Philippines as General Kitchener will have used in establishing peace and order throughout the Soudan. In their recent campaign against the fierce warriors of the mountain tribes of northwestern India on the Afghanistan frontier, the British made use of more than 32,000 troops, but of these only 10,000 were white soldiers from the British islands; the others were native Indian regiments. The French, having annexed the great island of Madagascar to their empire, found it necessary in 1895 to wage a considerable war in order to make good their possession; but the number of French troops sent to Madagascar was only 15,000. The most severe of England's Zulu wars in South Africa was fought with less than 7,000 British soldiers.

Our Philippine Army Compared with the Spanish.

In comparing our own position in the Philippines with that of the Spaniards, it is worth while to note the fact that when the Filipino insurrection of 1896 broke out there were only 2,000 or 3,000 regular Spanish troops in the island. There were, of course, volunteer companies, consisting of young Spaniards resident in the Philippines for business purposes or as officials in the civil service; and there were regiments of native troops under Spanish officers. But the largest number of Spanish troops ever sent to the Philippines was present at the time when Gen. Primo de Rivera subdued the rebellion and subsidized Aguinaldo and the other leaders to leave the island. It would seem at that time, and also probably at the time when Admiral Dewey sailed into Manila Bay, that there were approximately 20,000 Spanish soldiers throughout the Philippine archipelago. Without vouching for the precise accuracy of these statistics of Spanish troops, it is probably fair to say that we have now a great many more soldiers in the Philippines than Spain ever had there, if we omit from the reckoning the natives whom the Spaniards had enlisted. Not only have we assembled a large army in the Philippines, but we have gathered there a far more formidable fleet than the Spaniards ever took into the waters of the Pacific—in fact, a fleet three times as effective as any that the Spaniards had employed.

A Cabinet Change in Spain.

In Spain there has occurred the change of cabinet that had been fully expected. The ins and outs of Spanish parties are almost entirely a matter of arrangement between the leading politicians themselves. The apparent parliamentary shiftings of the party balance do not, in fact, occur in obedience to the demands of any such instrumentality of public opinion as one finds operative in England or the United States, or even in France. The Conservatives had been in power for some years with Canovas as prime minister, when that statesman was assassinated in 1897. The Conservative majority in the Cortes was overwhelmingly large; nevertheless, inasmuch as affairs were going badly and the Conservatives were divided into somewhat discordant cliques and factions, it was thought best to allow the Liberals to come into power for a while. Accordingly, after a brief interregnum, during which General Azcaraga, who had been a leading member of the Canovas ministry, carried on the government, Señor Sagasta was ordered by the Queen Regent to form a Liberal ministry. The mandate was fulfilled. But since a ministry, in the theory of modern European parliamentary government, is

supposed to be sustained by a good working majority in the houses of parliament, and since the members of the Cortes then existing could not very conveniently change their party allegiance for the sake of giving the new government the proper support, there was nothing to do but to dissolve that Cortes and to hold a general election. Nothing had happened to cause the voters to change from one party to the other. Nevertheless, the new elections resulted in the return of an overwhelming Liberal majority. This was due altogether to an accommodating arrangement. The ministry in power is expected through its agents in all parts of the country to manage the elections in such a way as to secure precisely the majority that it may find advantageous. Meanwhile, as a matter of courtesy, it is always carefully provided that the chief opposition party shall keep a respectable number of seats, and that its important men shall not fail of reelection. It is also arranged by common agreement that a limited number of seats shall be allowed to the Carlists and the Republicans. Thus affairs in Spain have been practically in the hands of the same set of men for a great many years. There has been a very close connection between politics and the army, and most of the principal generals have figured as members of the Senate or in such executive posts as minister of war, of the interior, or of the colonies. To a very remarkable extent the



DON FRANCISCO SILVELA.
(New Prime Minister of Spain.)



SAGASTA'S ENTANGLEMENTS HAD RENDERED HIS MINISTRY HELPLESS.—From *Don Quixote* (Madrid).

men who were responsible for affairs in Spain in the 70s were the leaders when the Cuban war broke out in 1895; and they will remain the leaders when the new century comes in. Mr. McKinley, Judge Day, Mr. Hay, and their American contemporaries found themselves dealing with much the same set of Spaniards as were on the scenes in the time of President Grant, Hamilton Fish, and Caleb Cushing. On the Conservative side were Canovas, Robledo, Silvela, Polavieja, Azcarraga, and the other time-honored names. On the Liberal side were always the names of Sagasta and Moret, with those of Canalejas, Abarzuza, and others generally associated. The leaders of both parties had been united more or less sincerely in maintaining the existing dynasty. It has happened more than once in the past that the Conservatives, who were naturally supposed to be the mainstays of royalty, have assigned to the Liberals the responsibility for carrying through certain unpopular measures which, if directly conducted by the Conservatives, might have endangered the throne. If the Conservatives had chosen to retain power after the death of Canovas, they could readily enough have done so; but they perceived that the Cuban situation was hopeless, and that, whether by one course or by another, Spain would have to sacrifice her favorite colony. The great thing to avoid was a disastrous civil war



"TRYING TO MAKE 'REACTION' PRESENTABLE."

(The new ministerial programme.)

From *Don Quixote* (Madrid).

at home; and the best way to avoid it was to divide between the two great parties the responsibility for colonial disasters. Since the Conservatives, or Canovists, as they were called, had been in power at the outbreak of the Cuban war and had been responsible for its disastrous phases up to that point, it seemed decidedly best to allow the party of Sagasta to come into office to have its share of blame for the evil days that were evidently yet in store. Under real parliamentary government as it works in a country like England, the Sagasta cabinet would have

fallen after the naval and military disasters at Santiago; but it was thought best to keep Sagasta at the helm until the treaty had been made and the sacrifice of the colonies accomplished. There are, of course, no true parties in Spain, and therefore no real party responsibilities. The Cortes is a grand debating society, and the Silvelas, Morets, and Robledos are masters in their respective varieties of public discourse. But it is all a farce.

The new prime minister is Don Francisco Silvela. He had led, at the time of the last Canovas ministry, the

The New Pilots. faction of dissident Conservatives; but after the assassination of the prime minister he became the most conspicuous of the remaining Conservative leaders. He comes into power on a programme of internal reforms for Spain. The country's finances and the questions relating to the army and navy will naturally demand more attention than anything else. Whether the debt repudiation that is undoubtedly intended will be brought to pass under the Silvela ministry or under its successor simply remains to be seen. General Polavieja is the most prominent of Señor Silvela's colleagues in the new cabinet, and, with the premier, forms the nucleus of the group. Polavieja, now minister of war, is a typical Spanish soldier, who at different times has been Captain-General of Porto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines, and has everywhere earned the reputation for harshness of method. It is to his credit, however, that when in full authority in Cuba from 1890 to 1892 he constantly informed the government at Madrid that the loss of the island to Spain was inevitable, and that Spain must be preparing to accept that fact. Silvela, as prime minister, takes the portfolio of foreign affairs. The other members of the cabinet are not widely known outside of Spain, although the name of Señor Dato, Minister of the Interior,



From *Don Quixote* (Madrid).

EXIT THE "WAR AND PEACE" CABINET, SAGASTA LEADING AND RIOS FOLLOWING AS CHIEF MOURNER.

may be somewhat familiar, and that of the Marquis de Pidal, Minister of Public Works and Instruction, is also not unknown. As a whole, the new cabinet is pronounced by the European press to be conservative to the point of reaction, Catholic in the extreme ultramontane sense, repressive in its disposition toward the liberty of the press and of popular meetings, distrustful of local self-government, and highly protectionist as respects the commercial policy. The new cabinet will favor the reorganization of the army on the basis of universal compulsory military service, and will be inclined to shift the burden of taxation from landed estates to incomes and personal property. While this cabinet is not likely to prove very popular, there is no reason to suppose, on the other hand, that the forthcoming election of a new Cortes will not result in the return of a good working majority to sustain Silvela and his executive corps. The terrible Weyler is in deadly opposition to the Silvela *régime*, and is expected to figure conspicuously henceforth in Spanish politics.

*Affairs
in France.*

It will be easier a month or two hence than it is now to pass upon the prospects of the new President's administration in France. Elsewhere in this number we give a brief summary of the earlier career of President Loubet, and also an account by an eye-witness of the Presidential election at Versailles. First indications are highly favorable for a firm and wise management of affairs in so far as the President's limited power permits him to guide the state. President Loubet is evidently going to conduct himself rather on the model of an American president than on that of a continental sovereign. President Faure had fallen into the bad habit of thinking of himself as a personage to be treated by citizens, soldiers, officials, and all comers in France very much as people in England treat the Prince of Wales, or



GENERAL POLAVIEJA.

(War minister in new Spanish cabinet.)

as they treat King Oscar in Scandinavia, or even as the Kaiser and the Czar are treated in their autocratic countries. President Loubet, however, distinguishes sharply between his official and his personal and private capacity. He does not care a fig for the niceties of etiquette that meant so much to the late President Faure. But he cares greatly for the substance of authority, and he is making it clear that he will tolerate no such nonsense as secret leagues on behalf of royalist pretenders, and that he intends to promote decency and suppress infamy in politics and journalism. There is some reason to hope that what is best in France may reassert itself under the



From *Don Quixote* (Madrid).

THE INCOMING OF THE SILVELA-POLAVIEJA RÉGIME, WITH LIBERTY AS A SACRIFICE.

moral leadership of President Loubet and may put down the rogues and conspirators who have come so near to the overthrow of the republic.

Germany, England, and America. The currents of international friendship and enmity are so quickly changing in these times and so complex and contradictory in their directions that it is an almost baffling task to follow them. For many years the center of alliances, whether announced or secret, has been Berlin. Three years ago, when the German Emperor telegraphed his congratulations to President Kruger, of the Transvaal, on the failure of the Jameson raid, the hostile feeling between Germany and England rose to the point where war was imminent. All Germany took its cue from the Emperor's position, and hatred of England seemed to be the dominant sentiment of the nation. It was not so much, however, the Englishman at home as the Englishman abroad, engaged in the work of building up the British empire, that the Germans hated; and the one man whom they hated most of all was Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who to their minds embodied everything that was detestable in the grasping and unscrupulous spirit of the Anglo-Saxon's self-assumed world mission. As Mr. Rhodes was the most typical of the practical British empire-builders of the day, so Mr. Rudyard Kipling was the foremost literary exponent of the expansion of England—the laureate of the empire at large. Last month the German Kaiser received Mr. Cecil Rhodes at Berlin, and cabled to the United States his deep interest in Mr. Kipling's work and his solicitude

for his health. Those two news items signified a complete reversal of the German attitude. Mr. Rhodes cannot achieve his project of a railroad from Cairo to the Cape without securing a right of way across a portion of German Africa. It is understood that the project as explained by Mr. Rhodes at Berlin has gained the approval of the German Government. From a position of extreme antagonism toward England, followed

by what more recently has seemed to be a position of unfriendliness toward the United States, Germany has come clear about and is assiduously cultivating the good-will of the English-speaking countries. The understanding between Germany and England as respects African questions is said to be deliberate and complete at all points. Germany now accepts as entirely as England does the American position in the Philippines, and has placed German subjects and interests under the protection of the United States authorities. It is understood in diplomatic circles that the new Silvela ministry in Spain is to secure the consent of the Cortes that is about to be elected to the purchase by Germany of the Carolines, and perhaps of some other small Spanish islands; and it is further understood that such



THE REPUBLIC SAVED!—From the *Amsterdammer*.
(Apropos of the election of Loubet.)

a disposition of the remaining odds and ends of the Spanish colonial empire will have the entire approval of England and the United States. Next, very likely, we shall be hearing of a revulsion of feeling between France and Germany, and a good understanding if not an actual alliance. That will be fortunate when it comes. Meanwhile Germany does well to seek the friendship of England and to show confidence in the United States.

Similar
Interest in
China.

England, the United States, and Germany are now the great manufacturing nations, and they are all eager to push their foreign trade. In the face of questions like the future of China, the government of the Samoan group is not a topic upon which these three great powers will deem it worth while to exaggerate differences of opinion. The United States is now represented at the port of Apia, Samoa, by the man-of-war *Philadelphia*, and there will be no disposition on the part of the United States to abandon any advantages that may properly belong to this country. But our chief interest, after all, is in maintaining our possession of the harbor of Paugo Paugo as a future coaling station; and since Germany will not dispute our exclusive rights in that harbor, we can well afford to accept any improvement in the protectorate scheme that Great Britain and Germany may think wise. Meanwhile the European powers are abating nothing of their efforts to be in good position for commanding a generous share when China falls to pieces. The latest arrivals on the scene are Italy and Belgium, both of which have selected points on the Chinese coast which they desire to occupy as convenient stations from which to secure commercial and other advantages. Thus far our Government has shown no disposition to obtain

any territorial rights on the Chinese mainland. England has openly encouraged the Italian claims.

England and
Italy.

There has long been a very close understanding between England and Italy, which as naval powers are strongly drawn to one another through being so differently situated. Italy, being within the Mediterranean Sea, is naturally concerned about the freedom of her opportunity to get out. England, on the other hand, has a great interest in being always able to get in. France, if in alliance with Spain, might at some time in the future endeavor to control the western entrance to the Mediterranean; while Russia—fast transforming the Black Sea into an interior Russian lake—might some day undertake to control not only the Bosphorus, but also the Suez Canal. England and Italy distinctly recognize their common interest as naval powers in keeping the Mediterranean from becoming a Franco-Russian *mare clausum*. England tried at one time to strengthen the Italian motive for maintaining an effective navy by encouraging Italy to join in the African grab game, and take a strip of water front from which ultimately it might be possible to Italianize Abyssinia. This venture failed because the Abyssinians could fight. England is now encouraging Italy to join in the great speculative game over the future possession of China. Established Italian interests on the Chinese coast would, of course, henceforth add Italy's naval strength to that of England in the demand for open passage through the Mediterranean.

Is It Russia
Versus
England?

It is obvious on a moment's reflection that the permanent possession of the Philippines by the United States would also give this country an interest that it never possessed before in the maintenance of the Suez Canal route. England has no real rival in Asia except Russia, and it is therefore the policy of England to encourage as many nations as possible to secure small holdings on the Chinese coast. With India already in her hands and much of the great Yang-tse-Kiang Valley of China pre-empted as British in case of an actual partition of the Mongolian empire, England can well afford to encourage Italy, Belgium, Germany, and Japan to lay hold of a province or two apiece. Their interests, like those of the United States, are far more likely to harmonize with the policies that England would favor than with those of Russia. Such at least is the commonly received view. A confusion of counsels, however, makes it a little difficult to understand the real bearings of British policy. On the occasion of his recent visit to



THE PIPE OF PEACE.—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

this country, Lord Charles Beresford stirred up interest from San Francisco to New York in the necessity of joining with England to prevent the partition of China and to maintain an open door for the world's trade. The whole burden of the speeches made by Lord Charles, who was on his way home after a visit to China, lay in his emphatic declaration that England, the United States,



UNCLE SAM IS BUSY.

LORD BERESFORD: "Here, uncle, come help solve this dissected map puzzle."

UNCLE SAM: "I have puzzles of my own."

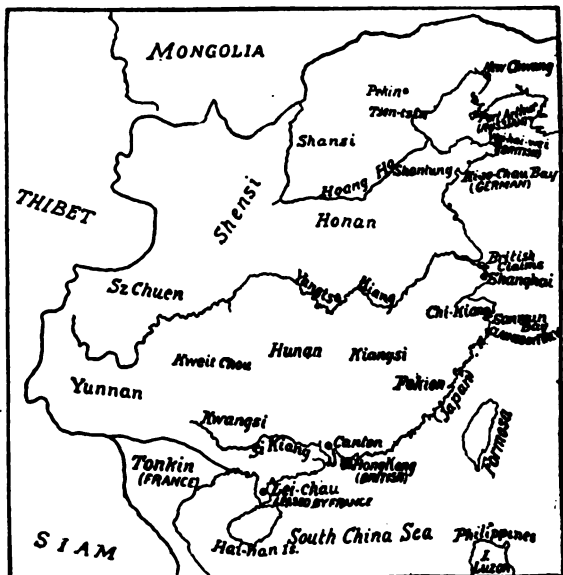
From the Journal (Minneapolis).

Germany, Japan, and presumably Italy as well, had common interests in the Chinese question, and that the chief danger to those interests lay in the policy of Russia, with France as a partner. But Mr. Stead, who is a keen and constant student of that situation, and who doubtless understands the spirit of Russia's policy better than most Englishmen, makes the following comment upon Lord Charles' position:

Lord Charles Beresford on his way home from China has taken the opportunity of appealing publicly on American platforms or at American dinner-tables for the coöperation of Britain and the United States in securing for all nations an open door and equality of opportunity in China. His speeches appear to have met with a considerable measure of approval, and so far, of course, as the object of his policy is to prevent the parceling up of China into a series of European spheres of interest, each of which is hermetically closed to the traders and adventurers of all other nations, it is no doubt good, and purely good. The mischief of Lord Charles Beresford's mission is his disposition to give it a distinctly anti-Russian trend. Now, as a matter of fact we shall probably find much more difficulty in securing the open door and equality of opportunity in Shantung and in the new Italian sphere of Chi-

Kiang than in the province of Manchuria. The Russians are not our trade rivals as are the Germans, and every consideration of common sense should lead us to enlist them as friends and allies instead of needlessly antagonizing them, as Lord Charles Beresford certainly seems to have done. It is well that every one should understand that Lord Charles Beresford was in no sense an emissary of the British Government. He went entirely in a private capacity, as representing the chambers of commerce in this country; and if any attempt is made on his return to put forward his schemes as backed by our Foreign Office, he will probably experience a very disagreeable disillusion.

Mr. Henry Norman, in the New York Times, takes the ground that the "open-door policy" is now absolutely doomed, and that England's backing of Italy is virtually the beginning of the actual work of cutting China up into sections which will ultimately be closed by tariff walls against the trade of outsiders. He is of opinion that England and the United States will some day bitterly regret that they had not at the very outset taken a firm stand on behalf of the maintenance of international equality of trade throughout the Chinese empire. He denounces Lord Salisbury for encouraging Italy in a distant colonial venture, which the bad state of finance and politics in the Italian peninsula does not justify. Altogether, the Chinese puzzle is more difficult and complicated than ever, and it may be doubted whether any one of the European powers knows definitely what it is trying to accomplish, with the possible exception of Russia. That



CLAIMS OF THE POWERS ON THE CHINESE COAST.
(From a map in the New York Sun of March 20.)

country proposes to take Manchuria from China and annex it bodily to the Russian empire for those same reasons of "manifest destiny" which impelled the United States to take California and spread from one ocean to the other. It is not a question of distant colonies and foreign adventures with Russia, but rather a question of the natural frontiers of a young but mammoth nation which means to make Manchuria an integral part of the unbroken stretch of territory sweeping from Finland to the Japan Sea. The policy of Russia is to assimilate. While in Manchuria, at the extreme east of the empire, Russia is now building railroads, erecting fortifications, and making her position impregnable, she is engaged at the extreme west end of the empire in restricting the ancient liberties of Finland, to the end of reducing what until lately was more like a suzerain state into an integral province. The Finns are henceforth to be brought under the terms of Russia's military service, and they



LORD CHARLES BERESFORD.

offering them inducements, while they are also considering South America. They are excellent people and ought to be welcome in any new country where land is abundant.



THE RETURN OF "OUR MR. BERESFORD."

Lord Charles Beresford sailed for England on Wednesday, March 1. Before sailing he told a deputation that "he had succeeded in assisting England and America to act together."

From *Punch* (London).

regard their old constitution and quasi-independence as virtually doomed. There is a strong disposition on the part of many of the best people of Finland to emigrate, and Canada is

Ecclesiastical Questions Abroad. In England the ecclesiastical controversies continue with no abatement of their violence. The Established Church finds herself in a somewhat difficult position between two fires. If the primate and the bishops go too far with the opponents of extreme ritualism, the ritualists will join the non-conformists and Catholics in a movement for disestablishment that would be almost impossible to defeat. If, on the other hand, the ritualists are allowed to do as they like, the extreme Protestant wing of the Church will, under the lead of Sir William Harcourt and others, redouble the energy of their assaults. The bishops are in anything but a pleasant predicament. Religious controversy has played a leading part in Mr. Balfour's Irish policy. The promised Catholic university for Ireland has had to be dropped from the ministerial programme on account of the determined opposition of Protestant Ulster. Lord Salisbury has had an outside ecclesiastical controversy practically thrust upon him for determination in connection with the Czar's peace conference at The Hague. The Pope was to have been represented in an influential way, but the Italian Government refused to participate in

the conference if the Vatican were to be treated as a coördinate member of the family of nations. Italy appealed to England for support in the matter, and Lord Salisbury is reported to have settled the question by deciding for the Quirinal and against the Vatican by the very practical plan of intimating that England would stay away from the conference if Italy's wish were not respected. The subject has made a very great amount of discussion in Europe, chiefly outside of the press. It has been understood that the Vatican intended to raise in the conference the subject of the Pope's temporal sovereignty as the most vital factor in the question of armaments and peace. Italy could not afford to allow the topic to be broached, and saw no way of excluding it if the Vatican were represented. So, at least, run the continental reports.

*Special
Interests in
Parliament.* It is not in the United States alone that large corporate interests succeed in impressing their views upon law-makers. It had confidently been expected that the present session of Parliament would require English railroads to use automatic couplers, such as have come into general use throughout the United States, with the result of saving hundreds of lives every year. But the English railroad companies have succeeded in forcing the Salisbury administration to withdraw from its indorsement of the measure, which, accordingly, fails for the present. Certain other large interests have secured the defeat of a bill raising the petroleum flash-point to the level of 103°, in the interest of domestic consumers. Many of the English papers have commented in no very complimentary terms upon the evidence that these two matters afford of the rapid growth of the political and legislative influence, even in England, of trusts and combinations of capital.

*Adjournment of
the Joint High
Commission.* Elsewhere we present an article from a competent Canadian contributor on the questions that have been under discussion in the sessions of the Joint High Commission for the settlement of disputes between Canada and the United States. It was perceived some weeks ago that it would be impossible to complete the work of the conference in time for the ratification of the treaty by the Senate before the adjournment of Congress on March 4. Accordingly the commissioners took a long vacation until next summer, and it is their intention to have their work ready for report to their respective governments and for submission to the Senate next December. It is true that the commissioners had not found their way to an agreement on some of the most important matters of

dispute. One of these was the Alaska boundary question. But the conference by no means broke up in discord, as some newspapers would have made it appear, and we shall hope for good results in the end. It is not to be assumed that the views presented in Miss Laut's article are such as our readers are asked necessarily to accept as impartial and final. It can certainly not do us any harm in the United States to give thoughtful attention to a frank statement of the Canadian side of some of the matters under contention.



THE LATE BARON FARRER HERSCHELL.

*Death of
Lord
Herschell.* Lord Herschell died suddenly on March 1 at Washington. He was the most conspicuous member of the Joint High Commission and the only one who had come from the mother country, the other British members being Canadians. Baron Herschell was formerly Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. His father was a converted German Jew who went from Berlin to England. The son studied law, rose rapidly at the bar, became a Gladstonian Liberal member of Parliament, served in Mr. Gladstone's cabinets, and was in due time raised to the peerage. He was a man of great tact, and the esteem in which he was held by his political opponents was shown by the fact that Lord Salisbury's government had made him not only the leading member of the Joint High Commission, but also a member of the Venezuela arbitration board. Our own Government showed all possible marks of honor on the occasion of his death. For the first time

in its history the Supreme Court adjourned as a mark of respect to a foreign statesman and jurist. An American warship was tendered for the purpose of conveying the body of Lord Herschell to England. Other arrangements had already been made, however, and the offer was not accepted; but it was highly appreciated by the government and people of Great Britain.

*The
Venezuela
Arbitration.*

Lord Herschell's place on the Venezuela arbitration board has been filled by the appointment of Lord Russell, of Killowen, Lord Chief Justice of England—formerly the great barrister and attorney-general, Sir Charles Russell. The other English member of the board is Justice Collins, and, as it happens, both of these men are Irishmen. As our readers will remember, Chief Justice Fuller and Justice Brewer, of the Supreme Court, have been designated as members of the tribunal on behalf of Venezuela. The fifth member, who will preside over the body, is Professor Martens, of the University of St. Petersburg. The tribunal is to meet at Paris in the latter part of May. Ex-President Benjamin Harrison and other distinguished American lawyers are the counsel for Venezuela. They have prepared a formidable brief which makes a printed book of 800 pages. The people of the United States have no longer any keen interest in the question, for the simple reason that they have fully and completely gained the point that they raised at the time that the subject was under such heated discussion. The one thing that the people of the United States asked was that the Venezuela dispute should be settled by arbitration. Venezuela was willing, but England refused except upon terms which begged the whole question. Accordingly the United States Government undertook, on its own account, to ascertain the merits of the matter. Before our investigators had made their final report the British Government had reconsidered, and had concluded that the question might, after all, be arbitrated. There is no reason to suppose that any other method of settling the controversy would be so likely to result in a proper solution as the method that has actually been adopted. The hearings before the tribunal will probably last for several weeks, and then it is supposed that two or three months will be required by the arbitrators for studying the evidence and the briefs before giving their decision.

*The
Deadlocked
Senatorial
Contests.*

After 161 unavailing ballots the Utah Legislature adjourned on March 9 without electing a United States Senator. On March 13 the Legislature of

Delaware also adjourned without having succeeded in filling the seat left vacant by Senator Gray. The number of ballots taken had reached 113. Mr. Addicks, who has been making almost unlimited expenditure of energy and money for a number of years past in order to secure a Republican Legislature in Delaware that would send him to the United States Senate, declares that he will continue his efforts as a life purpose until he succeeds. This is scarcely a pleasant prospect for Delaware, inasmuch as it means that all Legislatures are to be chosen, not so much with respect to matters of law-making and State business as to the personal ambitions of candidates for the United States Senate. It would be a great relief under such circumstances if the Senators, like governors, could be elected by direct vote of the people. It seemed probable as we went to press that the continued deadlock in Pennsylvania would result, as in Delaware, Utah, and California, in the adjournment of the Legislature without filling the seat of ex-Senator Quay. Hitherto the Senate has refused to honor appointments made by governors after the adjournment of Legislatures which have failed to fill Senatorial vacancies occurring in the regular way at the end of full terms. If a seat in the Senate becomes vacant through the death or resignation of a Senator, it is customary for the governor to appoint some one to fill the place until the next session of the Legislature. If the Senate should choose to change its former practice, there seems to be nothing in the Constitution or the laws of the land that would stand in the way of the appointment by the Governor of Delaware of a Senator to fill ex-Senator Gray's seat, which will otherwise have to remain vacant for two years. The same remark applies to Pennsylvania, California, and Utah under the like circumstances. It is not likely that the Senate will seriously consider such a proposition.

*Mr. Putnam
as Librarian
of Congress.*

President McKinley's nomination of the Hon. Samuel J. Barrows as librarian of the institution that is now popularly called the National Library did not meet with favor at the hands of the Senate. The opposition to Mr. Barrows seems to have had no reference either to his personal or professional fitness. As explained last month, when Mr. Barrows' appointment was mentioned in the REVIEW, Mr. McKinley's first preference had been for Mr. Herbert Putnam, of the Boston Public Library. He was induced to reconsider after the Senate's failure to confirm Mr. Barrows, and his appointment to the position was announced on March 13. Mr. Putnam was the

first librarian of the Minneapolis Public Library, and his brilliant success in the conduct of that admirable institution won for him a place in the first rank of professional librarians. He has added to his reputation by four years of good work at the head of the Boston Public Library. He is a member of the legal profession and is thoroughly versed in political and international affairs; thus, besides his administrative ability and his mastery of the technical parts of the work of a librarian, he has especial qualifications for the development of the great library at Washington in the directions that would seem to belong most appropriately to the library of Congress. As Mr. Putnam enters upon the work of administering our National Library, Dr. Richard Garnett lays down the work that he has carried on so well of directing England's great national library, which forms a part of the British Museum. When in 1851, forty-eight years ago, Richard Garnett joined the library staff (of which his father, the Rev. Richard Garnett, had long been a member), the number of volumes in the British Museum Library was about 800,000. Since that time it has increased to about 2,000,000. While it is true that the best librarians do not like to have the growth in the number of the volumes that they control mentioned as if it were the only significant fact, it is none the less interesting to note the rapidity with which, in mere bulk, the world's greatest col-



DR. RICHARD GARNETT.

lections of books are nowadays growing. With a system making everything promptly available for use, it would seem scarcely possible that the library at Washington could become too large. It is said that our library at Washington has now more than 800,000 volumes, and that it had



OUR GREAT LIBRARY BUILDING ON THE CAPITOL HILL AT WASHINGTON.

scarcely 20,000 at the time to which we have referred, when Dr. Garnett began his services in the British Museum. Printed books are multiplying so fast in our time that it is easy to imagine that the Washington collection may reach the 2,000,000 mark before Mr. Putnam has served half as long as Dr. Garnett in, Bloomsbury or Mr. Spofford in Washington.

*The Census
of
1890.*

The statistical specialists, as well as many public men of superior intelligence, have endeavored for a good while to secure the passage of an act establishing a permanent census bureau. This would have the character of a United States statistical office, which in periods when not occupied with taking the census required by the Constitution every ten years would be abundantly employed with the numerous special investigations that the Government is constantly carrying on in one department or another of statistical inquiry. It would be a great advantage to have such an office, with its permanent nucleus of highly trained officials, and it would be an economical rather than expensive adjunct of our administrative government. But in the failure of such a plan to receive the sanction of Congress it is necessary now, in view of the necessity of taking



MR. FREDERICK H. WINES,
Assistant Director of the Census.

the census in 1900, to proceed, as on previous occasions, to create a temporary census office. Provision was made by the retiring Congress for taking the next census, and the first practical

step after the law was passed was the appointment of a director. The President nominated ex-Gov. William R. Merriam, of Minnesota, and the choice was promptly ratified by the Sen-



HON. WILLIAM R. MERRIAM,
Director of the Census.

ate. As assistant director, Mr. Frederick H. Wines, of Illinois, was appointed. Mr. Merriam is not a statistical expert, but he has had executive and business experience. Mr. Wines, on the other hand, is a distinguished specialist in certain lines of statistical inquiry, and had charge of some of the investigations of the census of 1890. It is understood that while Mr. Merriam exercises the duty of general administrative head of the Census Bureau, Mr. Wines will have charge of the work in the technical and scientific sense. Congress did not provide that the census employees should be selected under the civil-service rules, but Mr. Merriam and Mr. Wines have issued a general statement as to the methods they intend to follow, and have declared that they will make appointments upon a basis of fitness, and that their system of selection will recognize merit as impartially as if the appointments were to be made under the general civil-service act. The work of enumeration throughout the country will be carried on by 300 supervisors in the various States and Territories and about 40,000 actual enumerators. The supervisors are to be selected upon consultation with the members of Congress. This, however, we are informed, is not necessarily a declaration that these places will be regarded as party or personal patronage.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From February 20 to March 20, 1899.)

THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN—PROCEEDINGS CONNECTED WITH THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF CUBA, PORTO RICO AND THE PHILIPPINES.

February 20.—The Spanish Cortes meets in Madrid to consider the peace treaty and other questions growing out of the war.

February 22.—In the Spanish Cortes the Sagasta ministry is bitterly attacked because of its policy in regard to the cession of the Philippines to the United States.

February 23.—Attacks of the Filipinos on the American lines near Manila are successfully repulsed.

February 24.—The anniversary of the outbreak of the last Cuban insurrection is celebrated in Havana, and Gen. Maximo Gomez is welcomed to the city, the American army of occupation participating in the festivities.

February 25.—Admiral Dewey reports the surrender of Cebu to the gunboat *Petrel*.

February 28.—In the Spanish Senate a counter measure to the bill for the cession of the Philippines is rejected by a vote of 120 to 118.

March 1.—The Sagasta ministry in Spain resigns office on the question of ceding the Philippines.... Many men employed in Santiago de Cuba on improvements instituted by General Wood are thrown out of work by reason of reductions in the appropriations.

March 2.—Six regiments of regular troops are ordered to reinforce General Otis at Manila.

March 3.—Señor Francisco Silvela is asked to form a new Spanish cabinet.

March 4.—The civil members of the American commission to the Philippines arrive at Manila.... American troops are landed on the island of Negros, P. I.

March 7.—The American troops attack and drive back the insurgents near Manila with heavy loss.

March 10.—The United States transport *Grant*, with 42 officers and 1,716 men, under command of General Lawton, reaches Manila.

March 11.—The Cuban Assembly impeaches General Gomez and removes him from command of the army.

March 13.—The American troops under General Whe-



GEN. HARRISON GRAY OTIS.
(One of the officers now in command of our volunteer troops in the Philippines.)

ton attack and drive back a large force of insurgents, taking and holding the line of the Pasig River near Manila.

March 14.—General Wheaton dislodges the insurgents from the towns of Pasig and Pateras, taking 400 prisoners and inflicting heavy losses.

March 15.—The Spanish cabinet decides on ratification of the treaty of peace.... In another encounter near Pasig the Americans inflict heavy losses on the insurgents and take many prisoners.

March 16.—The Filipino village of Cainti is taken by a battalion of the Twentieth United States Infantry after four hours of hard fighting.

March 17.—The Queen Regent of Spain signs the treaty of peace between Spain and the United States.

March 18.—Filipinos attacking Taguig are repulsed with heavy loss.... The United States battleship *Oregon* arrives at Manila.... A serious conflict occurs at Hana between the police and the populace.

March 19.—General Wheaton again attacks the Filipino insurgents, pursuing them eleven miles and killing about 200 men, with slight loss to his own troops.

March 20.—The United States commission to the Philippines holds its first meeting.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS.

February 20.—In the Senate the army reorganization bill is made the unfinished business.... In the House the bill appropriating \$20,000,000 to pay Spain under the terms of the treaty of peace is passed by a vote of 219 to 34.

February 21.—The Senate begins debate of the army reorganization bill and passes the post-office appropriation bill.

February 23.—The Senate debates the river and harbor appropriation bill.... The House passes the naval appropriation bill with amendments reducing the maximum limit of price to be paid for armor plate from \$545 to \$445 a ton and reviving the grade of admiral in the navy.

February 24.—The Senate passes the river and harbor appropriation bill with the Nicaragua Canal bill as an amendment; a compromise army reorganization bill is reported which provides for a war strength of 65,000 regulars until July 1, 1901, and for a provisional force of 35,000 volunteers, to be enlisted in the United States or in the localities where needed for service.... The House debates the military appropriation bill.

February 25.—The Senate debates the compromise army reorganization bill.

February 27.—The Senate, by a vote of 55 to 13, passes the compromise army reorganization bill, after amending it by inserting a provision that after July 1, 1901, the regular army shall be reduced to 27,000 men—its strength before the beginning of the war with Spain—and making several minor changes.... The House passes the military and fortifications appropriation bill.

February 28.—The Senate passes the sundry civil ap-

propriation bill, including an item of \$3,585,440 for public buildings....The general deficiency appropriation bill, carrying \$21,089,384, is reported to the House.

March 1.—The Senate passes the naval appropriation bill after amending it by reducing the maximum price of armor plate from \$445 to \$300 a ton, providing for a government plant in case the companies refuse to accept \$300, and reducing the House provision for three battleships, three armored cruisers, and six protected cruisers to two battleships, two armored cruisers, and two protected cruisers; the bill to pay Spain \$20,000,000 is also passed....The House, by a vote of 203 to 32, passes the compromise army reorganization bill, and passes unanimously the Senate bill authorizing the appointment of an admiral of the navy and the general deficiency appropriation bill.

March 2.—The Senate passes the fortifications appropriation bill and the Alaska code, and agrees to conference reports on the census and naval *personnel* bills....The House passes bills providing for government exhibits at the Pan-American and Ohio Centennial expositions.

March 3.—By a vote of 47 to 11 the Senate passes the amendment to the army appropriation bill offered by Mr. Foraker (Rep., Ohio) prohibiting the granting of franchises in Cuba by the United States during the occupation by the American army; the Senate then passes the army and general deficiency appropriation bills....The House agrees to the Senate amendments of the army appropriation bill, including the Foraker



GEN. RUSSELL HASTINGS.

(General Hastings has been selected to take charge of the Bureau of American Republics, and will assume the directorship on April 1. General Hastings had a brilliant record in the Civil War and has long been interested in our trade relations with South America.)



SENATOR-ELECT MONROE L. HAYWARD, OF NEBRASKA.

(After a "deadlock" of two months' duration Mr. Hayward was chosen by the Nebraska Legislature on March 8 to succeed the Hon. William V. Allen in the United States Senate. Mr. Hayward is a native of New York State and saw service in the Civil War. He was the Republican candidate for governor of Nebraska in 1896.)

Cuban franchise amendment....The Senate and House conferees on the river and harbor bill agree on a substitute for the Nicaragua Canal amendment of the Senate appropriating \$1,000,000 for surveys of all isthmian canal routes, and in this form the bill is finally passed.

March 4.—All the remaining appropriation bills are passed and signed by President McKinley; the Fifty-fifth Congress then comes to an end, the Senate having failed to confirm President McKinley's nomination of Samuel J. Barrows, of Massachusetts, to be librarian of Congress....Chairman Cannon's official statement shows an aggregate appropriation by the Fifty-fifth Congress of \$1,566,890.016, and for the session just closed a total of \$673,658,400; the sum of \$482,562,083 is directly chargeable to the war with Spain or incident thereto.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

February 20.—General Miles testifies before the army court of inquiry relative to his charges concerning the quality of beef furnished to the troops during the war with Spain.

February 21.—At the Republican primaries in Cleveland Mayor McKisson is renominated....In Philadelphia Samuel H. Ashbridge (Rep.) is elected mayor by a large majority.

February 25.—President McKinley nominates William R. Day, of Ohio, to be United States circuit judge of the Sixth Judicial Circuit.

March 1.—President McKinley appoints Senator Gray,

of Delaware, United States circuit judge of the Third Judicial Circuit.

March 3.—Rear Admiral George Dewey becomes admiral of the navy under act of Congress; General Otis is promoted to be major-general by brevet.

March 4.—Ex-Gov. William R. Merriam, of Minnesota, is nominated and confirmed as director of the census.



M. DÉROULÈDE AND M. MARCEL-HABERT.

(French Nationalist leaders arrested for inciting disorder on the occasion of President Faure's funeral in Paris.)

March 6.—President McKinley appoints Frederick H. Wines, of Illinois, assistant director of the census.

March 7.—The Republican members of the Nebraska Legislature break a prolonged deadlock by nominating Monroe L. Hayward for United States Senator....The Utah Legislature, by a vote of 33 to 20, postpones action indefinitely on the bribery charges in connection with the canvass for the United States Senatorship....Chicago Republicans nominate Zina R. Carter for mayor.

March 8.—The Nebraska Legislature elects Monroe L. Hayward (Rep.) to the United States Senate.

March 9.—The Utah Legislature adjourns without making any choice for United States Senator, having taken 161 fruitless ballots.

March 11.—Governor Stanley, of Kansas, removes Insurance Commissioner McNall from office.

March 13.—The Delaware Legislature adjourns without electing a United States Senator to succeed Senator Gray (Dem.)....President McKinley appoints Herbert Putnam, of the Boston Public Library, librarian of Congress.

March 14.—Rhode Island Democrats nominate George W. Greene for governor.

March 16.—Chicago Democrats renominate Mayor Harrison.

March 19.—The California Legislature adjourns without electing a United States Senator.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

February 20.—Meeting of the Cretan Assembly to vote on the new constitution....President Guerra, of the new State of Guarico, starts an insurrection in Venezuela.

February 21.—President Loubet's inaugural message is read in the French Chamber of Deputies and Senate....In the Spanish Senate Count Almenas makes a bitter attack on Spain's military and naval commanders in the recent war.

February 22.—The budget committee of the German Reichstag opposes the proposed increase of cavalry and infantry forces.

February 23.—On account of disturbances following the funeral of President Faure in Paris, the Nationalist leaders, Déroulède, Marcel-Habert, and Millevoye, are arrested.

February 24.—The French Chamber of Deputies approves the prosecution of Déroulède and Marcel-Habert.

February 25.—The insurrection in Nicaragua is reported suppressed by President Zelaya's forces.

February 27.—The Spanish Senate votes a parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of the late war....The French Senate begins discussion of the trial revision bill....A new Hungarian ministry is formed under the premiership of M. Szell....In the British House of Commons a bill is introduced to compel the use of the American system of automatic car-couplings on railroads.

February 28.—By a vote of 155 to 125 the French Senate passes a motion to discuss separate clauses of the revision bill.

March 1.—By a vote of 158 to 131 the French Senate passes the trial revision bill....Señor Cuestas is announced as the duly elected President of Uruguay.



HERR COLOMAN SZELL.

(The new Hungarian Premier.)

March 4.—The new Spanish cabinet takes office; it is composed as follows: Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Señor Silvela; Minister of the Interior, Señor Dato; Minister of Finance, Marquis Villa Verde; Minister of Justice, Señor Duran; Minister of War, General Polavieja; Minister of Public Works and of the Colonies, Marquis Pidal; Minister of Marine, Señor Gomez Imaz....The Ven-

ezuelan revolutionists are defeated by government troops.

March 7.—Admiral Knorr, of the German navy, resigns office.

March 10.—A disagreement is reported in the Newfoundland cabinet.

March 13.—Colonel Picquart is given up to the civil authorities for trial in the French courts.

March 14.—The German Reichstag, by a vote of 209 to 141, rejects the government's proposition for an increase of the army.

March 16.—The Canadian Parliament is opened at Ottawa....The German Reichstag passes the army bill after concessions are made by the Emperor.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

February 20.—Señor Polo y Bernabe, formerly Spanish minister to the United States, is appointed minister to Portugal....A Russian imperial manifesto deprives the Finnish House and Senate of important privileges....The Anglo-American commission adjourns, to meet August 2.

February 21.—Under threat of bombardment by Great Britain the Sultan of Oman revokes the concession of a coaling-station to France....The German warship *Cormoran* is ordered from China to Samoa.

February 28.—General Reyes, the Nicaraguan insurgent leader, surrenders at Bluefields to the American and British naval commanders; marines from the British cruiser *Intrepid* and the American gunboat *Marietta* land and take temporary possession of the town; after order is restored they reembark....Germany orders all her warships withdrawn from Philippine waters, placing German interests under the protection of the United States.

March 1.—The Czar designates Baron de Staal, Russian ambassador to Great Britain, as Russia's delegate plenipotentiary to the international conference on the limitation of armaments.

March 13.—It is announced in Washington that Ger-



LORD TENNYSON.

(The new governor of South Australia.)

many, Great Britain, and the United States have reached an agreement on Samoan affairs.

March 15.—In the Italian Chamber of Deputies Admiral Canevara, Minister of Foreign Affairs, announces the recall of the Italian minister to China and states the circumstances connected with China's refusal of the concession at San-Mun demanded by Italy.

March 16.—Lord Chief Justice Russell, of England, is appointed a member of the Venezuelan arbitration tribunal, to succeed the late Lord Herschell.

March 20.—The executive committee of the International Union of American Republics authorizes the selection of Gen. Russell Hastings, of Massachusetts, as director of the Bureau of American Republics.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

February 21.—A letter of the Pope condemning certain views expressed in the "Life of Father Hecker" is made public.

February 22.—The college for labor leaders, called Ruskin Hall, at Oxford, England, is opened.

February 23.—The funeral services of President Faure are held in Paris.

February 25.—The paper-bag manufacturers of the United States are consolidated into a trust capitalized at \$27,000,000.

February 28.—The illness of the Pope causes general alarm.

March 9.—The American troops on the transport *Sheridan*, en route to Manila, are landed and paraded on the island of Malta, by permission of the British officials.

March 13.—Ten high speed locomotives of American manufacture are ordered for the French government railroads....President McKinley leaves Washington for a brief vacation in Georgia.

March 16.—Four negroes under arrest for incendiarism are killed by a masked mob at Palmetto, Ga.

March 17.—The Windsor Hotel, in New York City, is destroyed by fire, with terrible loss of life.



Photo by E. Appert, Paris.

M. QUESNAY DE BEAUREPAIRE.

March 19.—Many lives are lost by tornadoes in the South.

OBITUARY.

February 21.—Sir George Bowen, 77....Prof. William Rutherford, F.R.C.S., 60....M. Jules Cousin, 69....



THE LATE BARON DE REUTER.

Rev. Dr. Charles De Witt Bridgman, of New York City, 64.

February 23.—Col. Enoch T. Carson, of Cincinnati, 77....Daniel O'Connell, a well-known California writerRev. Dr. Alpha Jefferson Kynett, of Philadelphia, 70.

February 24.—General de Rouchebouet, 88....Sir John Struthers, of the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh, 75....Émile Welti, six times elected President of Switzerland, 74.

February 25.—Baron Paul Julius de Reuter, founder of the telegraph company and news agency bearing his name, 78....Rt. Rev. H. Bree, Bishop of Barbados, 71Col. Amos C. Babcock, prominent in the anti-slavery movement in Illinois, 71.

February 26.—Maj.-Gen. Joseph J. Reynolds, U. S. A., retired, 77....Representative Denis M. Hurley, of the Second New York District, 56.

February 27.—Sara Jewett, a well-known American actress, 52....Sarah Thorne, the English actress and theatrical manager, 60.

February 28.—Emma Waller, the veteran actress, 70....Ex-Gov. J. Madison Wells, of Louisiana, 91.... Ex-Gov. Philip W. McKinney, of Virginia, 63.

March 1.—Baron Farrer Herschell, one of the British representatives on the commission to adjust differences between the United States and Canada and a member of the Venezuelan boundary arbitration tribunal, 61.... William S. Rayner, a well-known philanthropist and Hebrew scholar, of Baltimore, 78.

March 2.—Rev. Dr. Andrew K. H. Boyd, of St. Andrews, Scotland, author of "The Recreations of a Country Parson," 74....Representative John W. Cranford, of the Fourth Texas District, 36.

March 3.—Cornelia Jefferson (Jackson), actress and only sister of Joseph Jefferson, the comedian, 62.

March 4.—Herbert Steward, civil engineer, 52....John Mason Cook, head of the great tourist agency, 65.

March 5.—Michael Angelo Woolf, an artist who devoted special attention to child life in the great cities,

62....Ex-Representative Ambrose A. Ranney, of Massachusetts, 77....Rev. John Mark King, principal of the Manitoba Presbyterian College, 70.

March 6.—Princess Kaiulani of Hawaii, 23.

March 10.—Sir Douglas Galton, former president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science and a high authority on sanitation, 77....J. Fount Tillman, Register of the Treasury under President Cleveland, 45.

March 12.—Prof. Walter D. Dabney, of the University of Virginia, 46....Mrs. Robert Keeley, English actress, 98.

March 13.—Sir Julius Vogel, British colonial statesman and writer, 64....Hamilton S. White, of Syracuse, N. Y., 46.

March 14.—Émile Erckmann, the French novelist who collaborated with Alexandre Chatrian, 77....Ludwig Bamberger, German publicist, 76....John Fraser Wood, member of the Canadian House of Commons, 46.... Heymann Steinthal, the German philologist, 74.... Chief Engineer Robert R. Leitch, U. S. N., 49.

March 15.—Prof. John Collett, formerly State Geologist of Indiana, 71.

March 16.—Joseph Medill, proprietor of the Chicago Tribune, 76....Dr. Philip J. J. Valentine, student of Mexican and Central American history, 70....Rev. Dr. M. E. Strieby, for many years secretary of the American Missionary Association, 84....Benjamin P. Hutchinson, formerly a well-known Chicago speculator, 74....Rev. Dr. Joseph J. Synnott, president of Seton Hall College, South Orange, N. J., 36.

March 17.—Henry Leavitt Goodwin, Connecticut reformer, 78.



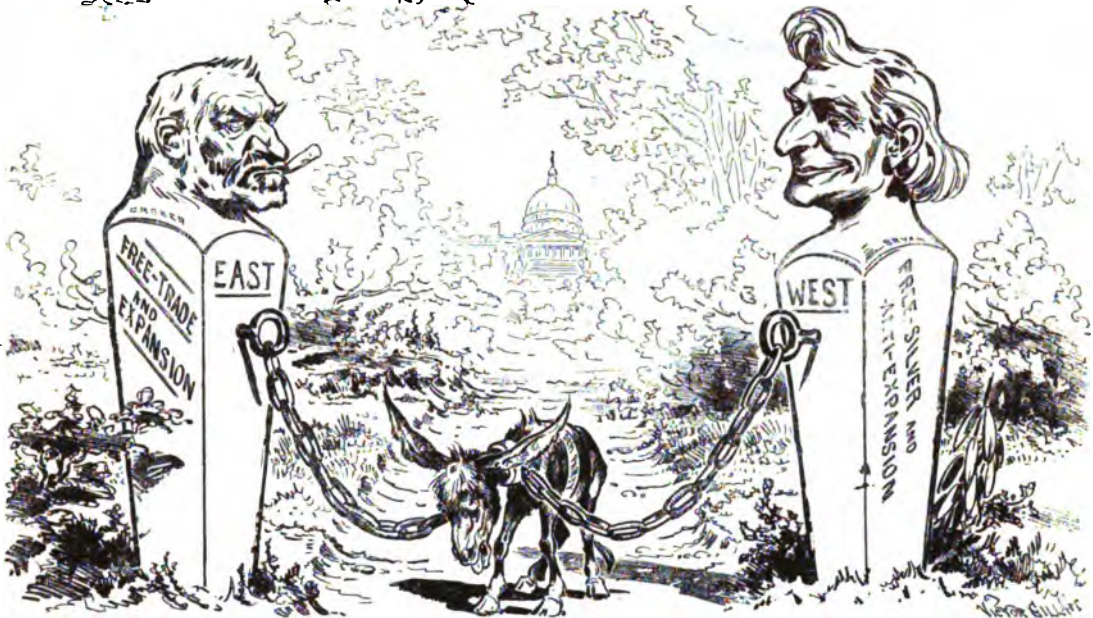
THE LATE JOSEPH MEDILL.
(Proprietor of the Chicago Tribune.)

March 18.—Rev. Dr. Henry M. Booth, president of Auburn Theological Seminary, 55....Prof. Othniel C. Marsh, of Yale University, 67.

March 19.—Ex-United States Senator Patrick Walsh, of Georgia, 59.

March 20.—Rev. Dr. William Ormiston, formerly a well-known clergyman of New York City.

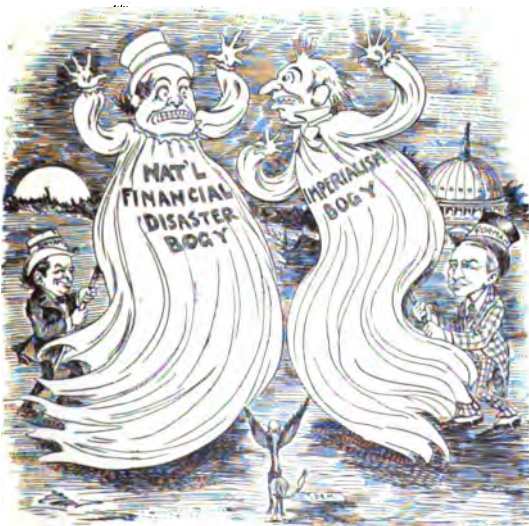
“THE WHITE MAN’S BURDEN” AND OTHER TOPICS IN CARICATURE.



POOR BEAST!—From *Judge* (New York).

EACH of the great political parties has troubles of its own. Our Democratic brethren are trying to find out if there is any possible way to reconcile Bryanism, Crokerism, Gormanism, and Clevelandism—these being the four most conspicuous and most discordant

brands of Democracy. As for the Republican party, it is engrossed almost entirely with the problems that have fallen to it in trying to bear “the White Man’s Burden.” Uncle Sam’s adopted children have been keeping Mr. McKinley awake nights.



SIXTEEN-TO-ONE BOGY: “I’m Billy Bryan’s bogy. Whose bogy are you?”—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



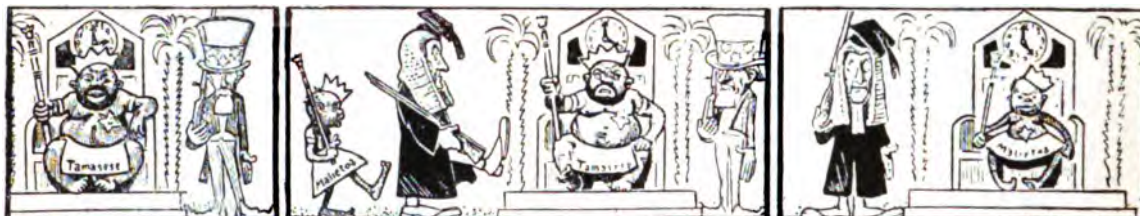
NURSING THE TWINS.—From the *World* (New York).



At one o'clock Mataafa ascends the throne.

He reigns under German protection till two o'clock.

At half-past two Tamasese is installed.



He is protected until three o'clock by the Yankees.

At four o'clock young Tanus Malletoa takes the throne.

This is thanks to British protection.

AN AFTERNOON IN SAMOA.—From *Lustige Blätter* (Munich). See also bottom of this page and of the next.



THE TROUBLE NOW IS THAT HE CAN'T LET GO.
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



FOUR STARS AND SEVENTEEN GUNS.
From the *World* (New York).



At seven o'clock the German comes again.

The Yankee also reappears.



McKINLEY: "Oh, well! I've got him, anyhow!"—From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).



AND NOW, QUITE UNEXPECTEDLY, SIX WERE STRUCK AT EIGHT.
From *Lustige Blätter* (Munich). See preceding page.



M. ÉMILE LOUBET, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF FRANCE.

From *Le Rire* (Paris).

The French situation in the past month has continued to share with the Czar's peace conference the amused attention of the European cartoonists. The Dreyfus affair has, however, been temporarily sacrificed to the interest in the installation of a new president. Floods of ridicule have been poured on the heads of absurd



THE NEW POSTILION.

MADAME LA FRANCE (nervously): "Postillion Loubet, are you quite sure you know the way?"

From *Punch* (London).

pretenders like Prince Victor Bonaparte. M. Déroulède and his anti-Republican demonstrations stirred France to a wholesome laughter that was a good sign for the stability of the republic. Postillion Loubet seems, upon the whole, to know his way very well, and Madame La France may reassure herself.



THE PSEUDO-NAPOLEON.

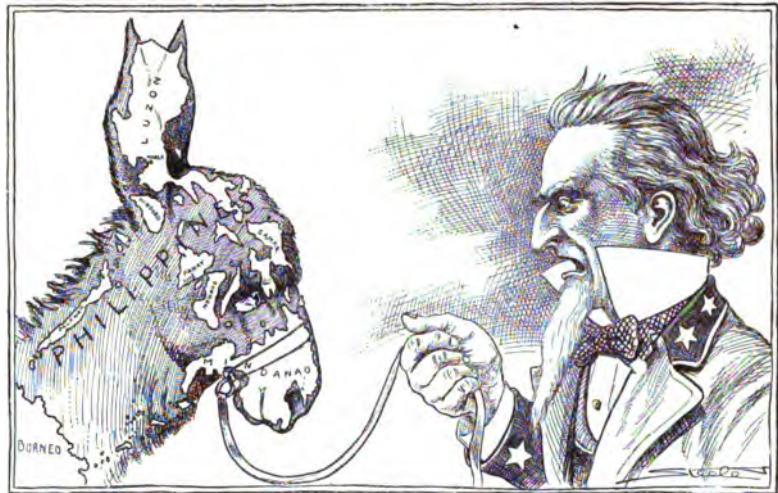
CASSAGNAC (to the Republic): "May I present to you Napoleon IV.?"

THE REPUBLIC: "Oh, no—thanks. Napoleon III. was quite enough for me."—From *Lustige Blätter* (Munich).



PRINCE VICTOR BONAPARTE, PRETENDER TO THE THRONE OF FRANCE.—From *Le Rire* (Paris).

The problems and predicaments of Uncle Sam have become a matter of world-wide interest since Dewey's success committed the country to its policy in the far Pacific. It is worth while to note the different spirit of the American and continental cartoonists. Mr. Steele, of Denver, for instance, on this page shows Uncle Sam perplexed by reason of the difficulties involved in teaching self-government to the Philippines, while the Swiss cartoonist, whose drawing is at the bottom of the page, thinks only of Uncle Sam as trying in a greedy spirit to entrap and possess. It seems well-nigh impossible for the European mind to conceive of our disinterested assumption of "the White Man's Burden."



UNCLE SAM: "How can I teach this self-government?"
From the *Evening Post* (Denver).



UNCLE SAM OPENS THE THIRD EGG.

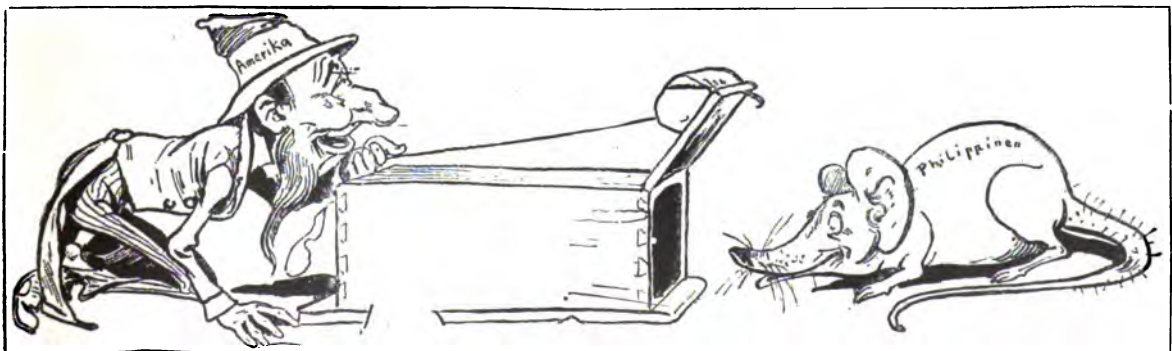
Do you see the little cartoon in the corner? It appeared in the *Journal* last year. Uncle Sammy had opened two eggs and did not like them. Yesterday (March 4) was the second anniversary of the President's inauguration and the third year began. What will the next egg contain?
From the *Journal* (New York).



JUMPED HIS JOB.

SAGASTA TO ALPHONSO: "Al, you've got to get another captain; I'm sick of the job."

ALPHONSO: "You're not so sick of it as I am."
From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).



A SWISS VIEW OF THE SITUATION.—From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich).



ONE TOUCH OF SORROW MAKES TWO PEOPLES KIN.
From the *Journal* (New York).



SPEAKING OF BARGAINS.—From the *World* (New York).

Mr. Kipling's illness gave the English-speaking world its first chance to realize how large and serious a place he has come to hold in its affections and its leadership. His song, "The White Man's Burden," has supplied a needed phrase to note the spirit in which both English and Americans are attempting to improve the welfare of less fortunate races.



THE WHITE (?) MAN'S BURDEN.—From *Life* (New York).



HOLDING HIS OWN.

UNCLE SAM: "This isn't exactly pleasant, but these children have got to be brought up right and I'm not backing out on the job."—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

KIPLING IN AMERICA.

LAST month an eminent Englishman, leaving the *Lucania*, boarded one of the degenerate horse-cars struggling through the brutal mud and confusion of the West Side track along the piers. Not finding a seat, he stood on the rear platform and glanced over an "extra" pushed into his hands by an enterprising newsboy, to learn what had been going on during his week out of the world. The shabby conductor craned over the newcomer's shoulder, and failing to see what he wanted asked: "How is he?" "Who?" said the Englishman. "Why, Kipling. The last news said he was getting better, didn't it?" The owner of the paper shared the news of the "extra's" bulletin, to the relief of the inquirer. "Oh, he oughter've been poet lawyrin' instead of that mushy Alfred Austin," continued the conductor, with a note of disgust. While Mr. Kipling lay ill at the Grenoble Hotel a hack drove rapidly to the door without a fare. The driver jumped from his seat, ran into the hotel, and read the latest bulletin, remarking to a bystander that he had promised to get the last news for the boys at the stable. Office-boys discussed over their lunch the pathological probabilities of this particular case of pneumonia, and brakemen leaned out from their platforms to pass the latest advices to incoming brethren. Clerks and business men on the way to the office did not talk of the grippe and the weather, but of the sick man's progress. Churches, not only in the great cities close at hand, but in far-away corners of the country, offered up prayers for his recovery, and made the "Recessional" a part of their service. Doubtless Mr. Kipling would prize such manifestations in his roughly deprecating way more than the earnest words of the Kaiser's cablegram, or the continual stream of anxious calls and inquiries from the people of his own craft and the other best minds of England and America, who would be certain to appreciate the loss that threatened.

Kipling had not been well since he arrived in America on February 2. He came from his quiet, well-ordered home in the little village of Rottingdean, near Brighton, England, where his life and work had been regular, his tasks finished as early as might be to give him leisure to enjoy converse with the quaint village characters. The sudden transition to the blizzards, the dirty, snow-piled streets, and nervous rush of New York gave him no opportunity to acclimatize safely. He and his three children suffered from

colds all through February, and the poet's opinion of the metropolitan climate was, "It is enough to kill a horse." Finally, on the 20th, Mr. Kipling came to his hotel from a dinner-party, where he had felt premonitions of trouble, and found an oft-rebuffed autograph collector in wait for him, one whose treasures had in every case been written in his own presence. With his characteristic sympathy for the determined man, Kipling told the enemy that he thought he had earned the reward and proceeded to make him happy. Almost immediately afterward the poet was taken sick. The public was unaware of the danger until the following Wednesday, when the papers let it be known that Mr. Kipling was ill with pneumonia, the inflammation having attacked the air-vessels of the lower right lung. The fever always found with pneumonia became fierce, and the inflammation extended rapidly through the right lung and then to the left until all five lobes were closed to the air. In such cases of "double" pneumonia there is little to be done by the wisest doctor except to insure careful nursing and to help the patient, if possible, to a little life at the critical moments. Dr. Janeway, the eminent New York physician, particularly skilled in diseases of the lungs, and Dr. Dunham, who married Miss Josephine Bales-tier, a sister of Mr. Kipling's wife, had charge



MR. KIPLING'S HOUSE AT ROTTINGDEAN, BRIGHTON.
(Which he left in January for America.)

of the case, and sent brief, careful bulletins to the hotel office which satisfied, perforce, the crowd of friends and newspaper men who waited there. Between the seventh and the tenth days of the disease it seemed as if all were lost. There was no possibility that the then thoroughly congested lungs could do their work in renewing a living supply of fresh blood, and the patient was kept alive with inspirations of oxygen. The careful treatment and the strong, unyielding character of the patient kept him alive through



THE PLOUGH INN, ROTTINGDEAN.

(Where Mr. Kipling talked politics to the country folks.)

this intensely critical period, and on the tenth day the physicians could report an unmistakable though slight gain in a resolution of the lower lobes.

Probably there is no royal personage on earth whose recovery could bring such an unalloyed and generous pleasure to so many people. Already the attentions of the admirers of the poet and story-teller had become somewhat overpowering. Not only the news-seekers of the baser sort with irreverent cameras and well-meaning individuals with certain cures, but sympathizers of a higher grade proffered help in every form in such abundance that Mrs. Kipling was forced to answer them with published notices. The hotel was assailed with delicacies sufficient to support a number of men, and the reporters were sternly directed to make no mention of the fact that Mr. Kipling had partaken appreciatively of sweetbreads, as a hint to that effect would certainly have brought unmanageable quantities of the article upon the patient's

guardians. Mrs. Kipling was fortunate in having a protecting friend of rare tact and immovable firmness in Mr. F. N. Doubleday, the poet's publisher, who took up his quarters at the hotel and devoted himself absolutely for weeks to the care of the stricken family.

These incidents of Mr. Kipling's illness are of certain and legitimate public interest because of the revelation they gave of the place his stories and poems have already won in the hearts of the Anglo-Saxon people. For this universal appreciation of his genius is something quite new. A few people have realized the greatness of his work since 1890, when his stories of Anglo-Indian life came to America with no flourish of trumpets or beating of drums. A larger number of better-equipped minds have succumbed to his charm in the past five years. But it is a fact that up to the very last years Kipling's books have not been regarded by his publishers as profitable in the sense of bringing in immediate financial return on the investment. The name had a value in prestige for a publisher's lists, and the audience it reached was of the best. But literally scores of English-speaking authors could be mentioned whose works "sold better."



MR. KIPLING AS HE LANDED IN AMERICA.

The Jungle Books were the first to have a wider sale. The last book, "The Day's Work," has been vastly more successful in this sense than any of its predecessors. Up to the present time no less than 65,000 copies of "The Day's Work" have been sold in America and about 35,000 in England. It is pleasant to know that Mr. Kipling's own profit from his literary work is large—not large, perhaps, in the sense of making a proper gauge of his merit; for who could measure in dollars the value of such a story as "The Brushwood Boy" or such a poem as the "Recessional"? But judged by the experience of other geniuses, Mr. Kipling is certainly doing well if he receives, as Dr. Robertson Nicoll estimates, about forty thousand dollars for the eight all too short "Stalky" stories now appearing—somewhere near a dollar per word!

It has been generally suggested that the workingman's enthusiasm for Kipling is due to the omniscience of this writer of thirty-four years; that the soldier reveres him for his knowledge of a soldier's work, pleasures, and woes; that the railroad man swears by him because he understands so well how an engine is built; that the sailor and the fisherman, the public-school boy, the city clerk, the mechanic, find the fascination in his perfect acquaintance with their life. No doubt this clinches the charm, but certainly a broader principle underlies the popularity which the poet and fictionist has won with the masses. This is that he appeals to the emotional side of his readers as well as to the intellectual. A man like Matthew Arnold, be he never so great, finds himself, perhaps with some approval, cut off from all but those readers in whom there is some unusual degree of intellectual training and refinement. Kipling masters such readers, too, with his magnificent certainty of phrase and healthful vigor, and with his soul-stirring dramatic faculty proceeds to capture the rest of the world that knows better how to feel than to think. Doubtless, too, his brilliantly early success as a popular author is due very largely to his choice of subjects; to the vigorous launching of his genius into the topic of the hour, the present problem of the nation. Thus as good a poem as "The White Man's Burden" might easily have been unnoticed by the world at large had it none of the tremendous public interest which has brought that noble utterance into the mouths of millions of Americans. Here Mr. Kipling has in his poetic work an advantage and a danger analogous to those which are before the lesser singers of stage topical songs. A palpable hit is certain to fetch the whole house; on the other hand, the populace is expecting a hit every time, and few performers can invariably meet its demands. Mr. Kipling seems

to be such an inevitable sort of a fellow that one is surprised even to hear that he ever writes things over twice before giving them to us. But he assures the rare and happy interviewer that most of what he writes goes into the wastebasket.



RUDYARD KIPLING.

But whatever be the reasons for the popular appreciation of "The White Man's Burden," the immensity of that appreciation is most remarkable. Sermons have been preached about it, editorials written on it, jokes made of it, parodies innumerable and cartoons have been inspired by it; and—let us hope and believe—minds have been fired with its ringing phrases to make the poet's picture of America's "day's work" a true and prophetic vision.

That it is not only the Anglo-Saxon who has quickly learned to take Kipling at his true worth there are many evidences. The Kaiser's cablegram shows the poet's place in German hearts. It is a little difficult to imagine a Frenchman's full comprehension of Mulvaney, yet one of the best critical estimates of Kipling has lately come from the pen of M. A. de Chevillon in the *Revue de Paris*. This Frenchman says:

"Not like our Loti, with a passive and semi-neurasthenic melancholy, a shudder of pain and voluptuousness at the thought of death and the great eternal forces, but like a man of action who sees in those forces only obstacles to exercise his activities, whet his will, fortify his personality, define and harden his self-respect—a man

who, in combating them, feels the stern pleasure of an exciting and dangerous sport, demanding of them vehement and sudden sensations, the aggressive and brutal intoxication of strong alcohol, dismally delighting his imagination with their mysteries and terrors.

"In all Kipling's tales one finds the short, measured gesture of a strong man relating great things in a calm, cool tone. What adds to the decisive superiority of his manner is the comprehensiveness and minuteness of his impeccable information—the solidity of his universal knowledge. . . . He speaks of the navigation of the Hoogley like a Calcutta pilot; of elephants like a cornac; of the jungles, wild boars, and the nilghai—of the hours and reasons of their migrations—like a hunter; of the misery and crime of the East End like a superintendent of police or the president of a charitable society; and of beer and gin like an intelligent drunkard. He is omniscient and imperturbable. . . .

"To an Englishman accustomed to the biographical novel in three volumes, in which the characters are slowly developed and in which vast groups begin gradually to live and move, this is both new and surprising. Kipling possesses in the highest degree the French faculty which assembles and constructs the whole at once, which arranges the effects and causes them to

converge toward a whole effect, all the more powerful because of its suddenness. . . . It may be said that he has learned in tropical countries the hard contrast of projected shadows and planes of light. He is crisp, powerful, compact, and keen, like Mérimée, but much more sinewy, instantaneous, and cruel."

When Mr. Kipling came to America he had intended to spend some time in New York and Washington, and to visit Mexico, with a view, it is understood, to the accumulation of material for a story of Mexican life. It is to be hoped that the terrible experience he has gone through will not materially interfere with his plans in this respect. In the meantime the world is thankful enough that he is saved to tell it some more stories and sing it some more songs. He is now but thirty-four years of age; and so far as any substitutes can now be seen on the literary horizon, the twentieth century needs him badly. As Kipling himself said recently to an interviewer, in discussing the literary history of England: "I feel we are between ebb and flood. It is now just what sailors call slack tide. We are waiting for the great personality which will unite all the minor tendencies of the time and collect all the partial and petty forces into one power that will give a new and adequate expression to the new time."

To the Nathoda or Skipper of this venture
a letter or bill of instructions from the owner.

In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful:

This, O Nathoda, is a new voyage nothing at all like those which you have already taken to Aden or Muscat, or even to Macassar and the islands where we can count upon the monsoons. Therefore consider the matter carefully. I have given you a new compass, with new rigging, masts, sails, and other gear suitable to the brigalade; and these cannot be picked up for the asking at Sourra or on Sion Bunder. The cargo is all in new mats, stowed like by like to be reached more easily; and I have painted her before and behind, and I have put a new plank deck in place of the old bamboo one, and the tiller-ropes are new as well. This is at my risk, and the return must be prepared with zeal and a single heart. Many men of the crew have told me lately, secretly, pulling anchors and cables and ascribing the loss to the waves, sharks and sea-fairies. That was long ago, O Nathoda, and now I do not believe all the stories that come up from the beaches.

KIPLING'S HANDWRITING IN THE OPENING PARAGRAPH OF HIS INTRODUCTION TO THE UNIFORM EDITION OF HIS WORKS.

SOME NOTES ON THE NEW FRENCH PRESIDENT.

THE new President of France has had a career which appeals peculiarly to the liking and sympathy of the average Frenchman. Émile Loubet is the son of a farmer whose ances-



PRESIDENT LOUBET.

(From a photograph taken a few days after his election and after he had received the insignia of Grand Master of the Legion of Honor.)

tral acres were situated in the little commune of Marsanne, which is in the Department of the Drôme, in southeastern France. The father of the new President was so good a farmer and so respected a citizen that he became at one time the mayor of Marsanne. This estimable man, it seems, died a good while ago; but his widow, the mother of the President, still lives and carries on the farm, at the age of eighty-six. The French public is taking a great deal of interest in Madame Loubet *mère*, and the illustrated papers from Paris are giving us a profusion of pictures of the farmstead, with its sheep and lambs huddled close in the sheltered angle of the buildings, and of the old lady with her shrewd face and short peasant skirt, who has been photographed until she is heartily tired of it.

She is well enough pleased, doubtless, with her son's advancement in position and fame, but she will never believe him as great a man as his father—once the mayor of Marsanne and always a weather-wise and thrifty farmer—to whose picture on the wall she points with reverence and pride when visitors come to talk to her about her distinguished son. The best thing she can say of Émile is that she believes he is growing to be a good deal like his father.

The senior Loubet, after his experience in the public affairs of his village, was determined that his son Émile should be a lawyer. For his own part, Émile would have been highly content to stay on the farm and succeed his father. But as a dutiful lad he accepted the course that his father had mapped out, put his inherited power of application and his well-balanced common sense into his studies, and in due time became a lawyer. He hung out his shingle, as we would say, in the town of Montélimar, which was about three or four miles from his father's farm.

It is Valence, and not Montélimar, that is the capital of the Department of the Drôme, but Montélimar is the chief town of the arrondissement, and it has a population of ten thousand or more. Almost every county in the United States can match this experience of the Loubet family; for our political life in this country has been practically dominated by the able sons of sensible farmers who have studied law and located at the nearest county seat.

Émile Loubet made his way steadily in his local law practice, and in due time found himself a wife in the town. She was Mademoiselle Marie Denis. This was in 1867, when Émile Loubet was twenty-eight years of age and Marie was eighteen. Her father had come from Picardy and worked in an iron shop at making nails. He afterward became a nailmaker and hardware dealer on his own account, and had accumulated—according to the reports now conscientiously set forth in the French papers—a fortune of perhaps seventy thousand dollars, a very great sum for Montélimar, when he died, in 1879. He left the business to his two sons, who conducted it as partners; but Philibert, the elder, who was married, died in due time, and Frédéric, the younger, held the business together by marrying his brother's widow.

Frédéric is now carrying on the business, and

seems not to be in the least puffed up at finding himself the sole brother-in-law of the President of the Republic. This prudent arrangement under which Frédéric has kept the iron business at Montélimar intact by marrying the widow of Philibert—though its mention is perhaps a digression from the main thread of our comment upon the character and career of the new head of one of the great powers of

Thus President Loubet, who has always kept his home, his friends, and his popularity in Montélimar, belongs as essentially to that town as President McKinley does to Canton, Ohio. In short, the French President, like the American, is thoroughly simple and democratic in all his instincts and convictions.

The Paris paper, *Matin*, after the new President's election at Versailles, sent a reporter



PRESIDENT LOUBET'S MOTHER.

Europe—is too characteristic of French life and particularly of life among President Loubet's class of French people to be ignored. For while the President has doubtless grown far beyond many of his old-time friends and associates at Montélimar, he would probably be happier and more at home with them than with the lofty and aristocratic personages to whose companionship, it has been said, the late President Faure so constantly aspired.

down to the Department of the Drôme to write up Loubet's home life and surroundings. This reporter went to see brother-in-law Frédéric Denis, the prosperous ironmonger, and the following is what Frédéric said to the reporter about his eminent connection by marriage :

M. Émile Loubet has always been what is called a *bûcheur*. Up at 6 o'clock in the morning, he never goes to bed before 11 P.M. Nothing extraordinary has ever happened to him, but you can say that he is a good

fellow and an honest one. His father was a simple peasant who worked by the sweat of his brow. The farm where my brother-in-law was born is four kilometers away, at Marsanne. His father is dead, but Madame Loubet still lives there. She is eighty-six years of age, the *brave femme*, and I assure you she is still a good walker and has a clear eye. She wants to do everything herself, but, naturally, a woman of her age cannot, like a woman of twenty, keep her eye on everything. My brother-in-law has passed through all the grades. He has been Municipal Councilor, Arrondissement Councilor, Conseiller Général, Deputy, Senator, Minister, Prime Minister, President of the Senate, and now President of the Republic. The only thing that troubles us is that he can no longer come to Montélimar as in the past, and that with the protocol it will be much more difficult to get at him.

I am delighted at what has happened, but you have no idea what a bore it is to have a member of your family something in the government. A lot of people come to see you to get them places. Only this morning I had four letters from people wanting to be recommended to my brother-in-law. . . . But ironmonger I am and ironmonger I mean to remain. I have to work to live, for we are not as rich as people think. My brother-in-law, moreover, must keep to the rules of order and economy which have brought him to his high position or he will soon be ruined. The family is not poor, but it is not rich either, and I doubt if M. Loubet can spend much money in excess of his official income as President and in addition to the sum allotted him for entertainment. He has a son and a daughter. The former is his private secretary; the latter, named Marguerite, is twenty-seven years of age and is married to M. Soubeyran de Saint Prixe, at present a magistrate at Marseilles.

The Parisian journalist went out to the Loubet



THE RESIDENCE OF PRESIDENT LOUBET AT MONTÉLIMAR.

farm at Marsanne to see the President's venerable mother, and the account he gives of her is as follows:

We found ourselves face to face with an old peasant woman. Her face was sunburned and of the texture



MADAME LOUBET.

of parchment owing to the mistral. But the features have a *finesse* which is striking. It is, indeed, the face of the new President of the Republic. "You must be very happy, madame." Madame Loubet raises her eyes to the sky and utters a "h'm, h'm," which shows that her happiness is not so complete as we fancy it. Then she asks us, pointing to a portrait of M. Auguste Loubet on the wall: "No doubt you knew my deceased husband?" On the chance we answer yes, and she adds: "He was *bien brave homme*. In my old age I have the happiness of thinking that my son resembles him." After a big sigh she continues: "Oh, I am well aware that I shall no longer see him. It is like that in life. We bring up our children, and when they are grown up they cease to occupy themselves with us." She was evidently not well, and we left, not venturing to question her further.

M. Loubet's public career began—as that of most public men ought to—with an active participation in local affairs, in the course of which he gained the thorough confidence of his fellow-citizens. In this regard, indeed, his career bears some points of resemblance to that of his predecessor; for, as we remarked last month, President Faure made his public *début* on the municipal stage at Havre, and he carried with him from that port to the national parliament at Paris the substantial reputation of a man who had, simultaneously, become rich through the arts of private commerce and well versed in the

practical conduct of public business. Loubet's little town of Montélimar afforded a much less conspicuous municipal sphere than the important seaport of Havre. But one foothold is about as good as another for the thoroughgoing man of Loubet's type. He served in the town council, was mayor in due time, and from the conduct of the town affairs he proceeded to the arrondissement, or country business. Then in turn he made his way to the most influential positions in the governing body of the Department of the Drôme. At that stage, if he had been in this country, he would have been serving in the State Legislature.

In 1876 he became a candidate for the national Chamber of Deputies and was duly elected. After nine years in the Chamber he was chosen Senator for the Department of the Drôme. He then served for a time as Minister of Public Works. Our readers should bear in mind that in France cabinet ministers retain their legislative seats. In 1892 he was called to serve as Prime Minister and form a cabinet. The high appreciation in which he was held by his colleagues was attested almost from the beginning of his service in the Senate by his important committee duties and other responsible distinctions. He was soon made secretary of the body, and in 1896, on the death of M. Challemeil Lacour, he was elected President of the Senate.

It is, of course, not to be wondered at that some newspapers in Paris and in other countries should have characterized the new President as a commonplace man, rather lacking in strong qualities. But his real reputation among the public men of France is that of a statesman of sterling common sense, unstained personal character, stanch and devoted republicanism, and unusually wide knowledge both of books and of affairs. Although very unassuming in manner, President Loubet has been an assiduous student, and is regarded as one of the most widely read men in French public life.

The Panama scandals were disclosed in 1892 during his premiership, and a few of the professional defamers who afflict French politics and



THE HOME OF PRESIDENT LOUBET'S MOTHER IN MARSANNE.

journalism have now endeavored to connect his name in some way with the disgraceful phases of that episode. But just men of all parties declare that Loubet was not compromised at that time in the smallest degree. The anti-Dreyfus agitators also are endeavoring to make it appear that Loubet has been what they call a "Dreyfusard." Here, again, all impartial testimony agrees that the new President has never been involved on the one side or on the other of that controversy, and that he stands simply for law and justice. He has never declared his belief in the innocence of Dreyfus or in the guilt of any other; but it is understood that he has been in accord with the policy of submitting the question of revision to the judgment of the Court of Cassation.

The great gain for France in the election of Loubet has been that it insures a new lease of life to the republic. The plots of the Royalist pretenders, which a few weeks ago were thought to be formidable, have been rendered harmless because the performances of men like the semi-lunatic Déroulède, who attempted a small reactionist revolution on his own account after the election of Loubet and brought ridicule upon the whole scheme of monarchical restoration. When the French people make game of a political movement there is nothing to be feared from it. All Americans who are right-minded and who have any intelligent comprehension of French affairs are ardent well-wishers of the republic, and will cherish high hopes for the administration of President Loubet.



PRESIDENT LOUBET LEAVING THE PALACE OF VERSAILLES AFTER HIS ELECTION.

THE ELECTION AT VERSAILLES.

BY LUCY M. SALMON.

[Miss Salmon, the distinguished professor of history at Vassar College, who is spending the current academic year abroad, was one of the few spectators who were admitted to the meeting of the National Assembly in the palace at Versailles on the memorable occasion of the election of President Loubet to succeed President Faure, on February 18. Miss Salmon sends us the following interesting notes upon the event and its significance.—THE EDITOR.]

AN Englishman has recently considered "The Land of Contrasts" a title sufficiently distinctive to differentiate America from all other countries. Yet one would search in vain descriptions of American life or histories of the American people to find a contrast so striking as that just presented between the complexity of the political situation in France and the ease with which the leadership of the nation has passed from one president to another. "The King is dead; long live the King!" never had a better illustration than in Paris, where on Friday the city awoke to learn of the death of President Faure and slept in peace on Saturday after the election of President Loubet.

It would have seemed that no time could have been more inopportune for a change in the chief magistracy, for the gravity of the present situation in France has scarcely been exaggerated even by

the *Spectator* and other representative English papers that have taken a particularly gloomy view of French affairs. With a foreign policy that has brought the country to the verge of a war with England, with the interminable *affaire* bringing reproach on the government in the eyes of all other countries and threatening to rend the nation itself, with an army discredited, with a judicial department in the hands of the legislature and the legislature influenced in its action by the passionate demands of the most inflammatory representative of the Paris press, with a Church that in theory stands for universal peace and the brotherhood of man lending its influence to the hatred of the anti-*juif* faction, with Prince Victor issuing proclamations from across the border and keeping his hand on the pulse of France, with republican government apparently tottering on the brink of overthrow—surely the

enemies of France could have found but one element lacking in the inextricable confusion that everywhere prevails, and that element came, without their intervention, in the sudden death of President Faure. Yet the crisis has passed for the moment, and the very strain the republic has undergone has given it a new lease of life.

To an American accustomed to cumbersome presidential machinery the fires in whose engines are never allowed to die down, the spectacle of the election of a president and his introduction into office within forty-eight hours after the death of his predecessor seems little less than phenomenal. The French constitutional law happily has not arranged for that superfluous luxury, a vice-president, but provides that in case of a vacancy in the office of president, either by death or through any other cause, the two Chambers shall immediately constitute themselves a National Assembly and meet at Versailles for the election of a new president, the executive power in the interim being exercised by the ministry. As soon, therefore, as the death of the late president was announced, preparations were hurriedly made for the meeting of the National Assembly.

Noteworthy as was the swift transference of power from a president dead to a president-elect, not less so is the contrast presented between all for which Versailles stands in history and the Versailles of to-day. The imagination of Louis XIV. could compass the transformation of a spot little suited for it by nature into a magnificent park, and the erection in it of a palace that is said to have sheltered ten thousand court followers, but it could never have pictured the assembling there, scarcely two hundred years later, of a great legislative body clothed with electoral powers that stand in opposition to the theory of the divine rights of kings. The servitors to whom the royal favor was the very breath of life could scarcely have imagined their places occupied by thousands crying in front of the palace "*Vive la république!*" The Constituent Assembly of 1789 could scarcely have pictured the transformation of even a constitutional monarchy into a republic choosing indirectly its own executive head. It is a strange anomaly that thus makes a name that stands in history for the most artificial and corrupt of courts and later for the scene of the unbridled license of a Paris mob become to-day the theater of a democratic act. It is indeed an anachronism, for Versailles is but a second Pompeii, buried in the dust of a dead monarchy and having little in common with a republic of to-day.

The meeting of the National Assembly takes place in the *Chambre des Députés*, in the south wing of the palace. The room was constructed

out of an interior court of the palace, and was used by the Chamber from 1875 to 1879, while Versailles was the seat of the French Government. The room is now used only for the meetings of the two Chambers when they constitute themselves the National Assembly and meet either to elect a president or to change the organic law. It has not, therefore, been opened for use since more than four years ago, when the late president was elected, and this doubtless accounts for its somber, dingy appearance, and it suffers by comparison with the more luxurious chambers now set apart for the use of the Senate in the Luxembourg Palace and for the Deputies in the *Palais Bourbon*. The room in its general arrangement is similar to that occupied by the present *Chambre des Députés*, the main difference being that instead of a semicircle it is a parallelogram somewhat greater in length than in width, the semicircular effect being secured by the arrangement of the seats. The chair of the president is on an elevated platform in the center of the long side of the parallelogram, and the French taste for historical setting is seen in the large painting by Couder that hangs above, "*The Opening of the State General, May 5, 1789.*" The tribune, as usual, is on a lower platform in front of the chair of the president. Double galleries run around three sides of the room, the center of the lower gallery facing the president being occupied on the day of the election by the diplomatic corps, while the upper gallery was reserved for the representatives of the press. The few spectators who were fortunate enough to secure admission occupied the narrow galleries at the right and the left of the chamber. The seats of senators and deputies were intermingled, but the parties occupied the



THE ASSEMBLY AT VERSAILLES.



COUNTING THE VOTES AFTER THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT LOUBET.

same relative positions as in other French legislative bodies, the Conservatives, or the Right, occupying the seats at the right of the presiding officer, the Radicals being seated on the left.

The scene at the opening of the congress was most impressive. More than eight hundred senators and deputies were present, and the session was conducted with more dignity and with less confusion than one sees in the daily sessions of the Chamber or even in those of the Senate. No nominations for the office are publicly made, no discussion takes place, and no speeches are permitted. M. Loubet, as President of the Senate, was the presiding officer of the congress, and opened the session by reading Article VII. of the constitutional law of February 25, 1875, which authorizes the National Assembly to elect a president in case of a vacancy in the office, and Article II. of the same law, that declares that the president must be elected by an absolute majority of the vote of the two Chambers. He then declared the congress open, and after the drawing by lot of the names of the supervisors of the election and also by lot the letter of the alphabet with which the calling of the electoral vote should open, the *tour de scrutin* began. The names of the senators and deputies are arranged in alphabetical order, and as the usher at the foot of the

tribune calls his name, each member ascends the tribune, his name is checked by a second usher, and he is given by a third a small wooden ball the size of a large marble. He then deposits in a large urn at one end of the tribune his ballot, which may be open, folded, or inclosed in an envelope, according to his own wish, crosses the tribune, deposits his ball in a second urn, and descends. The balloting soon comes to be automatic, and the ear rather than the eye is on the alert for some break in the monotony. It is this sense of tension and the momentary relief from it that applause gives that explains the demonstration made when M. Déroulède addressed the presiding officer with impertinent remarks and when M. Drumont essayed to speak from the tribune, in defiance of custom, that led to the cheers given M. Légitimus, the negro deputy from Guadeloupe, the first of his race to sit in a French legislative body, and that also led to the various demonstrations of approval or of disapproval made as favorite or unpopular deputies ascended the tribune. Eight hundred and seventeen members made the *tour de scrutin* in somewhat less than two hours. The will of the National Assembly had declared itself, but who should "rise from the urn" the ushers bore into an adjacent room was only a matter of conjecture during the recess of fifty minutes that intervened between the closing of the ballot and the announcement of its result. All doubt was at an end when the ushers reentered the chamber and M. Loubet, instead of resuming the chair of the president, sat in the seat of one of the secretaries.

The formal announcement made by the Vice-President of the Senate of the election of M. Loubet to the presidency was unnecessary, but even the congress itself was perhaps surprised at the large majority given him. The applause by the left and the center was prolonged and genuine, and even on the right many members joined in the almost universal cheer. The newly elected president received in the lobby the brief congratulations of officials and friends, and immediately took a carriage for the station, accompanied by M. Dupuy and the prefect of the Seine. Without oath of office, without installation, without ceremony of any kind whatsoever, without jar or friction, France had received a new president and for the time being all was well.

What the effect of so democratic an election would be on the mind of the believer in the divine right of kings can only be imagined. Certainly to an American who has always lived in a doubtful state it was a revelation of democratic simplicity of procedure undreamed of before. When one recalls the enormous amount

of time consumed in the aggregate by a presidential election and the equally enormous sums of money uselessly—and worse than uselessly—expended at such times, the nervous tension under which the entire country is put, not only by the election itself, but by the nominating conventions months in advance of it, the personal animosities engendered by such a struggle, the political upheaval that follows a change in the office, since friends must still be rewarded and enemies punished, notwithstanding civil-service laws, it is with at least a momentary regret that one remembers the rejection by the Philadelphia convention of the proposition to elect the President by the two houses of Congress.

Certainly in the management of details certain points in the French system seem open to criticism. The ballots are privately printed, and as no formal nomination is necessary, any person is at liberty to flood the lobbies with ballots bearing his name and with circulars setting forth his qualifications for the presidential office. The ballot is neither an open one that makes each member responsible to his constituents for its use nor a secret one that prevents threats and intimidations in case it is used contrary to public opinion. Deliberation would seem better than the personalities flung at the presiding officer, the occasional dialogue between the members and

the chairman, and the constant cries from the tribune and from the seats of "*À bas les Dreyfusards!*" "*À bas les juifs!*" "*Vive l'armée!*" "*Vive la patrie!*" "*Vive la république!*" Dignity of procedure, however, is not a characteristic of French legislative bodies. The embarrassment of a chairman called upon to count himself into office was obviated in the case of M. Loubet when a vice-president of the Senate assumed the chair. But elaborate legislation is an indication of the existence of an elaborate and complicated system, and its absence in the case of the election of the president of the French republic is the strongest evidence of the absolutely democratic character of the proceeding.

It may be said that the very ease with which the president can be elected lends an element of instability to the office. It is certainly possible by pursuing a persistent course of nagging, pin-pricking, virulent attacks, and official or private persecution to coerce a president into resignation. Personal persecution has already in the case of at least two presidents led to this result, and President Loubet was greeted at the railroad station on his arrival from Versailles with the cry, "*Démission! démission!*" The ornamental nature of the duties of the president and his little real power render him an easy target for personal abuse and for attacks of a character



M. Delcasse. M. Loubet.
M. Lockroy. M. Dupuy.

M. LOUBET WITH M. DUPUY AND MINISTERS EMERGING FROM THE ELECTION SCENE.

against which it is peculiarly hard to defend himself. Sir Henry Summer Maine has expressed somewhat contemptuously his opinion of the office when he says: "The old kings of France reigned and governed. The constitutional king, according to M. Thiers, reigns, but does not govern. The President of the United States governs, but he does not reign. It has been reserved for the president of the French republic neither to reign nor yet to govern." As long as the president does not run counter to popular prejudice and no scandals are brought to light in connection with him his path is comparatively easy. But France always seems to have a public question in regard to which it is difficult to avoid an expression of opinion, and petty personal jealousies may be trusted sooner or later to unearth some scandal near or remote. Thus the office is a difficult one to fill, for the very opposite reasons that little real power is attached to it and that the first intimation of an attack on the character of the person filling it leads instantly to a demand for resignation.

Since, therefore, the process of getting rid of one president is a simple one, and since neither time, energy, nor expense is demanded in electing a new one, it may be said that there is always the lurking danger that the Chambers will begin the policy of persecution, force the resignation of the president, resolve themselves into a National Assembly, elect a new president, and so continue the endless chain.

All this certainly is possible, but as a matter of fact the average duration of a presidency in France has been about the length of that of the office in America. M. Loubet is the seventh president since 1871, and Mr. McKinley the eighth since 1869 if Mr. Cleveland's two terms are each counted. The official life of an English premier is somewhat shorter than that of the American President. While, therefore, the danger coming from the ease of electing a president in France certainly exists in theory, it is at least doubtful whether it exists in reality.

It must be remembered that this discussion of the election of the president of the French republic relates simply to the question of procedure, and is not one of the relative merits of indirect election by a legislative body or by an electoral college or of direct election by popular vote. The frogs asked Jupiter for a king, and two deputies, during the election of M. Loubet, de-



PRESIDENT LOUBET AT FUNERAL OF PRESIDENT FAURE.

manded from the tribune the direct election of the president by vote of the people. The battle between the upholders of direct and of indirect election of the president goes on as vigorously in France as in America. But France now has what America has not—an indirect election that is one in reality as well as in name. If the principle of indirect election is accepted, it is difficult to conceive of a method more simple, more direct, more satisfactory in every respect than the one adopted by France.

It is a common experience with Americans to feel more at home in Paris than in London, notwithstanding the differences on the one side in language, in religion, in manner of life, in moral standards, and the greater similarity on the other side between America and England in all of these directions. The secret of it lies in the fact that social and political life in France, as in America, are based on the theory of democracy, while all life in England rests on the theory of inequality. While this vital difference exists the sympathies of America and France must be more closely allied than of those of America and England. It was in America that the French idea of political equality first found expression, and America still has something to learn from her sister republic of democratic simplicity of procedure and the election of a president.



THE CZAR'S PEACE CONFERENCE.

BY EDWIN MUNSELL BLISS.

AFTER much heralding, much criticism, much incredulity, and some enthusiasm, the preliminary conference of ambassadors to discuss the proposals of the Czar with reference to lightening the burdens of war taxation on the people of Europe is scheduled to meet next month at The Hague. It becomes thus of interest to note the topics suggested for discussion. They are as follows :

(1) An agreement not to increase naval or military forces and the corresponding budgets for a fixed period; (2) an endeavor to find means of reducing the forces and budgets in the future; (3) interdiction of the use of any new weapon or explosive of a power fuller than now made; (4) restriction of the use of the most terrible of existing explosives and forbidding the throwing of any explosives from balloons or similarly; (5) forbidding the employment of submarine torpedoes and similar contrivances; (6) undertaking not to construct vessels with rams; (7) application of the Geneva convention to naval warfare; (8) neutralization of vessels saving those wrecked in naval battles; (9) revision of the declaration concerning the laws and customs of war elaborated at Brussels in 1874; (10) acceptance of the principle of mediation and arbitration in such cases as lend themselves thereto.

Of these, the first two relate to the present and prospective diminution of the war tax on the nations; four propose the restriction of the use of certain arms and munitions of war; three call for the revision of international codes; and the last suggests the principle of mediation and arbitration. The restrictive topics may, with perhaps a single exception, be eliminated as of little practical value, inasmuch as their adoption would tend to place the weaker states at the mercy of the stronger ones. The discussion of the diminution of the war tax is deprived of its chief importance by a clause forbidding the inclusion of any discussion as to existing political relations. Arbitration too is to be limited to "such cases as lend themselves thereto." The revision of codes is valuable and always in order. The net result is: four useless topics; three purely academic discussions; three practical points, which, however, could equally as well be arranged by a simple ordinary conference of ambassadors. Why all this paraphernalia?

In the general discussion as to this whole subject people have been for the most part divided between two views. One represents the Czar as a pure idealist suddenly launched by Providence

upon the stormy seas of international politics with a special message of peace. The other considers him a shrewd practical politician utterly devoid of sentiment, anxious solely for Russia's aggrandizement, who throws out this bait simply to gain time for the carrying out of his own schemes. In truth, both views may well be correct. Witness not only the existence of both types in the Russian of to-day, but also the whole history of the empire. Since the time of Peter the Great the imperial policy has been the carrying out of a sentiment, controlled, however, in its execution always and everywhere by the most rigid of practical judgment. The greater has not been sacrificed to the less. The ultimate purpose has not been blurred by the glamour of a momentary advantage. Politically the Russian has set before him the ideal of an empire, grander, more perfect, more substantial than any in history; an empire which will include, with the lands of the North, the heritage of the Byzantine, himself heir to the Roman and the Greek. Side by side with this has been the conception of a revivifying of the old orthodox Eastern Church—its various schisms healed, its old-time missionary vigor restored, and an ideal combination of church and state exhibited to the world as the true conception of the divine kingdom on earth. Not that all this has been laid down in formulas or written in codes of action, national or international, but it has been the underlying influence, occasionally finding expression in individuals and at all times—though often perhaps unconsciously—guiding the general policy of each succeeding reign.

In carrying out this policy Russian statesmen have always realized that internal growth and solidification was essential to safe expansion. Their conception of the essentials to this internal development might, indeed, differ in many important respects from the Anglo-Saxon idea. They claim that the Slav is so thoroughly *sui generis* as to require essentially different treatment from his Western friend or rival, and thus many of the criticisms passed by foreigners fail of producing the slightest impression upon Russian minds. Into this general question it is not necessary to enter here. It is sufficient for the moment to call attention to one of these essentials—peace, or at least freedom from war with other nations of a similar grade of political power.

To those who have been accustomed to look upon Russia as perhaps the most dangerously aggressive power in Europe this may seem inconsistent. It is, however, true. Russia has been, far more than any of the great powers of Europe, consistently and persistently on the side of peace, and her influence has been thrown, so far as practicable, in favor of peace. She was virtually tricked into the Crimean War, which ended so disastrously for her, and the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 was not desired by her, but forced upon her, partly by the very sentiment referred to above, partly by force of circumstances which she helped to originate, but which got beyond her control. The dual alliance has been and is to-day a purely peace measure, as France appears to be at last discovering to her own disgust.

The reason for this policy is apparent. Of all the empires of the world, Russia most needs internal development. Her enormous stretches of territory require roads of every kind; the peculiar constitution of her civil and social economy needs the education of her people; her industrial system almost needs creation. All this costs money—more money than can well be raised by taxation, for the land rich in resources is still comparatively poor in the development of those resources. There is also to be taken into consideration a certain amount of inevitable expansion. The character of Russian and English aggression in Asia is not often understood and has received some very unmerited criticism. With instances of wrong, it has been in the main inevitable and at the same time genuinely advantageous. Note especially the acquisition of Manchuria and Port Arthur. It has, however, entailed considerable expense. There has been also the necessity, from the Russian standpoint, of seeing that she was not estopped by the advance of other nations from the future realization of her plans of empire. This she has always sought to secure by diplomacy, using the term in its broadest sense to include not merely those international relations incident to her position in Europe, but those influences upon weaker nations which shall prevent their being absorbed by her rivals. Thus it has been her policy to keep Turkey, Greece, and Persia weak and under obligations to herself rather than to England, Germany, or France. She has cajoled Abyssinia lest the Abyssinian Church should go over to the Church of England and Menelik unite with General Kitchener in solidifying an empire which might endanger her schemes along the borders of the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea. With her eye on an outlet to the Persian Gulf, and realizing the necessity of friendship with the tribes of Afghanistan, she has maneuvered until

apparently the Ameer has gone over to her bag and baggage. Her exploits in the Pamirs and the border lands may or may not have direct relation to the foreclosing of the mortgage she claims to hold on the empire of Alexander the Great. Suffice it to say that Russians of every class do not hesitate to announce their purpose ultimately to possess India.

All this costs money. If now to this, in the Russian mind, absolutely essential expense there be added the necessity of keeping up an army and navy sufficient to enable her to compete in open warfare with the powers of Europe, it is easy to see that the burden might soon become too heavy even for her stalwart shoulders. Somewhere or other there must be economy. Where shall it be? Naturally along those lines with which Russia traditionally has least sympathy—*i.e.*, the lines of European rivalry. Russia has no ambitions antagonistic to her neighbors. She cares nothing how much England, Germany, Austria, or Italy may develop so long as they do not interfere with her own plans. Even where they interfere she prefers not to fight them, but to use the arts of diplomacy to circumvent their plans and advance her own. The events of the past years have been gradually precipitating a crisis. Bankruptcy has been staring her in the face. It was becoming more and more difficult to raise those loans which to a nation are at times the sinews of peace even more than of war. Furthermore, the political skies were darkening. France seemed on the verge of a military despotism, with all that a blatant Chauvinism might force it to undertake; Austria-Hungary seemed destined to a dissolution which, if it came about, would inevitably upset completely all political calculations in southeastern and central Europe; Germany was getting an alarmingly strong hold on the Sultan; the United States was entering into Asiatic politics, an absolutely uncertain factor. More than ever was there need of peace, or at least of peace for a time, that Russia might gather her resources and make ready for any unexpected event.

The Russian is very fertile in expedients. His whole history, especially in Asia, has demonstrated this. He never allows preconceived ideas to hamper him. The thing that hath been, it is by no means necessarily the thing that shall be. He is fond, too, of the spectacular and an adept in appeals to the imagination. The wish was father to the thought and the thought found prompt expression. Wish, thought, and expression are entirely consistent with the general history and character of the empire. That they caused such surprise shows that Russia has not been widely understood. Lord Salisbury was

not deceived. Emperor William—or perhaps better, Prince Hohenlohe—was not deceived. France, volatile, blind to all but the present and unable to comprehend the far-reaching purpose of her incongruous ally, was for the moment dazed. America was incredulous. At last all (of the leaders at least) have settled down into a pretty accurate conception of the proposal, and the programme has simply crystallized Russia's appreciation of the general situation. She has gained her end, at least in part. The ambassadors will soon gather at The Hague. Their deliberations will cover some weeks, perhaps months. Then will follow consultations with the home governments—a few months more. Then perhaps a conference. If so, well and good—a few months more. If not a conference, something else. Anything to gain time.

Meanwhile the rails across to the Pacific are being laid with astonishing rapidity. The Trans-Caspian Railway has reached Kushk, on the Afghan frontier, and there are reports of a treaty with the dying Ameer and of an extension to Herát, while a Russian flotilla reaches by the Oxus the very borders of Chitral. Immigrants are pouring by the hundred thousand into Manchuria, and Mongolia is steadily following in the train of Bokhara. A Russian road reaches from the Caspian to Teheran, and one branch of the Eastern Church, the Nestorian, is humbly seeking admission to the orthodox fold. The fortifications above Erzerum are bristling with Russian cannon, and Syria is being honeycombed with Russian schools. Prince George of Greece is governor of Crete despite German opposition, and no one would be surprised to see Russian fleets pass the Bosphorus at any time without let or hindrance. Milan is back at Belgrade. Ferdinand of Bulgaria has made his obeisance at St. Petersburg, and the Montenegrin Prince is jubilant over his honors from his kinsman of the North. Time is money. With Russia it is money and power, and she is using it with a skill that is fascinating. Is the Czar sincere? Certainly. Are Muravieff and De Witte sincere? Unquestionably. Are they unselfish? Not more so and not less so than any other statesmen who see the needs of their peoples and are bound to use every available means to meet those needs. At the same time they are by no means averse to a reputation for general philanthropy, and would be only too glad to convince the world that the Slavic idea is so thoroughly pacific that the establishment of a mighty Slavic empire would be the best possible guarantee of the world's peace.

Will there be any practical results? For that we must look to Peking rather than to The

Hague. Elsewhere the war clouds are lightening. Neither Africa nor Europe shows danger of serious collisions. The famous Eastern question is, if not settled, at least not insistent. North China, however, is immediately essential to Russia. If England will accept Chinese partition the ambassadors will find all go smoothly; if not, their discussions will be chiefly academic, so far at least as any relaxing of the war tension is concerned. This does not mean, however, that the discussions will be valueless or that war is inevitable or even probable. In such matters all delay is gain. It is also of advantage that the arbiters of war should discuss the possibilities of peace. Possibility is the essential prerequisite to accomplishment. The very fact that the officially accredited representatives of so many governments are to meet for such a purpose is perhaps the most significant fact of the times. It must not, however, blind the vision to other facts, and those who fix their eyes upon The Hague alone may suddenly find themselves out of focus. Imperial extension is not a matter to be decided in the courts. There are movements too powerful even for governments to control.

What should be the attitude of the United States? Our representatives will enter the conference under peculiar circumstances. The ties that bind us to England are very strong. At the same time there are traditional friendships with France and Russia that should be preserved and may well be strengthened. We believe in peace, but our whole history is witness that we will not accept it at the expense of principles essential to the best national life. Russian rule is the direct negation of many of these principles, and Russian influence has with startling uniformity been exerted against their extension to other nations. A rigid censorship extending even to private families, absolute prohibition of any change of religion except to the Russian Church, are illustrations of her actual rule; while the beheading last September of the six reformers of China and the closing of orphanages in Turkey are the results of Russia's influence to-day in countries that she desires to control. These facts should not be forgotten, neither should they be emphasized too sharply. Russia is doing under the search-light of modern civilization what others have done in the twilight of mediævalism. The American delegates should second heartily all efforts for peace, but they must also insist that peace is something more than abstention from war, and that it may be too dearly purchased if it involves the crushing out of the best national life in large sections of the world. Having fought to free Cuba from oppression, we cannot help to bind the shackles on China or Turkey.

A GROUP OF NATIVE AMERICAN MUSICIANS.

THE question is often asked, apropos of the rapid strides which music has made and is making, What, besides enthusiastic and well-paying audiences, has America contributed? Which of her musical sons and daughters are bringing honor to their art and themselves? What progress, if any, has been made along original lines? Have new-world ideas been translated into music, and if so, with what success and effect? Has the proportion been greater with composition or with the reproductive art? And, finally, is America a musical nation?

To answer these questions even superficially would require a volume, and many a reader of the AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS may be tempted to say that they are hardly worth answering carefully and elaborately. But even the busiest of observers in this active world of ours may be interested to know that in the great realm of music, both in composition and reproductive art, there is a group of native Americans recognized all over the world as worthy of a place well up toward the front rank, and perhaps even in the front rank itself.

The attempt to judge rigorously as to what names should or should not be included within this group would be invidious, if not impossible. The necessary limits of space require us to confine our attention to but a few of those whose right to such mention is least likely to be challenged, and nothing could be further from our intention than to imply the least derogation of the merits of those who must necessarily be excluded. We are to concern ourselves only with native-born American musicians, but it is difficult to refrain from at least mentioning some of the various foreign artists who have lived with us long and who have influenced us in a great measure. If this article were to be in any sense a contribution to the history of American music, the omission of such names as S. B. Mills, Theodore Thomas, Leopold Damrosch, Anton Seidl, Anton Dvorak, and Xaver Scharwenka would be impossible. The influence of Europe must remain our chief source of inspiration, since the great composers of all ages are Europeans, and it would speak ill indeed for our own musicians if they could be blind to the genius of a Wagner, a Brahms, a Dvorak, or a Tchaikovsky.

It is to the credit of our native talent that there is as yet no premature effort to form an American school of musical composition, and that each composer is working along lines of his own



DR. WILLIAM MASON.

genius, using the forms which have proved themselves the best and bringing his own originality to bear in beautifying and expanding rather than inventing. It is largely for this reason that our modest beginnings give promise of ultimate original greatness.

DR. WILLIAM MASON.

First to be mentioned of Americans who have been influential in raising the standard of art in this country is that veteran artist, Dr. William Mason, of New York, whose seventieth birthday has just been celebrated by the presentation to him of an elegant tribute from a host of his present and former pupils. Dr. Mason may well be called the dean of our musical corps and a most interesting link with the past. He is still actively engaged composing and teaching, and his studio in Steinway Hall is one of the most interesting musical corners of the New World, full as it is with reminiscences of the greatest artists whom the world has ever known. Dr. Mason distinctly remembers the time when Robert Schumann was absolutely unknown and when Brahms came as a nobody to Liszt for encouragement and criticism. He was intimate with Wag-

ner, Liszt, Rubinstein, Mendelssohn, and Schumann, and in fact knew every musician of note during the last fifty years more or less intimately.

Born in 1829, the son of Dr. Lowell Mason, who himself was beyond question the foremost American musician of his day, William Mason soon showed that he had inherited his father's talents, and was happy in receiving a thorough and liberal training in his career. After studying in Berlin, where he made his first public appearance in the symphony concert in March, 1846, he went in 1849, when twenty years of age, to Leipzig. He became the pupil first of Moscheles and then of Moritz Hauptmann, thereafter in Prague of Alexander Dreyschock, and later in Weimar of Franz Liszt. After making a successful concert tour through Europe in 1853, he returned to America the next year as a professional pianist. From 1855 to 1868 he, together with Theodore Thomas, Carl Bergmann, Joseph Mosenthal, and George Matzka, gave a series of *soirées* of chamber music in New York, by means of which many of the great masterpieces of chamber music were first introduced to an American audience. At the same time he composed many works for the piano, chief among them being his invaluable "Touch and Technique"—a work thoroughly up to date on all points. In 1872 Yale College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Music.



PROF. JOHN K. PAINE.

Though well along in years and though he has so many memories of the brilliant past, yet Dr. Mason has the greatest interest for the present and future, and always has a word of encouragement and sympathy for younger artists who are striving along the thorny paths of music in this country.

PROFESSOR PAINE, OF HARVARD.



PROF. H. W. PARKER.

Next to Dr. Mason in age and in length of service to music in this country must be mentioned Prof. John Knowles Paine, of Harvard University. Professor Paine is just ten years younger than Dr. Mason, having been born in Portland, Maine, on January 9, 1839. He, too, studied abroad, chiefly in Leipzig, and upon his return to this country gave a most successful concert tour as an organist. Having already developed great talent as a composer, Mr. Paine finished in 1872 a symphony called "In the Spring," which was very well received in Europe and is now frequently to be found upon superior symphony concert programmes. He was the first incumbent of the chair of music in Harvard University, having been appointed instructor and subsequently professor in 1876. In the same year he composed the noble melody to Whittier's centennial hymn, which was sung with great effect at the opening of the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia.

Perhaps his most characteristic and in many respects his best work is his music to "King Œdipus," which was performed in Sanders Theater in Cambridge and afterward in Booth's Theater in New York in 1881. No attempt was

made to utilize the fragments of ancient Greek music, about which little is known at best, but the entire resources of modern harmony and of the modern orchestra were put in play to illustrate the peculiar religious ideas which inspired the great drama.

Since that time Professor Paine has finished a new opera, "Azara," of which he has written both the libretto and the music. The scene is laid in Provence about the time of the early crusades. This work, which is almost ready for publication and performance, is spoken of by those who have been fortunate enough to listen to some of its passages as a work of great depth and beauty, and the first performance is looked forward to with great interest by musicians all over the world.

PROFESSOR PARKER, OF YALE.

What Professor Paine has done for Harvard, Prof. Horatio William Parker has done and is doing for Yale. As a choral composer of note he is the foremost of Americans. Professor Parker is still in the prime of life, having been born at Auburndale, Mass., on September 16, 1863. He went to Europe in 1882, studied in Munich with Rheinberger, and returned to the United States in 1885. After a most successful career of teaching in various schools and for a time in the National Conservatory at New York, and officiating meanwhile as organist in various churches, he came to Boston in 1893 as organist and choir director of Trinity Church. In 1894 he was appointed professor of music at Yale University, though he still retained his position at Trinity Church in Boston, and since that time he has been the head of the music department at Yale.

Professor Parker has composed upward of forty-four works of importance, the latest being "St. Christopher," a dramatic oratorio, performed in New York for the first time on April 15, 1898. His principal work is without doubt "Hora Novissima," a setting of the ancient poem of St. Bernard, which was finished in December, 1892. In this Mr. Parker has a clear field. Nobody has ever attempted to set this poem to music before because of the extreme difficulty of the meter. This work was first given by the large choral society of the Church of the Holy Trinity, New York. It was also performed by the Handel and Haydn Society at Boston and at the Worcester music festival in 1898; and it has been accepted for the music festival in Worcester, England, where it is to be given in September of the current year. It is a work of great power and depth, and one of the few of its kind among modern choral works which seems destined

to hold a place along with the imperishable oratorios of the past.

PROFESSOR MACDOWELL, OF COLUMBIA.

When Columbia University received an endowment of a chair of music in 1895, the standard which had been set by Harvard and Yale in the



PROF. EDWARD A. MACDOWELL.

appointment of Professors Paine and Parker could not be lowered. It was a fortunate fact for the great metropolitan university that there was another native American composer, without doubt the most prominent of them all, available for the position, and he was accordingly selected in the person of Edward Alexander MacDowell, who would have to be mentioned here as perhaps the most distinguished American piano virtuoso were he not even greater as a composer. Born in New York City on December 18, 1861, Mr. MacDowell was taught piano-playing at an early age, among his teachers being the celebrated Teresa Carreño. In 1876 he went to Paris and entered the Conservatory in the following year, studying piano with Marmontel and composition with Savard. In 1879 he went to Wiesbaden and later to Frankfort, where he took further lessons in composition from Joachim Raff. In 1881 he was appointed principal teacher of the piano in the Conservatory at Darmstadt, and in

the following year he visited Liszt at Weimar. The great master was so impressed with the young American that he arranged to have him play his first *suite* for the piano at the music

utilizing such melodies for any purpose whatsoever.

"AMERICAN" MUSIC.

It was Anton Dvorak who, when living in this country, gave a great impetus to American music and inspiration to American musicians by the composition of his great "New World" symphony, built up on negro and Indian themes. This at once set the fashion, and music of all descriptions was composed founded on such ideas, for the most part highly unmusical, but still serving to support the call for original melodies. A reaction, however, set in very early, and it was soon clearly seen that American art could not be confined and limited in this manner. Although it was American and national in one sense, it was by no means so in another, as neither negroes nor Indians were the composers, but the descendants of Europeans. It is to the credit of great composers, such as Paine, Parker, and MacDowell, to have clearly seen that American music could not start from any such standpoint, but that it could only hope to reach eminence through following the canons of art as already laid down until some preëminently great man should arise who should possess an individuality strong enough to produce lasting works, and by centering national characteristics and ideals in himself should found a really new school of art.

Music seems to require new nations to feed on. The Romanic, Teutonic, and Slavonic races have each in turn produced the greatest composers. It would now seem to remain for the Anglo-Saxon to do his share, and it is to be hoped that



MISS MAUD POWELL.

festival of the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Musik Verein* in Zurich. In 1884 MacDowell retired to Wiesbaden and in 1888 he returned to America, living in Boston until his appointment to Columbia University.

With a style peculiarly his own Professor MacDowell produces most novel combinations of harmonies and rhythms, never, however, sacrificing beauty to search for the new at all costs, and always true to himself. His compositions include almost every form of music, from a song to a symphony. Among his works for piano may be mentioned two concertos and two sonatas, of which the "Eroica" is especially noteworthy as a powerful dramatic work of great beauty and variety. A mere enumeration of his best works would transcend our limits of space, but mention should be made of his "Woodland Sketches" and "Sea Pictures," two collections which are unsurpassed in modern piano literature for weird, poetical beauty and originality. Mr. MacDowell is, indeed, a poet in the true sense of the word, and there may be said to be about all his work a certain native flavor which is as interesting as it is unmistakable. His Indian *suite* for orchestra is built up on themes from the songs of the Sioux tribe and is so far a strictly American composition. The local coloring and atmosphere are remarkably well reproduced, and this in the face of the great difficulties inherent to the task of



WILLIAM H. SHERWOOD.

he will accomplish this task as well as he has accomplished so many other things.

TWO EMINENT PIANISTS.

Turning from composition to reproductive art, the noble army of pianists and the goodly fellowship of violinists and organists demand attention, but can be represented in an article so strictly limited as this by only a very few leading names.

Among native American pianists the two names of Albert Lockwood and William H. Sherwood stand preëminent by common consent. Of these, Mr. Sherwood is the older and better



ALBERT LOCKWOOD.

known. Born in Lyons, N. Y., about forty years ago, Mr. Sherwood studied in America under Dr. William Mason and other tutors, and in Europe under Kullak and Deppe in Berlin and finally under Liszt at Weimar. He also studied the organ at Stuttgart with Scotson Clark. After finishing his studies he played in several of the large cities of Europe, and always with marked success. When but eighteen years of age his playing of Chopin's "F Minor Fantasie" and Beethoven's "Emperor Concerto" in Berlin was received with great enthusiasm, and thereafter the rare distinctions of invitations to play at the *Gewandhaus* concerts at Leipzig and the Philharmonic Society concerts at Hamburg were con-

ferred upon him. He also appeared with great success in other important music centers. Since his return to his native land Mr. Sherwood has naturally broadened and developed, and has delighted large audiences in the larger cities of the United States and Canada. He is also favorably known as a composer of songs and piano works, as well as in his capacity as a very sympathetic and inspiring teacher. He is now the director of a music school in Chicago, and is frequently heard in high-class concerts all over the country. Altogether he is an artist whose maturing powers give promise of steady progress and improvement.

Like the greatest master of modern piano-playing—Ignatz Paderevski—Albert Lockwood is a pupil of one of the greatest of European teachers, Leschetitzsky of Vienna, and he is a pupil of whom any teacher may well be proud. Born in Troy, N. Y., in 1871, Mr. Lockwood is one of the youngest as well as one of the foremost living pianists. His musical education included six years of work with Reinecke in Leipzig, three with Leschetitzsky, and a brief finishing period with Buonamici in Florence. His career in Europe was most brilliant and embraced successful concerts in London, as well as Paris, Florence, and other continental cities. It may be said of him, as well as of his teacher and his fellow-pupil, Paderevski, that his successes are the result of the development of great native talent by dint of most conscientious and patient work. No more modest and thorough student of his art has ever touched a piano, and as a result it may be said that the perfection of his technique and interpretation is constantly increasing. That he will yet reflect high honor upon his native country in the realms of musical interpretation no one can doubt who has ever heard one of his recitals. Filled with the highest artistic idealism and possessing a most engaging personality, he represents all that is best in aspiring American reproductive art.

MISS POWELL, THE VIOLINIST.

The same language can be applied to Maud Powell, the one native violinist whose name cannot be omitted even in this brief enumeration. Miss Powell's triumphant concert tours in this country will be remembered by most readers, and there is but little else to tell of her life. She is a native of Illinois, the daughter of the present superintendent of schools in Washington, D. C., and a niece of Maj. J. W. Powell, the famous ethnologist. She is a pupil of Joachim, the greatest modern master of the violin, and her artistic success in Europe has been no less pronounced than in this country.

CLARENCE EDDY, THE ORGANIST.

the little group of native musicians would not be complete without the name of one, at least, of



CLARENCE EDDY.

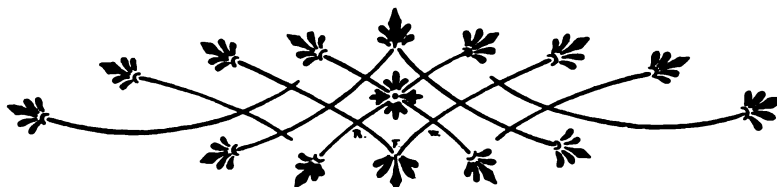
the best known of American organists, Clarence Eddy, of Chicago, to whom the distinction is preëminently due of having advanced, by his many recitals and concerts in all parts of the

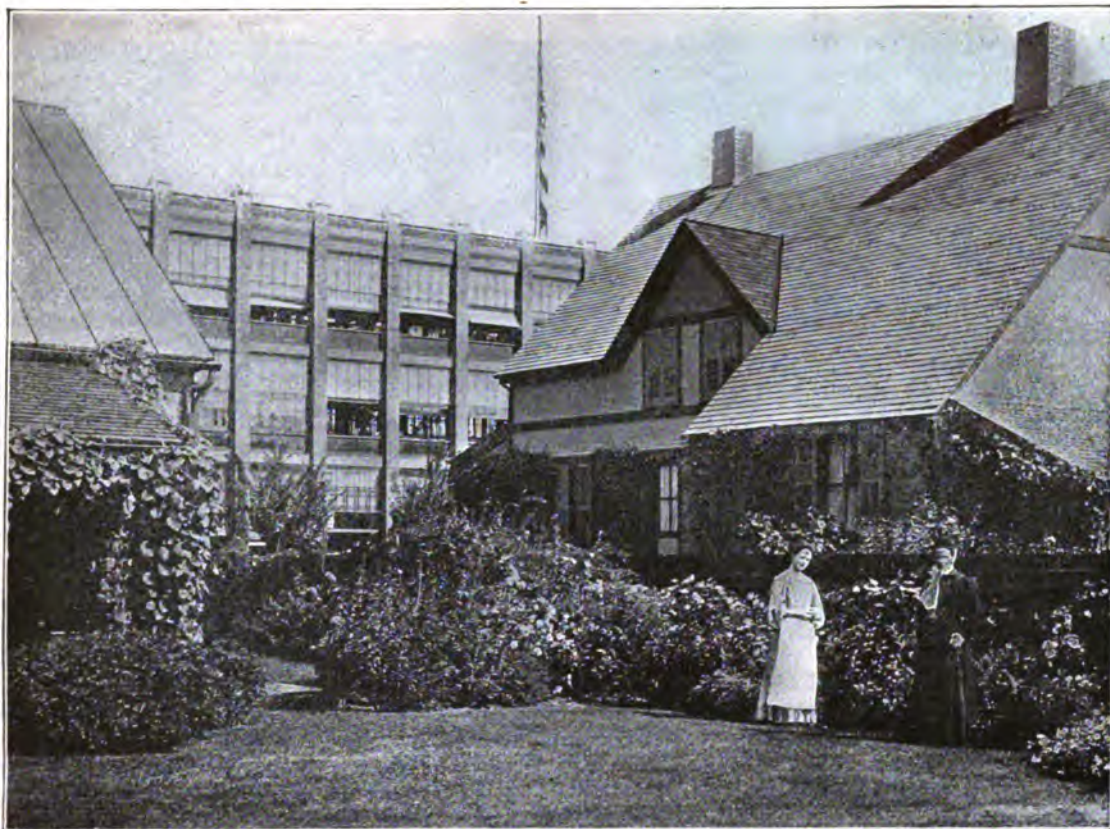
country, the general standard of organ-playing in the United States to a great degree, while at the same time he has reflected credit upon his native country by similar performances in the most celebrated musical centers of Europe.

He was born in Greenfield, Mass., on June 23, 1851, and his first teacher of his grand instrument was the great German master, Haupt of Berlin. In Europe Mr. Eddy has played with great success in Paris, Berlin, Rome, Milan, London, and other cities. In this country his services have been sought as official organist in the Centennial Exposition of 1876 and the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. In the latter instance it was largely due to him that the great organ was erected at the fair, and the greatest of modern organists, Alexander Guilman, was induced to come over and assist in the illustration of modern art upon the organ.

It will be seen from the foregoing that with a group of contemporary native American musicians like Mason, Paine, Parker, MacDowell, Sherwood, Lockwood, Maud Powell, and Eddy, the American lover of music need by no means hide his head in shame when comparing the contributions of his own country to contemporary art with those of any single European people.

The young giant of the West, keenly appreciative of the best which comes to him from the Old World, has yet not neglected his own musical powers, and the most encouraging feature of his very creditable present is that it gives hope, in music as in most other national aspirations and accomplishments, of a greater, higher, and better future.





HOW FACTORY SURROUNDINGS MAY BE BEAUTIFIED.

LANDSCAPE GARDENING FOR FACTORY HOMES.

BY WILLIAM HOWE TOLMAN.

ABOUT three years ago a well-known Ohio manufacturer, on his trips to and from Dayton, was greatly impressed with the barn-like appearance and desolate air of the little homes lining the railroad as it approached Dayton and other cities. He said to himself that the fences and back porches would be improved by a few creeping vines and flowers. From the backyard view of these homes his thoughts turned to the barrenness of his own factory, and he decided to try the effect of some flowers and vines. The first thing he did was to plant a big bed of flowers in the center of the factory lawn. Instinctively he felt that something was wrong. He knew that his ideas were right, but he lacked the knowledge of how to carry them out. Then his business training came to his aid in reasoning, "Well, if I can't do this myself I must call in an expert;" so he sent for John C. Olmstead, the man who had charge of the landscape gardening at the World's Fair in Chicago and who is

famous as one of the most celebrated landscape gardeners in America. The plan of beautifying a factory was an idea so foreign to the usual utilitarian purposes of such an establishment that it impressed him as very droll, but he finally allowed himself to be persuaded to undertake the commission when he learned that his client had a serious purpose in all this.

The first suggestion was the removal of the set piece in the center of the lawn. Then he corrected the planting of one bed of flowers with eight or nine colors. He pointed out how by making little bays and inlets of shrubs and flowers along the sides of the lawn a pleasing effect might be secured. Next he suggested that the two stable sheds opposite the factory should be connected with an arch, the roof painted vermillion, the sides olive, and rapid growing vines planted at each end, thus forming a harmony of color that would be restful to the eye.

Mr. Olmstead's suggestions fell on fertile soil.

Mr. Patterson not only decorated his factory grounds and buildings, but covered the telegraph-poles and lamp-posts with vines, so that the streets about the factory seemed like the approaches to a park. As he worked out these suggestions of Mr. Olmstead new ideas came to him, and he said: "Why, landscape gardening isn't so difficult. It seems to be mainly the avoidance of straight lines, keeping the center of the plot open, and massing the flower effects."

When he saw how beautiful all this looked for the factory, and when he reflected how simple were the principles of landscape gardening, he thought how fine a thing it would be to bring it to the homes of his factory people. But how to arouse their interest? He first secured material from Professor Bailey, of Cornell; Mr. Simons, of Chicago, sent him views of his estate, and Miss Helen Gould, being interested in his scheme, sent him photographs of the beautiful grounds at Lyndhurst, her Irvington home. These he had made into lantern slides, so that he could show the people just what these superb effects meant when correctly applied.

He began this educational work in the factory Sunday-school, and when spring came he distributed twelve thousand packages of seeds to the children. To stimulate the best effort prizes were offered for the best ornamental planting about the home and for the most artistic arrangement and training of vines on houses, verandas, buildings, fences, and posts. Boys and girls under sixteen were invited to compete for the best-kept back yards, whether lawns or planted



FENCE-COVERINGS.

in flowers and vegetables. Five prizes of five dollars each were offered for the most artistic window-box effects. The best planted and cultivated vegetable gardens were to be rewarded by five prizes of ten dollars each. To take charge of this work he engaged the services of a landscape gardener, who could be consulted by any of the employees.

Previous to the time the work began the bare houses looked like those of the Noah's ark village—no adornment, the lots separated by board fences, with no regard to harmony of color. The children then planted the seeds and eagerly watched the rapid growth of the morning-glories and the moon flowers. Gradually the stiff lines of the fences disappeared under the luxuriant growth of the vines. Then the mothers, seeing the pretty effect of the vines, began to train them over the porch and added window-



BACK-YARD ORNAMENTATION.

boxes, making bowers of beauty out of the previous packing-box style of house. When the autumn came and the vines disappeared, then they realized how very ugly the fences looked without any adornment. The training of the summer bore fruit, and when Mr. Patterson advised taking them down and replacing them by a wire fence, which was just about one-third cheaper and better adapted to the climbing vines, they were ready to do so. Some occupiers of adjoining houses improved on this plan by doing away with any kind of a fence and planting instead a divisional line of flowers.

Most of the factory people live in South Park. Accustomed to beauty about their homes and their factory, they insisted successfully that a stable located on the fair grounds and utilized as a bill-board for the ugliest assemblage of colors that ever disgraced the landscape should be removed to a distant part of the grounds and be replaced by a wire fence, which in another season will be covered with vines.



A DIVISIONAL FENCE OF FLOWERS.

Some idea of the interest in the contests for the landscape garden prizes may be shown by the fact that an audience of four thousand people thronged the great auditorium at the fair grounds when the prizes were distributed. Thus those who had striven all summer were awarded additionally by the public recognition of their friends.

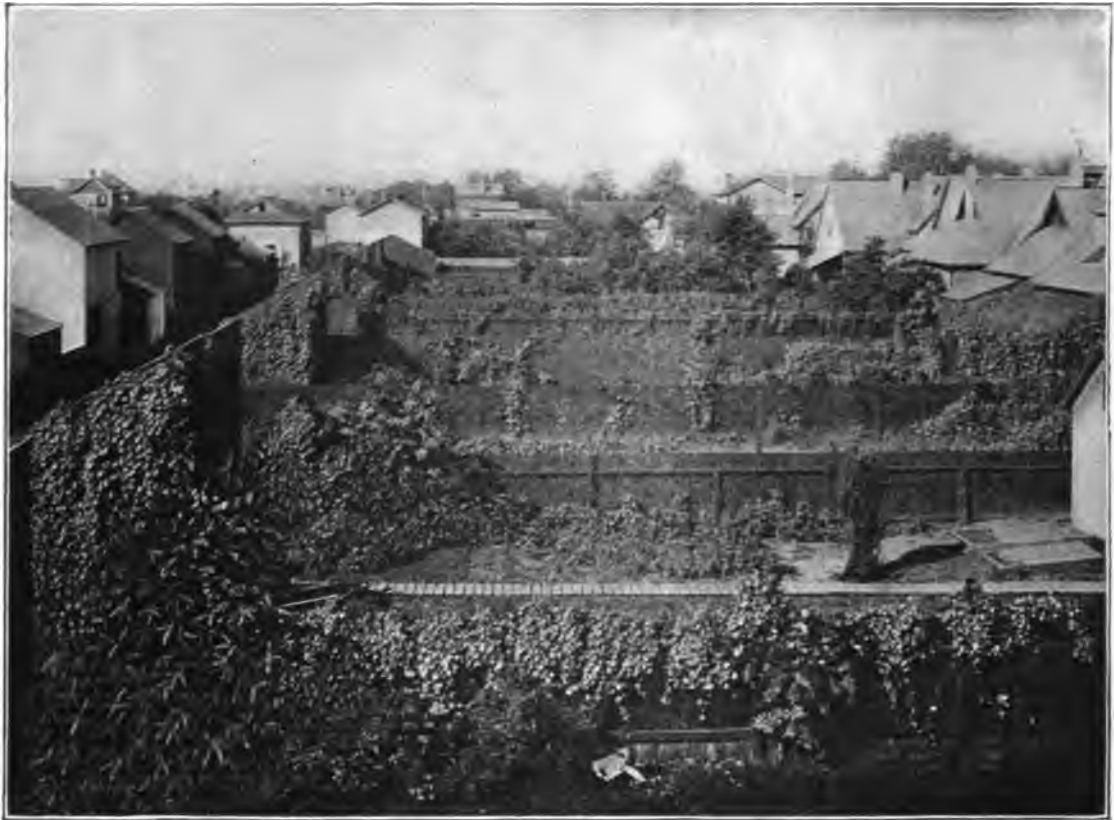
We live in a prosaic, matter-of-fact world, where most of us wish to be paid for what we do. How did this pay Mr. Patterson? No one can visit his factory without noting the happy and contented workers everywhere. Each one is individualized. He does not feel that he is a cog in the wheel, but is an essential part of the vital mechanism credited with intelligence. In the old days the men spoke of the factory as "Patterson's Penitentiary;" to-day it is called "Patterson's Paradise."

When the factory staff go to their homes after their day's work the influence follows them. The fathers are refreshed by the coolness and fragrance of the vines and flowers about their homes. They forget their weariness as the children climb on their knees to tell them the delightful stories they heard in the kindergarten, the wonderful things they made, and the songs they sang. Later in the evening the young people look forward to their club meetings, where they are pleasurably and profitably entertained with other companions who are desirous of making the most of their time.

The factory people have organized the South



A VINE AS A HOUSE-COVERING.
(The cost of this vine was sixty cents.)



A SERIES OF BACK YARDS OF WHICH DAYTON IS NOT ASHAMED.

Park Improvement Association, so that they may extend these advantages throughout that section of the city. Viewed from no higher plane than that of commercialism, there has been a decided increase in the value of property, evidenced by the statement of John C. Olmstead, who visited the factory last October and said that K Street, opposite the factory, was one of the most beautiful streets in the country, when the value of the lots and the size of the houses were taken into consideration.

Whatever makes the wage earners contented with their homes has value for the employer, for the greater the home contentment, the less

likely will the workingman be to do that which will imperil it or impair its integrity. The very inexpensive and simple application of the fundamental principles of landscape gardening to the factory grounds and the homes of the wage-earners, is the first step in the improvement of their condition by any employer who feels that he owes his staff more than the mere payment of wages. The same reasoning will apply to the managers of trolley lines and railroads, the president of one Eastern railroad stating to the writer that he would offer prizes not only for the best-kept premises, but also for the best-kept farm along the line of his road.



CANADA'S CLAIMS BEFORE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN JOINT HIGH COMMISSION.

BY AGNES C. LAUT.

[Miss Laut, who is one of the foremost of Canadian writers for the press and who is conversant with politics and affairs in all parts of British North America, has followed the work of the Joint High Commission with close attention. She was expressly invited in writing the following article to give readers in the United States the benefit of the purely Canadian point of view.—THE EDITOR.]

IT may be taken for granted that American investment of foreign islands and British occupation of African regions have a higher purpose than the gratification of national vanity by spreading the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack over alien races. The shaping of events beyond human control may compel the government of the weak by the strong, but mere accession of territory is entirely secondary to the motive underlying the forward movement of Anglo-Saxondom. Benefits of the highest importance to the cause of civilization and of material weight with the countries absorbed, as well as the countries absorbing, far exceed temporary loss to the United States and Great Britain and prompt the policies of both nations.

Of the conference of the Anglo-American commission almost the same may be said. The commissioners tried to obtain for the United States and Canada all the advantages accruing from extension of dominion without the expenditure of blood and money entailed by war. Already the governments centered in Washington and Ottawa are similar in the essentials of freedom; but because a different flag floats on each side of an imaginary dividing line, both countries are denied all the benefits which result from a merging of common interests. According to the most sanguine expectations, the armaments of the United States and Great Britain can only bring about the partial civilization of small patches of the globe and slight additions to the volume of each nation's foreign trade. In all quarters it is acknowledged that the settlement of those international difficulties which have kept the two Anglo-Saxon races in quarrelsome mood would do more for world-wide civilization than the most daring optimist ever planned, and result in manifold increase of commerce between the United States and the country which is now her fourth best customer. The policy of expansion has proved costly beyond any estimate made beforehand. The policy of conciliation embodied in the conference involved not a single sacrifice and offered full equivalent for every concession requested. Vast military

expenditures, with their ominous possibilities of bloodshed, have received general approval in the United States and Great Britain; but this international conference, with assurance of peace, was subjected to all the haggling of marketplace hucksters, lest one party should emerge from negotiations without a fat surplus of advantages over the other. Emissaries from the republic and the Dominion have been scouring the earth for trade proselytes. At the same time, both governments have been doing everything in their power to blockade and shut off the nearest and most natural avenues of trade. If any illustration were needed to prove the wisdom of Anglo-Saxon coöperation in foreign dealings, Canada's action when Spanish hostiles made Montreal a basis of operations, and Great Britain's when European powers threatened to embarrass the United States in the Cuban war, might be cited; yet the aims of the international commissioners to lay the foundations of permanent harmony suffered every misrepresentation.

A frank statement of Canada's attitude toward this conference should clear away much of the misunderstanding which obscured the real issues in the negotiations. The Dominion approached each subject of dispute in a spirit of compromise. This scarcely requires proof. The unofficial utterances of British and Canadian statesmen testify that with them the conference was not regarded as an end in itself. Through the Spanish war, which swept aside every vestige of ill-feeling between the United States and Great Britain, the Dominion became, as it were, the meeting-ground for the two great Anglo-Saxon nations; and the negotiations, first arranged as a purely colonial matter for the settlement of all the international differences, became not only the means toward an imperial end, but part of the broader scheme for an Anglo-Saxon brotherhood. The first requisite for the realization of the lofty ideals was the removal of every cause of friction between the republic and the empire—in other words, the satisfactory settlement of all disputes over Canadian affairs. This was no easy undertaking, as the length of the conference has demon-

strated ; but throughout the negotiations the Canadian commissioners were governed by the desire to promote Anglo-Saxon friendship and the keynote of the Dominion's policy was compromise. For every concession requested by the British commissioners the Dominion stood ready to grant full equivalent. She neither offered nor asked one sacrifice. Existing inequalities, whether in her favor or to her prejudice, she was eager to have remedied ; and when the opinions of the commissioners were so divergent that no satisfactory agreement could be reached, Canada was willing to abide by the decision of impartial arbitrators on the subject. Party heelers and sectional wire-pullers had very obvious designs in raising a din about the Dominion modestly trying to grab everything in sight ; but the purpose of their misrepresentations and the absolute fairness of Canada's position at once became apparent on examination of a few of the subjects before the commissioners.

Foremost in importance on the conference programme was the question of reciprocity ; and reciprocity is founded on the assumption that it is more natural and profitable for the provinces of eastern Canada to trade with the States across the boundary than with British Columbia across the width of a continent, and for the northwestern States to trade with northwestern Canada immediately adjoining than with New England three thousand miles away. This assumption has yet to be proved false. The trend of trade, in spite of boundary, is the strongest argument for reciprocity that can be adduced. The Dominion to-day takes as much merchandise from the United States as Mexico, South America, Central America, and the West Indies buy all together. Such a customer, it might be thought, should receive some consideration ; but American consideration for her Canadian neighbor has taken the form of the most hurtful tariff that could be framed against the Dominion's interests. Whether hostility to Dominion trade were the animating purpose of the tariff or not, the results have been equally disastrous to Canada. While the Dominion annually buys some \$80,000,000 worth of American exports, the United States buys only some \$40,000,000 of Canadian goods. While a country of only 5,000,000 inhabitants gives free admission to \$40,000,000 of American products, the big country of nearly 70,000,000 inhabitants gives free admission to only \$14,000,000 of Canadian products. Canada's *per capita* purchases from the United States are over \$15 ; the United States' *per capita* purchases from Canada are less than 60 cents. In 1898 the Dominion, whose farmers—according to zealous protectionists—would swamp the

American markets for agricultural products, sold only \$5,000,000 of farm products to the United States ; and little Canada, who—according to the same authorities—could never buy as much from the United States as she would sell, bought \$15,000,000 of farm products from the United States and \$35,000,000 of manufactures as well. Last year Canada's tariff rate on dutiable imports for consumption from the United States averaged but 25 per cent., in comparison to an average of 29 on similar imports from England.

These are not one-sided arguments, but facts, ascertainable by any one taking the trouble to investigate ; and with these facts there was, from Canada's point of view, no need of arguments to urge the readjustment of tariff relations between the United States and the Dominion. If the present trade conditions could be indefinitely prolonged it might be eminently satisfactory and profitable to the United States ; but the hostility of American tariffs has already driven Canada abroad to sell, and the establishment of preferential favors for Great Britain is evidence that the same influence may yet drive her abroad to buy. A quarter of a century ago Great Britain took only 30 per cent. of Canada's exports and the United States took 60. To-day, of farm products alone Great Britain takes 90 per cent. and the United States less than 7. "Canada," wrote the American consul at Liverpool, "is the competitor with the United States as a purveyor to the British public." Last year the Dominion's exports to Great Britain were one-fifth as large as those of the United States. These figures illustrate the delicate irony of Sir William Van Horne, when, responding to a query about the things Canada should be thankful for, he tersely answered : "The Dingley tariff."

What, then, did Canada desire regarding reciprocity at the conference ? Not all she could grab—not by any means. A modicum of the tariff favors which she grants would have sent her commissioners home with surprised delight. For instance, if the United States accorded her as favorable a free list—lumber and pulp included—as she gives the United States, the whole Dominion would be more than satisfied and willing to throw a few tariff concessions on manufactures into the bargain.

The allegation that the Dominion's preferential tariff for Great Britain stood in the way of reciprocity arrangements and prejudiced Canada's case is too absurd for consideration. The tariff concessions sought from the United States were for farm products. How British manufactured goods could gain access to American markets under tariff reductions on farm products—eggs,

for example—has never been explained by the objectors to the preferential tariff.

On the subject of reciprocity Canada's contention can hardly be described as unreasonable. Indeed, it has been indorsed by the chambers of commerce in all the leading cities of the Union; and who opposed it? Not the consumers in both countries—and they constitute the majority if the greatest good to the greatest number be a consideration. A few rings and trusts and two or three coal kings and lumber barons were the real obstacles in the way of reciprocity. The lumber and fisheries disputes were but different phases of the reciprocity question. Canada admits American lumber free of duty, and almost \$3,000,000 of forest products annually enter the Northwest Territories and other parts of the Dominion from Minnesota and adjacent States. The Dingley tariff, imposing a two-dollar duty on Canadian timber and spiking Canada's guns by stipulating that the amount of our export duty on logs should be added to this tariff on lumber from countries where an export duty prevailed, caused a decrease in the lumber exports of the Dominion to the extent of \$5,000,000 in one year. The provision against export duties rendered a Dominion export tax ineffective; so the province of Ontario took matters into her own hands and passed a law compelling all owners of timber limits to saw logs cut from crown lands within the province. The British North America Act, which is the Dominion's constitution, gave Ontario full power to enact such a measure, and Quebec threatens to follow her sister province's example and to pass a similar measure regarding pulp-wood. Both provinces are acting on the supposition that Canadian logs are indispensable to the American consumer. The supposition would seem to be sustained by fact; for nearly thirty mill owners of Michigan threaten to appeal to the imperial government against Ontario's law, and out of 1,500,000 acres of spruce lands owned by the International Paper Company of the United States, more than 1,250,000 lie in Canada. The protest of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association against the commissioners "furnishing protection to a combination [the paper trust] organized in restraint of trade and intended to extort excessive prices from a representative industry" is to the same effect—that Canadian logs are a necessity for the American consumer. While the American manufacturers and consumers look to the Dominion for their log supply, the United States Government has placed practically a prohibitive duty on lumber and pulp. In other words, Canadian forests are to be stripped for the profit of the United States, and the Dominion

is to be shut off from all participation in that profit. This kind of an arrangement appears somewhat one-sided to the people of Canada. Is it surprising that their commissioners held out stoutly on the lumber question, expecting nothing less than free lumber for free logs? To the manufacturers of lumber and paper the Dominion's stand on this subject may seem obstinate to the extent of frustrating negotiations; but to the 157 daily newspapers of the United States and to the consumers from whom the lumber and paper rings extort excessive prices Canada does not seem so unreasonable.

Related to reciprocity, the Atlantic fisheries were, perhaps, the most complicated subject before the commissioners. Newfoundland, not yet a part of the Dominion, the bearing of old treaties as well as the present *modus vivendi*, and the prospect of American bounties to deep-sea fishermen handicapping rivals had all to be taken into account. Newfoundland holds the vantage-ground in this dispute. Her inshore fisheries have an exhaustless supply of bait—herring, squid, and capelin—without which deep-sea fishing would be paralyzed. Under the *modus vivendi* from 60 to 80 American vessels annually have entered Newfoundland harbors for herring, and thousands of tons of frozen herring, bought from Newfoundland fishermen, have been sent to the United States duty free as the product of American industry. These facts seem to show that the island colony had something to offer for the concessions desired by the Canadian and Newfoundland commissioners—namely, remission of the American duty on fish. Canada and Newfoundland based their claims on the treaty of 1818, which provided that American fishermen should not have access to the inhabited coasts of the north Atlantic, except for wood, water, shelter, and repairs. By removing the duty on fish in the treaty of 1854 the United States purchased the rights to the inshore privileges of buying bait in Canadian ports, shipping and bonding the catch, and obtaining supplies. These rights were again purchased by the concession of free fish in the Washington treaty of 1871. Both treaties virtually recognized Canada's interpretation of the 1818 treaty as reasonable.

When the Bayard-Chamberlain agreement of 1888 was rejected by the United States Senate the present *modus vivendi* was established. This permits American fishing-vessels inshore privileges in Canadian and Newfoundland waters on payment of a license fee of \$1.50 per ton register to the colonial government; but the *modus vivendi* was only a temporary device until a comprehensive fisheries treaty could be

arranged. With the prospect of bounties for deep-sea fishermen of the United States handicapping Canadian and Newfoundland competitors and proving as demoralizing to the American market as French bounties are in Europe, what object can Canada and Newfoundland have in continuing the *modus vivendi*? Under it bounty-fed rivals would reap all the advantages, and Canadian and Newfoundland fishermen find themselves crippled by means of the bait which they supplied. Were the British commissioners wrong in demanding free fish for all inshore privileges? Who would suffer by such an arrangement? Not American consumers, for they would obtain cheaper fish; not the American fishing-fleet, for bounties would give it an advantage over all comers. Cheaper fish would mean smaller profits for the fish trust. Hence an arrangement which would have forever removed the possibility of armed conflict on the Atlantic fishing-ground, and benefited the fishermen of three countries and 70,000,000 consumers, was opposed in the interest of fish monopolists. The declaration of Gloucester representatives at the conference, that bait privileges were not desired, but only the right of transshipment in bond, may very soon be tested. Newfoundland threatens an aggressive fishing policy. The \$15,000 accruing to her treasury from American licenses is not regarded as adequate compensation, and the colony is considering the advisability of enforcing as drastic measures against American fishermen as against the French. In the cause of peace it is to be hoped that Canada may never feel constrained to resort to her "spirited cruiser" policy on the Atlantic coast; but as long as the fisheries remain in dispute, what guarantee is there that the friction of past years may not be repeated?

Allied to the trade questions are the bonding privileges, which consist, in brief, of argument between the United States and Canada whereby the traffic of one country is allowed to traverse the territory of the other. The system had formal beginning in 1794, when a treaty provided that no duty should be charged on goods in transit through Canada to the United States or through the United States to Canada. Subsequently the passage of goods through the United States from the Atlantic seaboard to Canada and from Canada to the Atlantic seaboard was also permitted. The treaty of Washington in 1871 provided for traffic from State to State through Canada and from province to province through the United States. Since the abrogation of the clause permitting domestic bonding, the system has rested on enactments repealable at any time. Two geographical facts render bonding necessary. One is the dovetailing of west-

ern Ontario and the block of States between Lake Huron and the Northwest Territories. The other is the early closing of navigation on the St. Lawrence, which compels Canada to seek an outlet to the sea south of the boundary. Ontario's western peninsula pokes across the most direct path of transportation between the northwestern States and New England. It is to the advantage of the farmers of the West and the factories of the East to communicate with each other across Ontario, which shortens the route by 300 miles. It is equally to the advantage of eastern Canada to ship across the block of States between Ontario and the Northwest Territories. During the winter, in order to enjoy rapid ocean transportation, Canadian shippers must use the cities of the United States on the Atlantic seaboard. During 1897, by means of the bonding privilege, 5,500,000 tons of American merchandise passed through the Dominion. To this total every State contributed a quota.

That it paid the American shipper to employ the shortest route was amply testified by Boston representatives before the American commissioners. At least \$35,000,000 of Canadian trade passes through the American coast cities every year and is handled with profit by ten or twelve American roads. Six times more grain from western Canada goes to Liverpool by way of Buffalo than by way of Montreal. That a proposition should have come before the commissioners to tamper with a system so obviously beneficial to the people of the United States and Canada requires some explanation. The fact that the quantity of American goods hauled by Canadian roads was twenty-seven times greater than the quantity of Canadian goods hauled by American roads, accounts for the specious suggestion of American railroads. It was proposed to place Canadian lines under the Interstate Commerce Commission, a foreign tribunal. Already they yield voluntary obedience to the rulings of the commission. What was the object of the change? Simply this: while American roads are fined for violation of the interstate law, the Canadian rivals were to be placed under a license, which—for some infraction of an irresponsible or bribed agent—might be revoked, shutting them from American territory. Canada's refusal to consent to the suggested course was indorsed by representatives of Boston mercantile associations in these words: "We therefore urge the American commissioners to let the bonding arrangements alone, and not play into the hands of the American lines that are seeking to efface Canadian competition."

The Bering Sea sealing dispute perhaps illustrates the spirit of compromise in which Canada

entered the conference better than any other subject on the programme. The American proposition for the total abolition of pelagic sealing meant the relinquishment of the entire industry by Canada and the wiping out of the British Columbia sealing-fleet. Though by the decision of the Paris tribunal pelagic sealing was strictly within the Dominion's right, Canada was ready to compromise on this question if met in an equally fair spirit by the United States on other disputes. For the British Columbia sealers, whose vocation would have been suppressed, a money compensation to the exact amount of their schooners' value would have been accepted; and for the whole Dominion, which would have been a general loser by the abolition of a leading industry, nothing was expected but fair treatment on the other subjects of negotiation. On the Bering Sea matter Canada's attitude was more generous than worldly wise.

Failing to receive the consideration which had been expected regarding reciprocity and Atlantic fisheries by way of compensation for the loss of the sealing industry to the whole Dominion, Canada was not prepared to make bootless sacrifices in the Alaska boundary dispute. The clauses of the treaty between Russia and Great Britain in 1825 and Russia and the United States in 1867 which describe the boundary between Alaska and Canada are hopelessly ambiguous. This was admitted by both sides of the conference. From Mt. St. Elias northward the dividing line has been scientifically ascertained and finally laid down. The uncertainty exists only from St. Elias to Prince of Wales' Island. With regard to the southern part of the disputed territory, the treaties direct that from the point of commencement the line "shall ascend to the north along the channel called Portland Channel as far as the point of the continent where it strikes the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude." The following of these directions is a geographical impossibility for two reasons: Portland Channel is from fifty to seventy miles due east of the point of commencement, and it does not strike the fifty-sixth degree of latitude at all. Behm Canal is north and reaches the fifty-sixth degree; hence Canada considers that the waters of the latter rather than the former inlet were designated, the wrong name being used in the clauses owing to the hazy geographical knowledge of the treaty makers. The difference in the names involves sovereignty over 3,000 square miles of territory rich in fisheries, if not minerals.

From Mt. St. Elias eastward the boundary is equally ill-defined. The treaties state that "wherever the summit of the mountains which

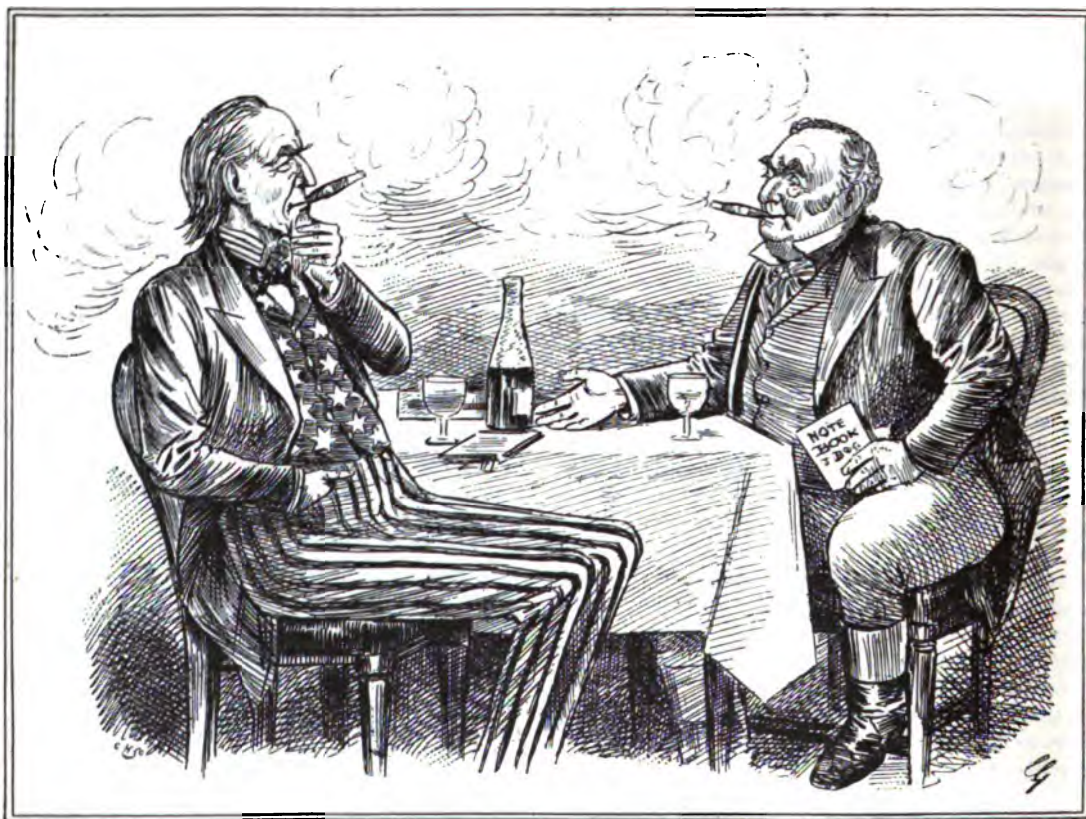
extend in a direction parallel to the coast, from the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude to the point of intersection of the one hundred and forty-first degree of west longitude, shall prove to be at the distance of more than ten marine leagues from the ocean, the limit between the British possessions and the line of coast which is to belong to Russia as above mentioned shall be found by a line parallel to the windings of the coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of ten marine leagues therefrom." What mountains are intended? The coast mountains are not a continuous range, and the nearest continuous range is further than ten marine leagues. If the line follow the windings of the coast, shall it run from headland to headland or pursue the innermost reach of each inlet? The former would give Canada independent access to the Yukon; the latter would confirm the American title to Skagway and Dyea. Plainly, the difference here was too great for easy compromise and was a proper subject for impartial arbitration. The American commissioners thought that six jurists, three on each side—without an umpire in case of a deadlock—would constitute a proper court of decision. Canada foresaw the same balanced opposition in the proposed tribunal as had occurred in the conference, and wishing the matter finally and impartially settled, the British commissioners requested that the whole question be treated in the same way as the Venezuela dispute. Was Canada unreasonable in this? Were the rules governing the Venezuela dispute good in one case and bad in another?

Such were the leading subjects before the conference. In trade Canada asked but a fraction of the favors she bestows, and her position was indorsed by the leading mercantile bodies of the United States. In the matter of lumber and pulp Canada expected a free market for free logs, and 157 daily newspapers of the United States seemed, by their protest, to think that she should have it. In the Atlantic fisheries Canada based her claims on a clause of the treaty of 1818 which has been repeatedly recognized in formal compacts and negotiations by American statesmen. In bonding Canada's interests were identical with the shippers' of the northwestern and New England States. In the sealing dispute she was willing to wipe out one of her industries. In the boundary embroglio Canada would have welcomed a settlement that was fully satisfactory to the United States in the case of Venezuela. In none of these things were the Dominion's expectations excessive or exacting.

These are only a few of the subjects of mutual interest that interlink Canada and the United States. Coasting laws, canal privileges, mining

regulations, copyright measures, protection of labor from alien competition, educational movements, philanthropic efforts—all are matters in which both countries could reap incalculable advantage from pulling together, instead of apart and often, indeed, against each other. Opposing the coöperation of kindred races in national progress stand the sectional interests in solid rank; and when the sectional interests clash with the general good who are to be the arbitrators? Surely not the whooping jingo journals, much less the elected representatives of rings and trusts. These umpires would see all Anglo-Saxondom sizzling in flames of war before they would compromise one jot for the sake of

progress and peace and civilization. Yet as long as the difficulties between the United States and Canada remain unsettled, hostile tariffs, fishery quarrels, the embarrassment of American mill owners by the withholding of raw material, alien labor laws, discrimination against foreign miners, the conflict of lawless hot-heads in remote areas of undetermined boundary—one or many of these causes may arouse international friction and fan all the old-time bitterness between brother races. Better, a thousand times better than revert to that blind stupid folly that each country should bow—whether to its loss or gain—to the impartial decisions of a responsible and permanent international tribunal.



MR. BULL: *What with good wine, good cigars, and good company, my dear Mr. Jonathan, I shall always remember this meeting with pleasure.*

MR. JONATHAN: *Wal, Mr. Bull, I guess I've had a real good time too. Never knew what a first-class fellow you were till this evening.*

MR. BULL: *And now, Mr. Jonathan, can't we do a little business together—something mutually advantageous? Canadian lumber now, for instance, or a line in tariffs and open doors?*

MR. JONATHAN: *H'm, you're just the kind of man I like, Mr. Bull, but I ain't taking any Canadian logs just now, and it makes me tired to fool round with doors that won't shut.*

MR. BULL: *Oh, come, Mr. Jonathan, just for the sake of the good time we've had together. You said just now I'd been a help to you in that little Spanish business—this'll help us both.*

MR. JONATHAN: *Wal, guess there's something in that; and, bless me, I want to be friendly with the old firm—*

(Discussion to be resumed.)

From the Westminster Budget.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE COLLEGE PRESIDENT.

BY HENRY A. STIMSON, D.D.

THE evolution of the American college, which in recent years has been startlingly rapid, has been along approximately straight lines and is well understood. The fact that some nine or ten of them are in the field searching for presidents, with evident difficulty in finding them, would indicate that there is uncertainty as to just what is wanted, or that the evolution of the requisite type of man has not kept pace with the evolution of the college.

Interest in the situation is by no means limited to the one hundred and forty thousand students who are in the universities and colleges and the professional schools connected with them or dependent upon them for students. The great body of alumni extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific is characterized by the liveliest interest in the *alma mater*, and each alumnus feels that the president of his college is at once the custodian of what is most cherished in his memories and traditions and the representative of what is best in his attainments and his hopes. The public has caught something of their spirit; the college has come to be far more than a matter of local pride; it has won its place in the life of the nation; and the crowds that throng to see a Yale-Harvard football game or boat-race, and the multitudes that eagerly watch for the bulletins, are by no means crazy over athletics: they are responsive to the college spirit and witness to the large place the college holds in American life. The fact that the American girl has begun to go to college and that forty thousand women are to be found in the regular college courses may be said to have doubled the interest, as it has added a new and influential element to the process of development.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A TYPE.

The coming type of college president is almost a matter of national concern. That he will constitute a type is certain. The colleges act and react upon each other in everything. Harvard's sudden and extensive introduction of electives at once affected the conditions of work in every college in the country, as Yale's change of front in definitely adopting the university idea with the accession of President Dwight gave impulse to that movement everywhere. Any new departure, therefore, in the way of a presidential selection is by no means a mere incident.

It sets a pattern and, if at all successful, inaugurates a new movement. We are in the midst of such a movement to-day, and it is interesting to observe that it, no less than the changes in the colleges themselves, is a true evolution. The distance between President Woolsey and President Low, for example, is not to be measured by years. Yet President Woolsey was a great advance upon President Day. Scholarly and reclusive as he was by temperament, in breeding, financial position, knowledge of affairs, and breadth of interests he was a modern. Nevertheless, since his time we have passed into a new epoch.

TWO REPRESENTATIVE PRESIDENTS.

It may be said to have begun with President Eliot at the East and President Angell at the West. As presidents both were novelties in the college world and may now be regarded as having created a type and opened up the influences with which the future has to deal. They are powerful executives, but they are much more than that. President Angell is a man of affairs whose distinguished services as minister to China and recently to Turkey have given him a national character, while President Eliot is the first educational force in the United States. He is a steady inspiration to his own faculty and manages always to have some novel scheme up to which he is struggling to bring his corporate boards. He is reported recently to have said that he expects to have much that he has done in Harvard reversed by his successor, but that may be laid to his self-depreciation; in the country at large it is certain that no public educator exerts such an influence as does he.

AS ADMINISTRATORS.

It is true that the typical college president, notably at the West, had long been more than a pious scholar. The men who built the Western colleges were such notable administrators that we can now look back upon their labors as akin to the original work of creation—they had to make all things out of nothing. They taught *omne scibile* and did *aliud omne*; and if, like Epaminondas, they might have been seen at home “pounding beans,” they were none the less great men. When the great epic of the Golden Age of the West comes to be written these are the

men whose story will rival the tale of the masterful Agamemnon and the far-seeing and much-enduring Ulysses. On the far frontier their day may not have altogether gone; but in the East and in the great universities of the interior a new day has come, and the boards of directors who have on their hands the choice of a president are set to quite a new task.

CHANGING IDEALS.

The traditional "log with President Hopkins sitting on one end and a student on the other" has ceased to be the adequate ideal of a college. It was a noble conception in its day. The world owes to it a debt not soon to be repaid, a debt gratefully acknowledged by a host of men who, in every walk of life, cherish the inspiration which college days gave them and hold in loving remembrance the man or men who were to them its embodiment and source. The Herbartians are bringing us back to the conception that the object of all education is to be found in character, and whatever else they may have lacked, the presidents of the old days stood for that. When the late Prof. Edouard Caro in the French Academy said that in education the only thing that counts is the man, he not only set the seal of the highest foreign authority upon the course of the American college in the past, but he uttered the truth which may well be made authoritative in the decisions of the present.

The college is now to all intents and purposes a university. Here and there it may not have taken the name, but it is no whit behind in its ambitions and requirements. Where once we had two or three plain brick buildings in the midst of a desolate and unkempt campus, a stove in every room, and ashes not infrequently thrown out of the window, is now an array of beautiful and costly structures fitted with every modern convenience, and of a size and costliness that tell of the extent and variety of the teeming life within.

NEW DEMANDS.

Students whose numbers reach into the thousands are to be cared for. Professors of high and low degree, whose importance is apt to be measured by the closeness of their specialization and the smallness of their classes, abound. Museums and laboratories of all kinds are regarded as indispensable. Great libraries are to be secured, administered, and steadily enlarged. Departments of instruction of which our predecessors did not dream are constantly to be erected, equipped and complete at the outset. Close touch is to be established with the secondary schools that the college requirements may be met and the number of students may increase.

The alumni are to be visited and conferred with. Athletics are to be provided a free field and made reputably successful, for what the college does it must do well. And for everything money is required, in amounts unlimited and in a stream unending. It is the *sine quâ non* and often the final measure of success.

SHALL THE PRESIDENCY BE "SPECIALIZED" ?

The college president has come to be primarily a great executive officer. In time, doubtless, his work will be subdivided—he himself will submit to the prevalent specialization: deans are relieving him of the internal administration; superintendents of buildings and grounds are caring for the estate; expert treasurers and great trust companies are looking after the invested funds; the boards of direction are limiting themselves to their proper functions, and faculties are allowed a freer hand in the educational details. All this points to a day when the president will again find the opportunity enjoyed by his earlier predecessors of employing his own particular gifts and impressing strongly upon others his own personality. He will become again within the university a vital force—a Man, written with a capital M.

Under the pressure of the hour he may be chosen primarily because it is thought he will meet an existing exigency. That exigency is most often to raise money. "What we want," is reported to have been said by a rich member of a church recently seeking a pastor, "is a man who will sell pews." It was brutally frank, but it accurately described the situation. Out of this spring, however, a multitude of other duties, and the college president of to-day has a position quite above any chance exigency, and occupies a place which no other man can fill. His excellence is in lines that are distinctly noble and are his own. Its measure is to be found largely in his readiness to obliterate himself in giving to other men their opportunity and supply their inspiration. He is to provide for others every facility for successful work, putting himself behind all and finding his reward in their achievements and growth. It is easy for him to be heavy-handed, for the traditions of his office secure to him undefined power; but he is chiefly called upon for unselfishness. In proportion as he attains to that he secures coöperation within and support from without. In no position is self-seeking or uncertainty of motive surer to defeat all.

YALE'S EARLY PRESIDENTS.

In the past college presidents have been generally ministers, but it is interesting to observe

that the roots of the modern requirements are to be found in the men of the earliest days. The ideal of to-day is a true evolution.

Yale's first president, Clap, had to create the college. He compiled the statutes and customs of different colleges, secured a new charter from the State, raised funds, and erected the first permanent college building; single-handed he defended successfully the charter of the college against an attack in the Legislature conducted by the two most famous attorneys of the day; and after twenty-seven years of service, in which the college flourished greatly, was driven from office by a hostile outside movement directed against the life of the college, to which he had devoted himself utterly. He is described by President Stiles as a "calm, still, judicious great man."

President Stiles was one of the most learned men of his times, but he found himself at once called to critical outside duties in saving the college in the crisis which had arisen because of the hostility of the public sentiment of the State. He did this with such success that funds were thereupon obtained by general subscription and a new building and a new professorship erected, and the attendance of students greatly increased. He knew many tongues and was in correspondence with scholars in other lands. Edinburgh University gave him his doctorate. He was an ardent patriot and devotedly given to personal labor with individuals, and of so sweet and catholic a spirit as greatly to allay the excitements of the times which nearly proved fatal to the college.

The elder Dwight was eminently a man of affairs. He was in middle life when called to the presidency, and had been tutor, minister, chaplain in the army, farmer, founder of a successful school, and member of the Legislature of Massachusetts, where his personal force secured a grant of aid for Harvard College which in his absence had been refused. Yale College at that

time consisted of only the president, one professor, and three tutors, with one hundred and ten students. President Dwight, himself a gentleman of elegant and commanding person, promptly did away with many of the venerable follies both of the administration and of the student life. He broadened the curriculum and laid the foundation of the departments of theology, science, law, and medicine, outlining thus the university which it was given to his namesake afterward to complete.

DIGNITY AND IMPORTANCE OF THE OFFICE.

Horace Bushnell, a stranger and an invalid as he was, left an enduring impress upon what is now the great University of California. When called in 1856 to the presidency of the college that was to be, he, seemingly the last man for such duties, gave himself to the practical details of seeking a site with the proper requirements of soil, situation, water supply, etc., while he aroused the interest of that gold-seeking community to the needs of the future. "If I can get a university on its feet, or only the nest-egg laid," he wrote to his distant Eastern friends, "I shall not have come to this new world in vain."

The men of to-day have entered into the inheritance of these men of the past. Their labors have developed into the multitudinous tasks of their successors, as the lines of their character have furnished the outlines of the ideal which we all cherish. They were rich in all that goes to make up manhood, and they long ago proved that that is the only wealth requisite to the position. The place they filled has lost none of its dignity while it has gained immeasurably in its importance. What it remains to become is yet to be seen, but it is certain to be not less worthy of the noblest powers of the most consecrated man. Nothing is more to be deprecated than that it should be schemed for or filled in response to partisan pressure or popular clamor.



MATERIAL PROBLEMS IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

BY SAMUEL W. BELFORD.

(Late assistant adjutant-general on the staff of General Otis at Manila.)

THE ratification of the treaty of Paris was the culmination of a war for civilization, embodying its benefits and its burdens, which the people of the United States have assumed, not as destiny or accident, but from a sense of duty. The progressive spread of civilization to other lands and peoples has always been attended by perplexing and difficult problems, involving new conditions that call for the exercise of the highest statesmanship. The elimination of Spain as a factor in the Philippines was the simplest way of determining the question of their ultimate fate, as it left the matter with Congress, where it properly belongs. The fierce strife of parties, the oft-repeated warnings of impending disaster, and the sudden and grave changes in economic policies have not obscured the reassuring fact that during a hundred years of constitutional government the American people have been equal to every emergency, and have settled for the common good of all the problems that beset them. And so we shall continue to believe that the widespread intelligence of our people, with the institutions and liberty-loving principles that dominate our Government, will finally evolve a political system for the Philippines that will truly conserve their wants and needs.

The rapid succession of events at Manila, resulting in the collision with Aguinaldo, has compelled the Government, in the interests of peace and good order, to pacify the island of Luzon and establish its authority over the people before it formulates a government for those distant lands. The cessation of hostilities in the Philippines and the reestablishment of orderly administration will probably induce many of our people to press forward to our new possessions in the hope of improving their condition in life by easily acquired wealth. It is the natural hope that springs eternal in the human breast, but which often results in nothing but wholesome experience. It may not be uninteresting in this connection to inquire into the material aspects of the Philippine Islands and to learn something of industrial conditions in this Pacific archipelago.

The Philippines are rich in almost everything that can contribute to the happiness and comfort of man. The proper development of their nat-

ural resources, mineral and agricultural, should make them as rich in productiveness as the fairest portions of India. Forests of mahogany and ebony, scarcely untouched and wholly undeveloped, fisheries of pearls in the south, fields of rice, hemp, and tobacco, plantations of sugar, mines of gold, silver, and copper, beds of coal accessible to the coast, indigo and fruits are some of the riches of this famous group. It is not too much to say that the establishment of a just government will quicken every industry into new life, make the islands more productive than ever before, and greatly improve the condition of the people. An examination of the Spanish system of taxation impresses one with the conviction that it was little less cruel than wholesale confiscation of property and labor, by means of which private enterprise and ingenuity were stifled. With its abolition commerce and trade will receive a new and invigorating stimulus. And yet, notwithstanding the alluring and tempting prospect of the Philippines, our own country offers to the average American citizen with small means a broader and richer field for profitable investment of labor or capital; while the American workingmen in the Philippine Islands will find themselves at a severe disadvantage.

A knowledge of the wages paid for labor in Manila and of the conditions one must meet should be sufficient to keep American laborers at home. If they wish to take their labor to that market, it must be sold as cheaply as the labor of their competitors, as they will receive no larger wage because the Philippine Islands are a possession of the United States. The best skilled labor at Manila receives the equivalent of \$15 per month in gold, while the average earnings of the working classes will not equal \$4 per month in gold, out of which provision must be made for the support of one's family. The best clerical labor, such as accountants, cashiers, bookkeepers, and the employees of the larger houses, receive from \$30 to \$60 per month in gold. The small number of Europeans, excepting the Spanish, who are engaged in business in the Philippines are either the proprietors or responsible managers of established firms. The total absence of European and American labor-

ers in the Orient is a sufficient demonstration that their employment is not needed. It is quite true that the cost of living is merely nominal in comparison with the cost in the United States, but even if one should save one's entire income, it would scarcely amount to a competence. It is a mistake to indulge the supposition that the Filipinos are uncouth savages, incapable of performing skilled labor that requires the exercise of judgment. The population living along the coast and in the cities has attained a surprising degree of civilization, and the workmen of this class produce an infinite variety of articles of their own manufacture that would be creditable to a more enlightened country. They are, in my judgment, superior to the same classes in Cuba, Porto Rico, and Hawaii, and possess in a great measure the cleverness at imitation of the Japanese, whom they resemble in physical appearance and in the similarity of many customs.

The same general difficulties will be encountered by our merchants. The retail business of the Philippines, as well as the smaller wholesale houses, are in the hands of Chinese merchants. They have traded with the natives for centuries and have carried on their business in every center of population. Intermarriage with natives and the consequent assimilation of races have given the Chinese a superior advantage with the Filipinos, which they have utilized to the utmost. The beneficence of a government instituted by the United States will afford them an opportunity to extend their control to the largest undertakings. Content with the smallest profits and wages, able to live in comfort on fifteen cents a day, they have intrenched themselves in the business affairs of the Philippines too strongly to be displaced. They supply the islands with all kinds of goods for which there is a demand, and the proximity of this market to China and Japan eliminates the freight-rate as a factor; while the great distance that separates us from Manila makes the same charge an almost insurmountable barrier. I know it is argued that accessibility and not distance should determine the commercial value of a possession, but so long as steam continues to be the motive power for vessels and railroads, the time between San Francisco and Manila will continue approximately as it is now, and all American goods sent to the Philippines for sale will be burdened by traffic charges almost great enough in themselves to bar us out of that market.

There are 60,000 Chinese in the Manila district alone—merchants, artisans, and coolie laborers. Their commercial domination is not confined to Luzon, but embraces the entire field. The Chinese merchants are keen, shrewd, able

men of affairs, composing the substantial element of the population, whose wealth they are gradually absorbing. They are the middlemen between the producer and the exporter, as well as between the consumer and the importer. They control those lines of business that involve daily contact with the people, whose wants they know and with whom there is a certain community of interest. And these are the lines of business which Americans with small capital would be compelled to enter.

It may be worthy to note that the foreign merchants, including our own citizens, have been unable to withstand the steady and persistent encroachment of the Chinese merchants. They accomplish almost as much by patience as others do by capital. It would be unwise to attempt the deportation of the Chinese from the Philippine Islands or to impose any unjust discriminations upon them alone, as it would be taking from the islands an influence for peace and tranquillity that is invaluable.

The larger houses—those controlling the exporting and importing business—are in the hands of the English, Swiss, Spanish, Germans, and French, of importance in the order named. Many of these establishments are the successors of American houses which in former years controlled the commerce of the Philippine Islands. We were of the first commercial importance in the Asiatic cities twenty years ago, at Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Manila, but gradually yielded to the English, Germans, and Chinese, the same factors that must be met at this time. These foreign houses export the sugar, hemp, indigo, and tobacco of the Philippines, and their market is with Europe and the East. This is so because the products of the islands are more easily and cheaply delivered there, and also because the wares of the Orient are more eagerly received in exchange. The business of the Philippines being on the silver standard, the rate of exchange is at times a decisive factor in shaping the course of foreign shipments. With the removal of tariff impositions in favor of goods of Spanish manufacture, China and Great Britain, through India, may reasonably hope to enjoy, for a time at least, the bulk of the commerce with the Philippines. It is gratifying to retain the friendship of Germany and to witness the increasing demonstrations of her regard. Her interests in the Philippines are not, however, by any means so important as to justify her overweening solicitude. One English house in Manila does more business and has greater interests in the islands than the aggregate investments of Germany.

The great increase of our commerce with the

Orient has inspired the hope that in the Philippine Islands a new outlet may be found for our manufactures that will be profitable to our mills at home. If the past few years may be taken as an index of the future, it is by no means a vain hope. As the condition of the people is improved and their material well-being increased their wants will multiply. The occupations of the islands by American troops and the introduction of American ways cannot fail to have such an effect, and the innate desire of the Filipinos to imitate our customs will not be lost by their present hostile attitude. The best of feeling prevailed between the Filipinos and ourselves before the recent disturbances, and it is not likely that enmity will exist after their termination. The American manufacturer must create his market in the Philippine Islands, as he is doing in China and elsewhere, largely by the process of instruction and by fostering new wants. He should go there to accustom the natives to the use and sight of his goods and display before them his ingenuity. It will be a slow task for many years, and his success there, as elsewhere, will depend upon his ability to manufacture what the people want at prices they are able to pay. As he won his way into European and Asiatic markets in the face of open competition by producing superior articles, he will doubtless in time win a foothold in the Philippines for the same reasons.

The wisdom of the adoption of the "open-door" policy in the trade of the islands will be demonstrated when the greater game in China is developed. It imposes on our citizens the same conditions that are placed upon the foreigner. Paternalism and tariff differentials cannot be called to our assistance, as the sovereignty of the United States embraces all alike. It does not require a long residence in the Philippines to discover that but few openings exist there at the present time for the introduction of staple articles of American manufacture. The wants of the people with whom our commerce must be carried on are as simple as their manner of living. The most northerly point of the Philippines is south of Santiago de Cuba, and American goods, to be salable, must be suitable for use in a peculiarly tropical clime. They must also be thrown upon the market at from 50 per cent. to 100 per cent. less than they bring in the United States. The clothes of men and women alike usually consist of plain garments of cotton and duck and are of Indian and Chinese manufacture. It is at least doubtful whether we could successfully compete in the sale of such goods. The food of the natives consists of rice and fruit, grown at their doors, and fish, in which the

waters of the islands abound. We have nothing to offer them in the way of foodstuffs. We cannot export sugar and rice to the Philippines, and must undersell the cotton goods of India and China to get into the market.

The best prospect, and an inviting one, for the employment of American labor and capital in this new field is in the erection and operation of factories, either in China or on the islands themselves, not only to supply the Filipinos with articles for their own use and consumption, but to utilize in these factories the raw material of the Philippines that is now furnishing employment to the factories of other nations from whom we buy the manufactured article. Again, the Philippine Islands will furnish us a manufacturing base for the supply of the Oriental market. When we consider the immense continental and insular population within easy reach of Manila and the Philippines, the vast possibilities of such a movement are at once apparent; and they exist whether the islands remain under the tutelage of the United States or pass to the control of the natives. The significant and all-important effect of Admiral Dewey's victory was to open up the Philippine Islands for exploration and development.

The farms of the Filipinos are just large enough to supply the needs of a family, and their farming is of the rudest kind. The cost of American farming implements laid down at Manila would be too great to justify their general use. These farms are about an acre in extent. Large ranches are practically unknown. The mountainous character of the country and the density of its population is responsible for the small division of land among the farmers. The conditions in China, where there is so large a demand for American implements, are not at all similar. In the few larger plantations labor is so cheap that the introduction of modern farming methods would be of doubtful utility. The church lands are cultivated by native tenants, and include the best and richest fields in the Philippines. The bounty of nature is so unsparing and abundant that little is left for man to do but to reap the harvest prepared for him. The rains plow and the winds sow his fields. If American capitalists would invest money enough in the islands to control the output of one of the principal products, large returns would be secured. The Philippine Islands are a rich field for exploitation by a gigantic trust, but their richness in fertility and production is not for the masses of our people.

It has often been suggested that the building of railroads through the Philippines would greatly facilitate their development. As applied to

Luzon alone the suggestion is true. If a railroad should be built from the north and south of Luzon into and from Manila, it would double the population of that city and increase its export trade to a paying extent. It would have a still greater influence in the pacification and civilization of the people. They would become familiarized with one another and with ourselves. It would accustom them to the spread of modern ideas and result in a more general diffusion of knowledge. Spheres of foreign influence in China are scarcely more than lines of railroad, building and proposed. The people of the Philippines are divided into tribes, knowing little of one another and usually living in a state of armed neutrality. Under the Spanish *régime* the northern islanders were sent to southern garrisons, while the southern tribes were impressed into service in the north. The immediate effect of a trans-insular railroad would be to lessen the feeling of tribal hostility and avoid the ever-present danger of internal warfare. The other islands are too small for the introduction of railroads.

A discussion of the colonization policy of the United States is a misstatement of terms. It would be impossible to colonize the Philippines even if such a desire was manifest. Their climate is so entirely unlike anything experienced in this country that the cost in life attending any

such effort would be appalling. The humidity caused by the heavy rainfall makes the heat terrific. The only difference between their winter and summer is a few degrees in the temperature during the months of November, December, and January, and this relief is felt only at night. I do not wish to convey the impression that plagues and pestilence are prevalent in the islands, because they are remarkably free from such scourges. The effect of the climate is to wear away by degrees the vitality of persons from northern regions and to impair their strength. Its effect was seen in the condition of the American army at Manila, where, in spite of the best weather of the year, 15 per cent. of the troops were entirely unfit for duty. The number of Europeans residing in the Philippines is not to exceed 500, and most of them lived at Hong Kong or Singapore before going to Manila. Scientific sanitation will appreciably diminish the death-rate, but it cannot overcome the evils of the climate.

I have endeavored to indicate some of the material problems in the Philippine Islands for the benefit of our people. We are urged to retain them as a stepping-stone to China. A study of trade conditions in the East will convince one that the dismemberment of China may loosen an industrial scourge upon the civilized world.

AMERICAN AND "MALAY" IN HAWAII.

BY WINTHROP L. MARVIN.

IT has never been the habit of the red-blooded, masterful Yankee race to shrink from either duties or opportunities because they were new or strange, but the duties and opportunities which confront us in the Philippines are not so new or so strange as some of us have been persuaded to imagine.

Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart has lately shown that without a full realization of it the United States has been a world power for a hundred years. It is just as easily susceptible of proof that the United States has been a protecting and a colonizing power in the Pacific Ocean for three-quarters of that period. By an odd irony of fate it was conservative Boston, the home of our latter-day "Anti-Imperialist League," which sent out the first band of American "imperialists" into that distant sea. They were the little group of Yankee missionaries who landed on the shores of Hawaii just seventy-nine years ago

this spring. Their purpose was as fixed and resolute as that with which two hundred years before another band of "imperialists" had landed on Plymouth Rock. They had gone to stay; there were to be no backward steps; the fair land before them was to be won for Christianity and for civilization.

There and then, in a humble way, in the month of April, 1820, was laid the foundation of the most successful example of the conversion of a savage archipelago into a peaceful, prosperous Christian community which the modern world has seen. Everywhere else, in the East Indies or in the West Indies, where the white man has planted his foot, the aboriginal race has fallen under one or the other of the grim alternatives, abject vassalage or extermination. In Hawaii American influence has been absolutely dominant from the very first, but it has been the peaceful influence of the Bible, the spelling-book, and

commerce. The earliest American pioneers were only a few score of men and women among uncounted thousands of the fierce barbarians who had massacred Captain Cook and his comrades. There is nothing more marvelous in the history of colonization than the ease and quickness with which these New Englanders won the complete confidence of the Hawaiian race and established, with the help of only an occasional visit of a ship of war, a moral supremacy which from that day to this has never been seriously challenged. The Americans had not been on the island two years before the chiefs themselves were organizing schools for the instruction of young and old in the tenets of Christianity. In 1822 the first Hawaiian spelling-book was published. In 1831 a native seminary was founded. The code of 1840 required that a school be established "wherever fifteen or more children suitable to attend school live close together." In 1843 the work of education in Hawaii had developed so far that it was made a regular department of the government in charge of a cabinet minister.

All this had been accomplished among a race of people who until the Americans came were intractable pagans, given over to bloody wars, wild superstitions, and gross idolatry. It must not be assumed that because the modern Hawaiians are docile and gentle their savage ancestors were weak and effeminate. On the contrary, they were formidable warriors of precisely the same Malayo-Polynesian stock which includes the Maoris of New Zealand and the bulk of the present population of the Philippines. Thus the Malay is not such an untried problem to the American as the opponents of so-called "imperialism" would have us believe. The American has met the Malay in Hawaii. He has lived with him and worked with him there for seventy-nine years, and he has done what neither Englishman has done in Maoriland, nor Frenchman in Tahiti, nor German in the Marshalls, nor Spaniard in Luzon—he has not only tamed his savage neighbor, but won him over to the faith and the ways of Western civilization.

As far back as 1851 the native monarchy had become so completely conquered by the frank, fair, tactful measures of the American residents that on its own initiative it sought the formal absorption of Hawaii by the United States. Ever since 1820 the Washington Government had maintained a virtual protectorate over the islands. In 1851 this was formally proclaimed by Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, who crushed the covetous designs of both England and France by two or three of his majestic sentences. "The Hawaiian Islands are ten times nearer to the United States than to any of the powers of Europe," he

said. "Five-sixths of all their commercial intercourse is with the United States, and these considerations, together with others of a more general character, have fixed the course which the Government of the United States will pursue in regard to them." It "can never consent to see those islands taken possession of by either of the great commercial powers of Europe, nor can it consent that demands manifestly unjust and derogatory and inconsistent with *bona fide* independence shall be enforced against that government." Ever since then it has been only a question of time that Hawaii would become an American possession in name as it long had been in fact. The plum was ripe; it was sure to fall at the proper opportunity.

Hawaii is often cited as an instance of the tremendous potency of American evangelization. So it unquestionably is, but it is a most significant and vital fact that the missionary, the teacher, the farmer, the mechanic, and the merchant all worked hand in hand. The triumphant Americanizing of these isles of the sea is due to the thorough, practical coöperation of these five factors. Substantially all of the Hawaiian natives are now and long have been at least nominal Christians. Many of them are consistent, devout believers. They have American schools where the English language is exclusively taught, American seminaries, and an American college. The Hon. William R. Castle, ex-minister to Washington, says that the educated descendants of Malay pagans vote as intelligently as citizens of New England, and that among Hawaii's own people there is as little illiteracy as there is in Massachusetts.

With the Christianizing of the islands has come an amazing growth in material prosperity. From the outset the American guardians of Hawaii have fed the bodies of their people as carefully as they have fed their souls. To this day the Hawaiian natives are habitually given the preference as laborers. But they are not all men of work. They have their tradesmen and teachers and clergymen. They are no mere vassal race. They are not prolific; they do not increase in numbers. But they own property on which in 1897 they were assessed taxes almost equal in amount to those paid by individual American and European taxpayers. The native Hawaiians are now less than a third of Hawaii's total population, but they are apparently an important element in point of wealth, as they are an appreciable factor in the government. The first House of Representatives under the republic, which formally indorsed the successful request for annexation to the United States, was a house which had a native Hawaiian Speaker

and a native Hawaiian majority in its membership.

Contrast this with the condition of the Maoris of New Zealand or of the Filipinos of Luzon or Panay, and ask what white race on the basis of fair treatment of its "Malays" and proven aptitude for governing them has the best right to guide the development of the Philippines!

The Yankee talent for practical affairs shines with more brilliant luster nowhere than in the commercial evolution of Hawaii. Our Pacific colony has actually seen its trade multiply more than fivefold since the reciprocity policy was adopted in 1875. This is vividly shown in the Hawaiian statistics of imports and exports for 1876, for 1886, and for 1896 and 1897:

Year.	Imports.	Exports.
1876.....	\$1,811,770	\$2,241,041
1886.....	4,877,738	10,565,886
1896.....	6,086,552	15,515,230
1897.....	7,682,628	16,021,775

What these figures mean is that this Malayo-Polynesian archipelago under American control has become one of the most productive areas beneath the sun. Natural conditions in Hawaii are not widely different from those of the West Indian island of Jamaica, which, however, has the advantage of nearness to the rich markets of both Europe and America. In 1893, before the West India cane had been overwhelmed by the bounty-fed beet-sugar of continental Europe, Jamaica, with a population of 640,000, had exports of \$10,378,445 and imports of \$10,788,970—a total of \$21,167,415. Hawaii, with a population of about 109,000, in the last year of normal prosperity for which figures are available had exports of \$16,021,775 and imports of \$7,682,628—a total of \$23,704,403. In other words, with a population about one-sixth as large the American colony has a greater volume of external trade than the British colony. The commerce *per capita* for the American colony is \$217.47; for the British colony only \$33.07. The Americans have been in Hawaii for seventy-nine years; the British in Jamaica for two hundred.

As illuminating that oft-disputed maxim that "Trade follows the flag," it may be added that no less than 90 per cent. of Hawaiian commerce is with the United States, and that 80 per cent. of it is carried beneath the Stars and Stripes by American ships and steamers. Our total trade with our Pacific outpost and its 109,000 inhabitants scattered over an area as large as Massachusetts is greater than our trade with all Central America. It is greater than our whole trade

with Spain. It is three times our trade with Norway and Sweden, twice our trade with Austria with its 41,000,000 people, and twice our trade with Russia with its 130,000,000. It is as great as our trade with Switzerland, Portugal, Greece, and Turkey combined.

One indictment brought against President McKinley's policy of benevolent intervention in the Philippines is that Americans are utterly without experience in the control of Oriental races. But the traveler who steps ashore at Honolulu finds a town as polyglot as Manila and yet unmistakably American in its characteristics. It is about as large as the old city of Salem, Mass. Honolulu has fourteen churches, a Young Men's Christian Association, three or four newspapers, lodges of the Masonic, Odd Fellow, and other orders, a post of the Grand Army of the Republic, a camp of the Sons of Veterans, asylums for the poor, hospitals for the sick and insane, a railroad, electric lights, telephones, public parks and public baths, and a compulsory system of education. It is, in brief, a thoroughly modern community, created out of the most incongruous elements of population that are gathered anywhere in the civilized world. By the last census—that of 1896—Hawaii's 109,020 inhabitants are divided in race stocks as follows:

Hawaiians.....	31,019
Part Hawaiians.....	8,485
Americans.....	3,086
British.....	2,250
Germans.....	1,432
Scandinavians.....	378
French.....	101
Portuguese.....	15,191
Other Europeans.....	600
Chinese.....	21,616
Japanese.....	24,407
South Sea Islanders.....	455
Total.....	109,020

Four-fifths of this motley population is composed of either Malayo-Polynesians or Asiatics, the chief race elements of the Philippines. The Americans in Hawaii number all told only 3,086, or less than 3 per cent. This little handful has controlled Hawaii and controls it to-day, not by force of arms, but by force of character. Hawaii is American for the simple reason that the men of our race who went there three-quarters of a century ago and their successors have proven through all these years of free and fair competition that they were the wisest, the ablest, and the strongest counselors and leaders and administrators of the strangely mingled people of this ocean realm. It has simply been a question of the survival of the fittest.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

CUBA AND THE SUGAR INDUSTRY.

IN the *North American Review* for March Mr. Charles A. Crampton writes on "The Opportunity of the Sugar-Cane Industry," with special reference to the changed situation in the West Indies, seeking in the rehabilitation and development of the tropical sugar-cane industry the solution of the problem of successful colonial expansion.

This writer shows that, with the single exception of Great Britain, the United States is the largest consumer of sugar among the nations, absorbing more than two million of the seven million tons which make up the world's total production. For this food product we annually send abroad more than eighty million dollars—the largest single item in our list of foreign expenditures.

The Hawaiian Islands and the islands wrested from Spain in the late war collectively furnish about one-half of the total cane-sugar product of the world.

"The inference is obvious, and the bearing of these facts upon the problem under consideration must be plain to the veriest tyro in national economy. The commodity of which we stand most in need is produced in the greatest abundance in the new possessions; it is only necessary to stimulate the production of sugar in the colonies to the point of supplying our needs, and the entire amount of our expenditure for this food product, instead of going to Germany, Austria, and France, as at present, will flow into Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, bringing back the equivalent in trade for our exports."

THE BEET HAS A TEMPORARY ADVANTAGE.

Mr. Crampton admits that at present nearly two-thirds of the world's consumption of sugar is obtained from the beet-root, and that both the application of scientific methods to beet culture and the introduction of improvements in the manufacture of sugar have enormously increased the product, to say nothing of the artificial stimulation afforded by government bounties. No such progress has been made in the manufacture of cane-sugar. Yet the writer contends that the cane is "infinitely superior to the beet as a sugar-producing plant, from both an agricultural and a manufacturing standpoint, even in its present undeveloped condition. It can be grown at less expense under the proper climatic conditions, and the sugar content can be obtained at a smaller cost of manufacture; and while the beet has,

probably, almost reached the climax of its development, the margin of possibility in the case of the cane is wide and inviting. By the expenditure upon it of one-tenth of the study and energy which have been devoted to the service of the beet, the cane would soon overtake and outstrip its pudgy rival in the race for supremacy.

"The beet owes its present success solely to the fact of its being grown in a temperate climate, where the talents and enterprise of an energetic race can be applied to the problem of its improvement. When the ingenuity and 'push' of the American nation are added to the natural advantages possessed by the tropical plant, there will be formed a combination which will indeed prove 'hard to beat.' Some hint of what we may accomplish when we turn our hand to sugar-cane culture may be found in the Hawaiian Islands, where the yield, both in tons per acre and pounds per ton, exceeds that of any other cane-growing country. In Louisiana, likewise, the results achieved are remarkable in many respects when the great obstacle of climate is taken into consideration."

The report of the British consul-general at Havana is quoted to show that the growing of cane and the manufacture of sugar have in years past been exceedingly profitable industries in Cuba, and throughout his article Mr. Crampton assumes that Cuba is at least a "potential possession" of the United States.

HOW TO RESTORE THE INDUSTRY.

Mr. Crampton makes two practical suggestions by which the rehabilitation of the cane-sugar industry may be brought about:

"The first and foremost step should be the granting of some measure of protection to colonial sugar, in the shape of a discrimination in favor of its importation. This is absolutely essential to any scheme of development, and must not be objected to on the ground of its being political, and therefore artificial, aid. Fire must be fought with fire, and sugar has been entangled with politics from the time of the first Napoleon down to the present day. It is from her inability to adopt such methods, on account of her free-trade policy, that England's sugar-producing colonies have fared so ill, as evidenced by Jamaica's half-expressed threat to knock at our portals for admission. We have already made the precedent in recent tariff acts by discriminating against bounty-fed sugar. This is the thorn which is rankling in Germany's side,

and which is well known to be the chief cause of her unfriendly attitude toward us of late years. Cane-sugar already enjoys the benefit derived from the discriminating section of the present tariff just mentioned, by virtue of which beet-sugar pays an additional duty equal to the bounty it has received from the country of production. An additional protection, in the shape of a colonial differential of half a cent a pound for a limited period, would be no more than fair for the new possessions, and would still leave an ample margin for the protection of domestic growers in our own country. Hawaii should, of course, be placed upon exactly the same basis as the other colonies.

"Next in importance comes the establishment of an agricultural experiment station in each of the colonies, to study the special problems of soil, climate, and cultivation presented there, and all to combine in the scientific improvement of the plant. Local conditions, pertaining to the cost of labor and of land, density of population, transportation facilities, etc., will determine the best plan to pursue in each case; whether the wholesale agricultural methods of the West shall be used to produce a heavy yield at a low cost, or whether the careful and painstaking methods of Europe, with the practical divorce of the grower and manufacturer, would give best results in the end; but many other questions of development can be determined only by a careful comparison of results obtained under diverse conditions. If the initiatory assistance of the Government be given to the extent indicated above, a half cent difference in duty and the establishment of agricultural experiment stations, the further solution of the problem may safely be left to American capital and enterprise. The talent for invention, which seems to be the birthright of the American manufacturer, may be relied upon to overcome in time the temporary handicap which the careful and economical methods of the beet technologist have given him."

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CUBA.

IN the *Catholic World* for March there is a candid presentation of the problem of Cuban reconstruction from the point of view of American Catholicism.

In reviewing the Spanish administration of Cuba the writer attempts no apology for the many crimes committed in the name of the Church, but shows that, in the early days at least, the religious orders labored for the good of the native population.

"The pious and learned Las Casas," an in-

mate of a Dominican monastery in Haiti, accompanied the Spanish expedition that accomplished the subjection of Cuba in 1511.

"He was present with the Spanish freebooters when the unfortunate natives were defeated at Caonao and massacred by thousands. Las Casas made strenuous efforts to control the conquerors, but was unable to stop the carnage.

"Very soon after the conquest large numbers of missionaries came to the island, principally Franciscans and Dominicans. They obtained large grants of land, and priories were established at various points. The monks were loved and revered by the people, whom they befriended by every means in their power. The Dominican friars did much for the slaves, Indian and negro. Wherever possible they procured their emancipation, and in thousands of cases redressed their grievances where they were unable to procure their freedom.

"There were also many convents founded, where nuns from the best families of Spain educated the daughters of the wealthy and instituted primary schools for the children of the poor. Las Casas established himself in Cuba and devoted himself assiduously to the service of the Indians. He at first permitted himself to be appointed to one of the divisions (*repartimiento*) parceled out among the Spaniards, with its allotment of slaves; but soon recognizing the iniquitous character of the transaction, he refused to remain longer in such a position, and exerted himself during the whole of his life to the succor of these unfortunates. He made repeated voyages to Spain to obtain protection for them, and interested in their misfortunes Cardinal Ximenes, who sent three companions with Las Casas to labor among them."

Unfortunately, most of the Spaniards who were to exercise authority in Cuba proved to be far less humane or generous than Las Casas. The *Catholic World* writer says that they were essentially adventurers and only nominally Catholics. "Their quest was primarily for gold, and only incidentally, if at all, were they concerned for human souls."

"The Inquisition was established in the island of Cuba nominally for the propagation of the faith among the natives and negroes, but, like many other benevolent designs, was directed to very different ends. It was afterward used to intimidate rebellious colonists and to punish political offenders. From the middle of the seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century the archives of the Inquisition are crowded with charges against native Spaniards which were really grounded in political animosity and had nothing whatever to do with religion."

THE ROOT OF RELIGIOUS DIFFICULTIES.

"Coming later to the island, the Jesuits have labored faithfully in Cuba. They have established colleges in Havana, Matanzas, Santiago, and Puerto Principe. The Lazarist Fathers have at least one monastery, and one in the neighboring island, Porto Rico. The clergy are as a rule excellent gentlemen, but seem to have lost their hold to some extent upon the native people. They are part of the Spanish establishment and wedded to the idea of the union of Church and state. Here is the truth in a nutshell. Though there are in Cuba numbers of churches and many learned and estimable priests and bishops, the clergy are not regarded with the respect and affection we are accustomed to find in our own country. The Cubans, with the ardent temperament of their tropic clime, their sunny, light-hearted disposition, and an innate love of light and color, regard with more approval the gorgeous ceremonial of the Church and her frequent *festa* than her moral and religious training. For these differences we must seek the cause in the second of the two evils mentioned as having been imposed by Spain on her colonies—the appointment to episcopal sees and other benefices of foreigners, alien in sentiment to the people to whom they are to minister, and chosen, often, not for their piety, learning, or other priestly qualifications, but through political or family influence, through blind favoritism or partisan feeling. So appointed through the power of the crown, they must, if they would retain their seats, prove themselves stanch advocates of the measures of government, however repugnant to their people these measures may be. Between such a pastor and such a flock there can be no sympathy, and a pastor at variance with his flock can wield no influence for good."

It is stated that during the four centuries of Spanish rule in Cuba a Cuban bishop was never appointed, that while the diocese of Havana embraces one hundred and forty-four parishes, there are but twenty-two pastors of Cuban birth, and that no prominent position is held by a Cuban priest. In the opinion of the writer, such a state of things, existing for centuries, "must have destroyed the vitality of religion, though its outward forms have been maintained."

THE PROBLEM OF ECCLESIASTICAL PROPERTY.

In regard to the disposition of the property held by the Church establishment in Cuba, this writer holds:

"The law and the Constitution of these United States prohibit the interference in any way in religious matters unless these matters infringe

upon the rights of private citizens or public property. To regard churches and church property as anything but religious matters is simply a contradiction of terms. They were, during Spanish occupation, held by government, but for the use and benefit of a Catholic people. The means for their erection came out of the pockets of a Catholic laity, and on the resignation by government of all claim the property should revert to those by whom and for whose benefit it was contributed. The plan pursued in many dioceses of America is to incorporate a board of trustees and transfer to this board, by legal title, all such properties and endowments as have been used for religious and charitable purposes under the auspices of the Church. These parties being already in possession and conversant with the needs of the people and the character of the property, could then, under the supervision of the delegate, reorganize the establishment upon American principles."

AMERICAN RULE IN THE PHILIPPINES.

THE current number of the *Political Science Quarterly* has two articles dealing with the problem of America's government of her new dependencies. Prof. John W. Burgess considers especially the constitutional questions involved, arriving at the following conclusions:

"1. We should not be in haste to terminate the military government of the President in our new possessions, but should give ourselves ample time to consider and determine the question as to the capacity of the peoples inhabiting them for self-government, as to the desire of the people of the United States to have a colonial empire, and as to the necessary international relations involved therein.

"2. We should allow these peoples, if they show fair capacity for self-government, to establish governments for themselves, and when they shall have done so we should withdraw the military power of the United States.

"3. In case no such political capacity should, after a reasonable period, be manifested, and in case the people of the United States should show in some deliberate and unmistakable way their will to have a colonial empire, we should try territorial rule by the United States Government under the limitations which the Constitution imposes upon that Government in behalf of civil liberty.

"4. In case limited civil government should prove a failure, we should so amend the Constitution as to permit the national Government to exercise absolute, or more absolute, civil authority in certain parts of our domain.

"On the other hand, under no circumstances that I can imagine connected with this question, and for the accomplishment of no ends, however profitable and desirable they may appear, is the infraction of our present Constitution to be advised or tolerated. I do not worship the Constitution, as many Americans have done. I think it has many faults. I do not think that the Constitution is the Union or that the Union has no existence and can have none without it. And I believe that 'man is more than constitutions.' But I do think that our Constitution is by far the best instrument of government and of liberty which the brain of man has yet devised. I do think that the Constitution is the great legal bond of the Union, and that its infraction would give such play to the centrifugal forces in our body politic as to threaten dissolution. And I do not think that man is much without constitutions and institutions."

THE "PROTECTORATE" IDEA.

Prof. Ernst Freund discusses still another proposition—namely, the establishment of an American "protectorate" over the Philippines and Porto Rico. His use of the word as applied to a nation's government of territory over which she already has full sovereignty is certainly novel. He admits that the Constitution of the United States "seems to leave no room for any territory belonging to the United States that is not to form part of the United States," but since the Constitution "does not prevent any form of international or quasi-international connection or relation that may be devised by the exigencies of policy," he holds that a protectorate, as the most flexible of these forms, would be at the same time the most serviceable.

For the purposes of Professor Freund's argument, then, we are to conceive of Porto Rico and the Philippines as standing in "quasi-international" relations to the United States. He cites as a precedent the joint protectorate of Samoa maintained for the past ten years by Germany, Great Britain, and the United States. He also holds that the relation of the United States to its Indian wards has been in principle a protectorate, and that there is nothing in this modified control inconsistent with the federal Constitution, though he would not recommend our Indian policy as a model to be followed in future protectorates.

"There is one feature of the protectorate policy with which we are very familiar: I refer to international responsibility without the power of direct government. This is the status of the United States with regard to the several States. We have practically, if not formally, recognized

our liability to the Italian Government for the murder of Italian subjects by a mob in New Orleans, and yet there is no federal legislation which would enable the federal Government to punish such crimes. The United States would probably feel much less delicacy in dealing with the Philippines to procure the necessary relief than it would feel in dealing with one of the States. It is, however, only fair to admit that this is a difficulty connected with the protectorate which would not be found in direct government.

THE QUESTION OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

"I can see no obstacle to at least the experimental establishment of protectorates over Porto Rico and the Philippines. Porto Rico presents more favorable conditions than Cuba; and with regard to Cuba we are pledged to a policy which in its practical execution will for many years amount to a protectorate. It is said that the people of the Philippines are incapable of self-government; and if we have in mind a government answering to the highest requirements, this may be a correct view. But the government of a country can never rise very much superior to its civilization; and that self-government in the Philippines may leave something or much to be desired is no conclusive argument against it. We are apt to forget that a great many uncivilized or semi-civilized local communities have from immemorial times practiced some form of self-government suited and adequate to their needs. The Spaniards found such local government when they came to the Philippines, and to the present day the local communities are administered by native officials nominated by electors taken from the native population. In the case of some of the more savage tribes, the Spanish Government has been compelled to recognize the rule of native chiefs and to be satisfied with a nominal allegiance. The Dutch have had to adopt the same course with regard to the more independent tribes of Sumatra and other islands. As regards the general government of the entire Philippine group, we know that there is a native party claiming ability to govern it, and it is very likely that the successful working of a native government would be greatly facilitated by the existence of a protectorate which would prevent gross misrule and assure the maintenance of peace and security. For this purpose the presence of American warships would be of considerable effect, and should it be deemed advisable, provision could be made for the enlistment of native troops under the command of American officers—a course for which precedents could be found in other protectorates.

"So far as the interests of American citizens in the islands are concerned, they could be adequately protected by privileges of extra-territoriality similar to those accorded to Englishmen in the native states of India. Our political supremacy as against other nations would be amply secured. Our commercial policy could be shaped with a freedom impossible under our domestic laws. Any course of conduct in internal government which we should deem vital to our interests could be secured through proper influence and 'advice,' and a number of points would undoubtedly be settled from the beginning by stipulations attending the setting up of the native governments. In all respects, our hands would be freer and our policy could be more flexible than if everything were controlled by Congressional legislation under constitutional limitations."

Our Administrative Capability.

In the March *Forum* President Charles Kendall Adams, of the University of Wisconsin, writing on the subject of "Colonies and Other Dependencies," views the question of our occupation of insular territory as one to be determined simply by considerations of national policy, and not at all as an issue in constitutional law.

As a deduction from England's experience as a colonial power President Adams insists that we must organize a civil service in our distant possessions based exclusively on merit, and that high salaries must be paid, at least in all the more responsible posts; for if we do not raise the character of the service far above the temptations of peculation we can hope for no large success.

"The statement of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain that in recent times no British civil officer, either at home or in the provinces, has been accused by friend or foe of using his position for his own benefit, is a most extraordinary tribute to the British system, and is all the more remarkable because it is well known that provincial governments have always presented peculiar temptations. If we are to take our lessons from success rather than from failure, we must unhesitatingly adopt three fundamental principles in the organization of our service. We must pay salaries high enough to attract ability and integrity into the service; we must have a tenure of office that is not subject to the vicissitudes of political changes at home; and we must have a system of admission to the service and of promotion after the service has been entered strictly dependent upon a judiciously prepared system of examinations. If this method should be adopted, it is impossible to see why

we should not be able to build up an efficient and incorruptible civil service. To admit the impossibility of such would be to admit that we are better fitted for the affairs of war than for those of peace.

"We have not been accustomed to shrink from large undertakings. Our history shows that we deal with large things more successfully than with small ones. We have shown ourselves able to cope with the largest of evils when they have once touched the popular imagination. The fundamental conservatism of the country is, doubtless, slow to act, but it acts with irresistible force when once it is aroused. It would not admit that it has yet been baffled by any political or social problem. If the people have been negligent of reforms or improvements, it has been because they have been too busy with attending to their own ever-increasing prosperity. But this negligence implies no inability and no lack of determination. It is unquestionably the will of the people that we should have and should hold what we have taken. This policy appeals to the consciousness of destiny. By repeated annexations we advanced to the Pacific. In the centuries to come the great ocean at the west may be as important commercially as the smaller ocean at the east. It is in the course of nature that the most prominent power in its waters should be the United States. To advance still further is in accordance with the uninterrupted tendency of the country. To decline to take and to keep what the fortunes of the most righteous of wars has given us would be to arrest the great current of our historic advance, to throw away one of the greatest of opportunities, and to confess national incompetence."

INFLUENCE OF THE WAR ON OUR PUBLIC LIFE.

IN the March *Forum* Prof. L. S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania, has a suggestive article on the influence of the Spanish war on our American public life. He shows that the dominant note in our politics since the Civil War has been individualism. The attention of the people has been directed to commercial and industrial questions; individual, class, and sectional interests have been pushed to the front. "The manufacturer has desired a high tariff to increase his profits; the workingman in order to raise his wages. The creditor has advocated a gold standard; the debtor a silver standard. Thus the tendency to judge public questions from a purely individualistic, a dollar-and-cents standpoint has been gradually incorporated into our political thinking. . . . In short, the character of our

political life has drawn attention exclusively to those of its phases that promise personal gain."

Protection to life, liberty, and property, says Professor Rowe, is the starting-point as well as the end of government in the American conception. "So long as these rights are protected the American public remains indifferent to inefficiency, wastefulness, and even corruption in the administration of public affairs." How shall this tendency to extreme individualism be counteracted? It can only be by the development of higher national ideals. "The ideals of a nation, rather than the reason and calculation of the individual, constitute the source of civic strength and activity."

Ancient Rome, Florence of the Renaissance, modern Germany, and united Italy all furnish striking instances of this truth, while the history of England during the last hundred years has shown that "constant object-lessons of national strength arouse the active interest of the population in the affairs of the nation; while the ideals of national influence thus awakened strengthen national ties and guard against the more extreme forms of class antagonism."

Professor Rowe predicts that the readjustment of our international relations now in progress will not only develop a broader view of the country's responsibility in the world, but will react upon domestic politics, with the result of raising the level of our public life. The Constitution will cease to influence political action in precisely the same way as heretofore. The argument that the Constitution does not contemplate a particular development of policy will no longer avail to forestall such a development. The Constitution will be adapted to changed conditions.

THE NEW PATRIOTISM.

"Unless the signs of the times are fundamentally misleading, the influence of the period of strong national feeling into which we are entering will be most clearly felt in its effects upon our civic life. Indications of the change are already apparent in the newspaper press, in the tenor of public meetings, and in all the organs of public opinion. They give evidence of an intensity of patriotic feeling which is certain to give a new importance to our perplexing internal problems. The sacrifice of life and treasure in the vindication of national policy will long leave its impress upon the public mind. A nation that has once placed itself in the service of a great cause will not permit corruption and inefficiency to sap the strength of its institutions. Standing before the world as the champion of an oppressed people, our Government must command respect

rather than excite fear. Those who have been warning us to settle our internal questions before entering upon the more complex problems incident to territorial expansion have mistaken the nature of the forces that make for political greatness. They have confused the logic of individual and national progress, affording another illustration of the tendency to measure all public questions by individual standards.

"The precept of the beam and the mote, while admirably fitted for the guidance of individual activity, cannot be applied to the conduct of national affairs. No great public question, internal or international, can be satisfactorily solved unless individual assertiveness is checked by well-developed civic instincts. The source of this energizing civic force differs with each period of a nation's history. Mediæval Europe found it in a strong religious spirit; Renaissance Italy, in the idealization of the city republic; modern Germany, in the enthusiasm for national unity. We have long required some influence to take us from the extreme individualism and spirit of self-aggrandizement that have characterized our growth since the Civil War. Our entry into the large affairs of the world is destined to perform this service.

NEW FIELDS FOR STATESMANSHIP.

"The new civic spirit aroused by the recent war and strengthened by the great national problems which have sprung from it will deeply affect the political leadership of the country. On all sides we hear lamentations over the decline of American statesmanship. Republics, we have been told, will not tolerate men of real ability. Others have attributed the absence of great national leaders to the intense commercialism which dominates our political and social life. The real cause lies deeper. Where public life gives little opportunity to men of great ability and intellectual power, mediocrity will have a free field. The talent of the country will seek activity in other directions. At the present time the judiciary—State and federal—owing to the enormous influence which it wields, is the only branch of the Government that attracts a high order of ability. The failure of the present generation to produce great statesmen is due to the absence of those common political issues that make real national leadership possible, rather than to a want of available material. With the important questions now arising, our public life will offer unlimited possibilities of distinction and fame. It will enlist the energies of men who have hitherto found greater opportunities in business or professional life.

"Owing to a lack of proper perspective, it is

difficult to establish the organic relation of recent events to preceding epochs of national growths. It is clear to every observer, however, that the country has received one of those object-lessons of national unity and power through which new civic ideals are developed. The enthusiasm aroused by our vigorous foreign policy is but the outward expression of a newly awakened faith in our national mission—a faith that will effectually guard against the evils of exaggerated individualism. With such ideals dominating our public life, individual assertiveness will continue to be an important factor in the country's economic supremacy, and will become a source of national strength as well. The equilibrium between commercial activity and public devotion thus established, we may look forward to a period of civic activity to which the 'era of good feeling' furnishes the only parallel."

"To many it may seem that the result of the present struggle is hardly commensurate with the sacrifice. When viewed in its relation to the forces that have shaped our national growth, however, the conflict assumes a new meaning. It represents one of the steps in a slow, but unceasing, process in which England and the United States have played and will continue to play the most important part—the substitution of social order for anarchy, instability, and misrule. Our territorial acquisitions during the present century, the declarations of 1823 and 1865, the establishment of English influence in India, China, and Egypt, are but parts of one great movement—a movement that will inevitably lead us to new responsibilities in the affairs of Latin America."

THE "IMPERIALISM" OF KIPLING AND STEVENSON.

THE *Book Buyer* for March has a suggestive article by E. H. Mullin on "Stevenson, Kipling, and Anglo-Saxon Imperialism." In the opinion of this writer the influence of the popular novelist in molding public sentiment is usually underestimated:

"If we can lay our hands on a novel which is read by old and young, by rich and poor, by cultured and uncultured, we may be sure that its hidden promptings will sooner or later show themselves in the actions of its readers. No other force in our time is so subtle, so powerful, and so far-reaching in causing millions of persons unconsciously to adopt the same ideals about certain courses of action."

STEVENSON'S PIONEERING.

In the decade following the death of Dickens, in 1870, British fiction was in a sorry state.

"Weak in plot, commonplace in incident, dull in dialogue, the average popular novel of this period is best summed up in one word as twaddle."

The publication of Stevenson's "Treasure Island" in 1883 had a magical effect. It served at once as an inspiration and a standard for a new school of writers.

"Publishers were quick to see that the tea-cup storms and prosy drawing-room conversations which were doing duty as popular fiction had been accepted only on sufferance. Neither the 'Manchester school of politics' nor the growth of humanitarianism had cooled the old Berserker blood of Englishmen. After the lapse of half a century the novel of adventure resumed its sway. Wrapped up in industrialism and its problems, the nation's indifference to the efforts which its picked sons were making to plant settled order in distant lands had long been a matter of reproach; its decline in prestige since Waterloo had been excused by panegyrics on its added wealth; its unarmed torpor had been eulogized as the proof of its strong common sense. Suddenly Stevenson sang the song of an English boy, without learning, without skill, whose lot it was to fall among reckless and blood-thirsty pirates, to desert his companions with the race instinct for adventure, to be placed in circumstances where he was afraid to be afraid, to fall finally upon his feet and save his companions in the blundering manner habitual with his ancestors. In the broadest sense the story was an English epic couched in modern form. The magic of genius made the boy alive all through; the consummate art of the writer had pitched the boy's character in a low key, so that children might be amused while men might understand."

The impulse given by Stevenson to historical and heroic literature had its effect in the wonderful revival of the national spirit which characterized the later 80s. Englishmen were being daily educated into a knowledge of the glorious part played by their ancestors on sea and land.

"The Englishman straightened up as he thought of the past with its roll of illustrious names, but he felt uneasy about the future. Might it not be true that money had unnerved him? Was it not possible that he had grown too fat to fight?"

KIPLING'S SERVICE TO HIS COUNTRYMEN.

"Comfort and reassurance came from a new strong voice out of the East. Other voices had sung of a dead past; this voice sang of the living present. Other singers had chanted the praises of kings and captains, of heaven-sent leaders and earth-born giants; this singer exalted on high the private soldier, the young subaltern,

the obscure civil servant. The mere recital of the deeds of these men compelled belief in their substantial truth—the wealth of incident, the corroborative details, the living flesh and blood of the actors, when described by this master mind, were at once so extravagant and so consistent in themselves as to supersede any effort of imagination beyond that which the eye had seen and the ear had heard. The conclusion was irresistible that only a suitable environment was wanting to reproduce from the ranks of Englishmen a Drake or a Clive, a Peterborough or a Nelson."

WHAT AMERICANS HAVE LEARNED FROM KIPLING.

Mr. Kipling has taught his American readers about all they know as to England's magnificent system of colonial administration, and the effect of these teachings could not fail to contribute to the growing sense of America's responsibility as a world power.

"Slowly the conception of a fighting Tommy Atkins grew up to take the place of the previous widely held belief that the British soldier was more ornamental than useful, and only to be mentioned in terms of disparagement when contrasted with the armed millions of Germany or France. Slowly, too, came the realization that the handful of civil servants and the moderate army of seventy thousand white men were administering justice and keeping the peace in a country as large as Europe without Russia, populated by three hundred million people—doing it, moreover, incorruptibly and without unnecessary tyranny. This was a big enough spectacle in itself to excite unstinted American admiration, and it showed that the somewhat unsympathetic reserve of the average Englishman could be turned to good use when it came to ruling millions of subject races, 'without fear, favor, or affection,' as the old law books say. But Kipling went a step further: he lifted the veil of reserve and showed us the warm hearts beating underneath—the sacrifices made to relieve sick comrades, the heroism displayed in succoring beleaguered outposts, the bold assumption of vast responsibilities in times of peril by officers or civilians not long past their teens. In short, the American who scarcely understood the Englishman in his own home found no difficulty, with Kipling's aid, in meeting him on the common ground of India. Here were tasks—frontier wars, widespread famine, vast irrigation schemes—which might tax to the uttermost even an American's ingenuity and versatility, capable as he felt himself of ruling the world or exploiting the earth. Here was the sense and sympathy of kinship—a common feeling of power to be used for righteous ends."

WHAT IS BRITISH IMPERIALISM?

MR. J. LAWSON WALTON, Q.C., M.P., writes in the March *Contemporary* on imperialism with much intensity of feeling and resoluteness of purpose. He avoids analyzing the ideas connected with the words "Jingo" and "Little Englander," but does not shrink from presenting the following fairly precise definition:

THE FORMULA.

"I define imperialism as a principle or formula of statesmanship for interpreting the duties of government in relation to empire. The formula is compounded—to use the language of the analyst—of an emotion, a conviction, a determination, and a creed. Let me expand my formula. The imperialist feels a profound pride in the magnificent heritage of empire won by the courage and energies of his ancestors and bequeathed to him subject to the burden of many sacred trusts. This is his emotion. He is convinced that the discharge of the duties of his great inheritance has an educational influence and a morally bracing effect on the character of the British people, and that the spread of British rule extends to every race brought within its sphere the incalculable benefits of just law, tolerant trade, and consistent government. This is his conviction. He is resolved to accept readily the burden of inherited dominion, with every development and expansion to which the operation of natural and legitimate causes may give rise, and to use the material forces of government to protect the rights and advance the just interests of all the subjects of the Queen. This is his determination. He believes that the strength and resources of our race will be equal to the weight of any obligation which the sense of duty of our people may call upon our government to undertake. This is his creed."

AGAINST "IMPERIAL MALTHUSIANISM."

There are some happy phrases in Mr. Walton's paper. "A great England has produced great Englishmen; and a little England will tend to produce—little Englanders." He asks which of the Little Englanders aspires to fill the chair of Canute and bid the tide of empire cease to flow. He very neatly charges them with a sort of "imperial Malthusianism." He protests against the "weary Titan" theory and says:

"Mr. Gladstone is said to have told Mr. Rhodes that he hesitated to accept the gift of new provinces because he had not the administrators to govern them. This remark, if truly reported, is scarcely in harmony with common observation. Our public schools, 'the playing fields of Eton,' can furnish an unstinted supply."

MANCHESTER—PAST AND PRESENT.

Here is a shrewd observation :

"It is interesting to note how the motive for the Manchester school has outlived the pacific philanthropy which once dominated that body. Manchester, as a great industrial center, was all for peace, because peace meant undisturbed markets for the sale of its goods. Now that these markets are in danger of closing, the industrial spirit is imperialist and even warlike, and demands that they be kept open. Even the Cobden Club is swinging round. The towns of the North have done so already. Do not let us Liberals be ashamed of our principles because we find them professed by our political opponents."

SCIENCE IN MILITARY LEADERSHIP.

IN the *Forum* for March Col. Alexander S. Bacon asks, "Is Our Army Degenerate?" He concludes that as a whole it is not. "The personnel of the rank and file is superb. The younger and middle-aged officers positively have no superiors." Why, then, should such a question be raised? To ask it in regard to the navy would be to court ridicule. In what respect is the navy superior to the army? Colonel Bacon finds an important distinction between the two services in these significant facts :

Substantially all of the officers of our navy are graduates of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis ; all have devoted years to the systematic study of the theory as well as the practice of their profession. In the army, on the other hand, with the exception of the engineer and ordnance corps, which were headed by West Point graduates every head of a department at the beginning of the war with Spain was a non-graduate, all of the six brigadier-generals were non-graduates, and of the three major-generals only one was a graduate.

1898 CONTRASTED WITH 1861.

Colonel Bacon has no criticism for the army of 1861-65. "The leaders were young, vigorous, and highly educated military specialists. The raw material for troops was the very best, and its rapid development into a superb army did credit to the skill of the senior officers and to the intelligence of the field and line. The material at hand was the crudest possible. It is doubtful if there were a hundred men in the North, outside of the army, who could command a battalion, and but few more were competent to command a company." In 1861 we were a nation of farmers, without diversified industries. We lacked the munitions of war.

To-day our national wealth passes even our own comprehension, and our manufacturing industries could supply the world.

"Existing plants, working night and day, could in four hundred days furnish all the armies of Europe, active and reserve, with rifles of the highest grade. We could feed them by cultivating our waste places and fence-corners. We could furnish them with uniforms when alive and with coffins when dead. We have thousands of well-drilled National Guardsmen—counting active members and veterans—hundreds of men competent to command battalions and thousands competent to drill volunteers. North and South stand shoulder to shoulder without jealousy, inspired by patriotic emulation. The North is to-day as military as the South ever was, and our young men are willing to sacrifice everything to satisfy their thirst for military glory. The military spirit is in the air

"And yet in the war of 1898 our army developed little but scandal. With overflowing granaries, from which we freely fed strangers in distress, our soldiers often lacked food ; with skillful physicians and abundant remedies, our sick heroes died without medicine ; and all the time food and drugs in plenty were stored in ships riding at anchor in plain sight on a smooth sea. We have highly educated military specialists in abundance—young, energetic, ambitious, already famous in military literature—yet our one prominent campaign was conducted without system on the go-as-you-please plan, and the one prominent land battle was fought and won by colonels and captains."

STONE MASONS OR ARCHITECTS ?

Colonel Bacon likens the commanding general in a campaign to the architect of a great cathedral and the subaltern officers to stone masons. Our recent war, he asserts, was led by stone masons, while the battles were won by the captains who were architects. In 1861 all heads of departments (except the medical department) were graduates of the Military Academy ; in the war of 1898 all but two of the heads of departments were non-graduates.

"What was the trouble in the Spanish war? Its leaders were stone masons, some of them of long service ; but they were not educated architects. After the Civil War the most active and ambitious officers returned to civil life and won fresh laurels. Others, if they had sufficient political influence, received commissions in the regular service ; and for thirty-three years they drew their pay and breathed, and gained rank by merely living, until, in 1898 they were at the heads of armies and departme s."

"Why does the Government spend a fortune on the education of each of its military architects, and, when he offers his services in time of war, ignore him and take up inexperienced 'fathers' sons' instead? It is politics, not war. There were hundreds of West Point graduates, with wide experience in the army and National Guard, who tendered their services time and again, but were ignored because they were not backed by a political boss. The establishment of the Military Academy was recommended by Washington and was founded in 1802. Our own and foreign military critics, as I have said, pronounce it to be the very best scientific military school in the world. Why does the Government expend so much money on it each year if its graduates are not utilized, if one may become a great soldier by merely possessing the friendship of a Senator?"

"We have an abundance of the best officers in the world, and they should be utilized where their technical knowledge and enthusiasm can be felt. Our Government should know that the bare fact that a man can ride a staid old cart-horse without falling off does not fit him to command a regiment, any more than freedom from sea-sickness on a ferry-boat fits a man to command the *Oregon*. No one should be permitted to hold the position of general or colonel, or to serve on any division or brigade staff in the regular army, unless he be a graduate of the Military Academy or have shown special fitness during years of army service, and have passed a rigid examination in strategy, tactics, logistics, and military engineering at least—the foundation-stones of military learning. It is worse than a blunder—it is, as I have said, a crime—to put thousands of precious lives under the command of an uneducated soldier, no matter how experienced and efficient as a subaltern; for the trade of stone mason does not fit a man for the profession of architect. The code of ethics inculcated at West Point does not permit officers to seek self-advancement through private or indirect channels. They are, therefore, practically unknown to their political rulers, who are surrounded by self-seekers. The public is equally ignorant of actual conditions, and as officers in the service are not permitted to speak for themselves, it is high time that some one should speak for them."

"The Naval Academy is the mother of the navy; the Military Academy is the stepmother of the army. The one reveres its mother and follows her precepts: the other, unable to comprehend its stepmother, is jealous of her influence. The difference is seen in the scientific maneuvers before Santiago on the sea and in the haphazard maneuvers around it on the land. Utilize our scientific officers and we shall have a scientific army."

DEFECTS IN OUR MILITARY MACHINE.

A TRENCHANT discussion of certain deficiencies in the American military system as revealed by the Spanish war is contained in the paper by Major Chester published in the March number of the *Journal of the Military Service Institution*. Major Chester writes, of course, from the point of view of the professional soldier, and the instructive feature of his article lies in the showing he makes of the real and necessary hardships of the soldier's life, of the necessity for special and elaborate preparedness to cope with such hardships, and of the utter inadequacy of the National Guard or any like organization of amateur soldiers to meet the test of real campaigning.

Taking up the question of subsistence, and leaving wholly out of account the charges so freely made regarding the quality and quantity of the food supplies furnished our troops during the war, Major Chester makes it clear that from the first the volunteers, as a rule, were lacking in the practical training that alone enables fighting men on the march and in the camp to properly feed and care for themselves. The essentials of this training our regulars had received in the hard school of experience, and Major Chester does not know of any other school where they can be got. Take, for example, so apparently simple and menial a service as cooking for the soldiers. Major Chester tells what this means in the regular army and leaves us to draw our own inference as to the qualifications of volunteer cooks without experience.

IMPORTANCE OF THE COMPANY COOK.

"The proper distribution of rations in a company depends largely on the company cook. The company cook is an artist peculiar to the army. He can cook with the regulation outfit. He can carve and distribute the daily allowance of meat so that every man shall have an equal portion and nothing but the bones will remain. He can cook soldier's coffee, an article altogether unknown at Delmonico's, and he can prepare soups that are satisfying to the soldier. Perhaps hunger is an essential seasoning to a soldier's dinner on active campaign. Certainly with that seasoning it is excellent and satisfying. Dinner, of course, is the principal meal. On the march it is eaten in the evening after the day's march is over.

"In the morning the soldier receives a pound of hard bread, half a ration of bacon, and almost a quart of black coffee. Half the bacon and hard bread and generally all the coffee are consumed for breakfast. The other half goes into the haversack for the mid-day meal. Dinner, consisting of soup, fresh beef, and vegetables, is eaten in the evening. This may be called the

soldier's marching *menu*. His fighting *menu* consists of bacon, hard bread, and coffee. The coffee is issued roasted and ground and mixed with the proper quantity of sugar. It is carried in the haversack tied up in a rag and cooked at the proper time by each individual in his tin cup. Three days' rations of this kind are carried in the haversack. Such fare cannot be called sumptuous, but it only lasts a few days and is always forgotten when the wagons come up. And the whole thing is managed, practically, by the company cook. He is an artist that it would be difficult to duplicate in civil life. The ration is the keynote of the growler's complaint, and all the details connected with its preparation and distribution must be known before prescribing corrections. When the cause of complaint has been traced to the company kitchen, the natural correction would seem to be 'enlist competent cooks.' But competent company cooks do not exist in civil life. The art must be learned in the army. The best *chef* in Delmonico's kitchen would be a failure as a company cook."

Assuming that a good company cook is a man who can not only cook, but also manage the rations, Major Chester estimates that about 10 per cent. of the enlisted men in the regular army will be found to be capable chief cooks. The remaining 90 per cent. have been taught to cook, but they cannot manage. How, then, can the volunteer companies get competent cooks? Major Chester offers this suggestion:

"We have said that the captain of a regular company has about 10 per cent. of his men available. How many could be found in a volunteer company? Speaking generally, the answer to that question would be, Not one. If a capable cook must be found, he will have to be drafted from the regular army. Regular companies should be sufficiently strong to be able to detach a certain number of qualified cooks to the volunteer army at the opening of a war, or as soon as they are mustered into the United States service. There is no easier or more effective way by which the mismanagement of rations in volunteer companies can be overcome."

THE PERILS OF AMATEURISM.

"That soldiering is a trade that has to be learned is a fact that needs no demonstration; that it requires a long apprenticeship appears to be less generally known. A brave man in uniform who has mastered his drill is not a soldier. He has not even a smattering of the business. He would have to work about a year at the business to acquire that; and it would take at least three years to master it. Our volunteer soldiers have not even acquired a smattering of

the business. They are amateurs. Set them at making boots, and they will make them just as well as they can soldier; both being trades they have never learned. And soldiering is a very dangerous trade—more so, indeed, in camp than on the battlefield. The company cooks and centralization killed many more men than the Spaniards did. The life of a volunteer soldier is in more danger from his friends than from his enemies. Even the regulations, which put the sinks within a few feet of the kitchens, are against him. And the zealous colonel who claims the initiative in sink-digging and takes ten days to plan and execute that piece of engineering is more dangerous to the lives of his men than a pitched battle."

TOO GREAT CENTRALIZATION.

At the same time Major Chester complains of the centralization of authority in Washington, which tends to deprive the commanding officer in the field of initiative in matters which vitally concern the welfare of his troops and for the issue of which he is held responsible. A good illustration of this evil is the procedure followed last summer when the health of army camps was threatened.

"Every soldier knows that when a contagious disease appears in camp, the best and only wise thing to do is to move the camp immediately. And the movement should continue until the disease has been left behind—assuming, of course, that the troops are not in contact with the enemy. The initiative in such movement should rest where the responsibility rests—namely, with the commanding officer. But this centralization forbids. The commanding officer must report the facts to the War Department; the War Department will direct inspections to be made and further reports rendered; then new camp-sites will be examined and more reports made. And then, perhaps, after the disease has got a lasting hold of the troops, the camp will be moved and the disease will be moved with it. And so the whole performance will have to be repeated or the disease permitted to run its course."

As a first step in reformation, then, Major Chester insists that new regulations be framed which will permit commanding officers to command; but the officers of the volunteer organizations which under our system every large army must contain have never had an opportunity to acquire even a smattering of the methods of military administration.

"Many of these officers will occupy positions of responsibility, if in nothing else, certainly in questions of camp sanitation and company or regimental administration. To be able to act

promptly in all such matters they must know their duty and have sufficient confidence in themselves to do it promptly. Now, how are they to acquire this knowledge and confidence? They have had no experience in these lines and there are no text-books on the subject. There is no military manual which prescribes when, where, how, and by whom sinks should be dug; how the water-supply is to be guarded; what the commanding officer should do when a contagious disease appears in his camp; and a thousand similar questions which come up in course of a march or a campaign. The commander who has been in leading-strings all his life and he who has had no experience will almost invariably consult higher authority before action. The former is a product of our system of centralization; the latter is an amateur. In either case valuable time is lost and questions are determined by men who are only partially acquainted with the circumstances. The remedy for the first is decentralization, and for the second closer association between regular troops and the militia. Regulations can accomplish the first; legislation will be required for the second."

In Major Chester's opinion legislation should cover the territorial localization of the regular troops and the organization of militia battalions in affiliation with the regulars.

JOSÉ RIZAL, THE FILIPINO HERO.

INFORMATION often comes in roundabout ways. *Nordisk Tidsskrift* (No. 1) contains the life-story of the ill-fated Filipino author and politician, Dr. José Rizal. The article is contributed by Hjalmar Stolpe and is very sympathetically written. By way of giving the necessary background to the character sketch of this remarkably gifted Tagal, the paper opens with an account of the state of education in the Philippines, the desire of the natives for knowledge, culture, and self-improvement, and the chief mistakes in the Spanish Government which led to the insurrection and to Rizal's appearance in the political arena. "To be ignorant and uncultured is considered by the natives the worst disgrace;" and private schools, as well as public schools, flourish in every town and village in proportion to its population. There are schools of medicine, pharmacology, drawing, painting, music, commerce, navigation, technicology, agriculture and botany, as well as a military academy, school for teachers, etc. These are all concentrated in Manila, and here alone there are ten high schools for girls, while there are several others in the provinces. There is also an institute for governesses and one for midwifery

pupils. The learning of foreign languages was forbidden by the Spaniards in order to keep the people better in subjection; but much progress has, nevertheless, been made during the last ten years in the study of English, French, German, and, characteristically enough, Japanese.

RIZAL'S EARLY YEARS.

José Rizal was born in 1861 in the small town of Calamba, on the south coast of the lovely lake La Laguna, in Luzon. His parents were homely but well-to-do rice-growers of unmixed Tagal breed, and their greatest desire was to see José a comfortably settled priest. He received his first education in his birthplace under the tutorship of the Tagal priest P. Leontio, whose remarkable talents and wealth of knowledge abashed many a European traveler. On Leontio's advice José was sent to Manila to the *Ateneo Municipal*, a school managed by the Jesuits on broader lines than those under the direction of the friars. It was here that José assumed the name of Rizal. The family name was really Mercado; but José's elder brother, Don Paciano, who was studying under that name in Manila, and who had been expelled from the university for having lived with the priest José Burgos, executed as one of the suspected revolutionists of Cavito, and who was also in bad odor on account of his liberal views, had advised his young brother to take the name of Rizal, that he might not be persecuted for his name's sake and be hindered in his studies.

A PEOPLE WHO MUST NOT HAVE A FATHERLAND.

José was himself destined to experience early enough the bitterness of being of Tagal blood, and at school, where he was always the head of his class, he brought upon himself the hatred of the Spaniards by reciting, on the occasion of a prize distribution, an ode composed by himself in which he alluded to his "fatherland." An "Indio" is not allowed this expression. He may not say "*patrio*"—only "*pais*" (country). Only the Spaniards have a fatherland. In many other ways he was taught the difference between the colored children and the white, the former being looked upon as a lower race, whose faults and weaknesses were always pointed out, while their efforts and their progress never received the acknowledgment and praise accorded to the white. The prejudice awakened in him against the Spaniards faded, nevertheless, as he grew older, and he was wont to say: "When I read or hear the contemptuous European judgment of my people, I remember my own youthful ideas, and the anger that might flame up in me is quenched. Smiling, I can repeat the French '*Tout comprendre, c'est tout pardonner.*'"

FORBIDDEN BY THE CHURCH.

Having taken his degree at Manila, Rizal betook himself to France and Germany, where he knew that medical science must have reached a higher excellence. He studied at Paris, Heidelberg, and Leipsic. Simultaneously his interest in social and political problems was strengthened and developed; and noting how little Europe really knew of the Philippines, he resolved to portray his birthland in a novel, which was published at Berlin in 1887 under the sufficiently significant title, "*Noli me Tangere!*" This book, along with other "*impias y pestilenciales novelas*," such as the works of Dumas (father and son), Balzac, Victor Hugo, George Sand, Ayguales de Izco, Walter Scott (I), and Paul de Koch, not to mention Zola and Daudet, was forbidden by the Church. In 1891 the sequel, "*Il Filibusterismo*," was published at Ghent.

POET, SCULPTOR, AND AUTHOR.

Rizal was not only a clever political author and a tuneful and touching poet, but also a sculptor of considerable ability and originality, whose portrait-bust of the Filipino-Creole, Dr. T. H. Pardo, was exhibited in the *Salon*. Herr Stolpe's article is accompanied by two pictures of terracotta statues by Rizal which were given to his friend Blumentritt. The one is called "The Victory of Death Over Life," and represents a skeleton in the garb of a monk clasping the corpse of a young woman. The other is called "The Victory of Science Over Death," and shows Science standing on a skull with a flaming torch upheld in both hands.

In 1887 Rizal returned to Hong Kong, where he organized the famous *Liga Filipina* (Philippine League), which was the basis of the Revolutionary Society of the Sons of the Nation.

After several years of absence and travel, during which he was incessantly agitating, he returned to Manila in May, 1892. Here he was arrested and exiled to Dapitan, in one of the southern islands.

In 1895 he returned by permission to Luzon and afterward sailed for the Cuban campaign as a volunteer military surgeon in the Spanish ranks. In the meantime the Philippine revolution broke out, and Rizal was arrested at Barcelona and transhipped to Manila, where he was tried and condemned to death. He was shot by a picket of native soldiers on December 30, 1896.

A DRAMATIC END.

Rizal died like a hero, smiling as he uttered his last words—" *Consumatum est!*" Asked if he had any last wish, he replied: first, to be united in civil marriage with Miss Josephine

Brackens, an English lady whose acquaintance he had made in Hong Kong. He next desired that he should be shot through the breast. Both wishes were fulfilled. The press has given many erroneous accounts of Rizal's marriage. Here is the true one. Miss Brackens was the adopted daughter of a rich Englishman in Hong Kong who was suffering from a severe eye disease, for which he was attended by Rizal. When Rizal was sent to Dapitan his patient followed to complete the treatment, and was accompanied by the young lady. The disease was cured and the Englishman returned to Hong Kong, but Miss Brackens remained in Dapitan and bought some property there. She was very beautiful and warmly admired Rizal. When his trial commenced she went to Manila and married her lover & its close. After her husband's death she joined the insurgents, and on horseback took part in their battles. Her name is mentioned in a proclamation. She is at present living in Hong Kong.

HAPPY ISLES IN THE SOUTH SEAS.

A ROMANTIC story of "some unsuspected isles in far-off seas" and of the way they came under England's sway is told in the *English Illustrated* for March. One hundred and ninety miles to the south of Java lies Christmas Island, and three days' steaming beyond will bring you to the Cocos-Keeling group, a horseshoe archipelago of coral islands. The latter were discovered by William Keeling in the beginning of the century.

A SCOTTISH DYNASTY.

But in 1825, the islands being still unoccupied, a Scotch sailor named Ross, sprung from an old Jacobite family, landed and took possession. In 1854 he died and was succeeded by his son, who in turn passed on the islands to his son, George Clunies Ross, the present King of the Cocos-Keeling group and "monarch of all he surveys." It is interesting to note that he was educated in Guernsey and is married to a Cocos woman who does not speak English. His brother Charles, who is viceroy in his absence, was trained at St. Andrew's University. A third brother graduated in a bank in Batavia. A fourth is a farmer in New Zealand. A fifth, educated at Edinburgh, commanded the family schooner (forty tons) in which two of the family sailed round the world. This Scottish dynasty elected to adopt the British Queen as overlord, and since 1857 the group has been under the Union Jack. In 1886 it was formally annexed to the Straits Settlements. The population numbers now six hundred, four hundred being Cocos born, two hundred coming from Bantam.

AN EARTHLY PARADISE.

Christmas Island, discovered in 1666, remained unappropriated until 1888, when Andrew C. Ross, brother of the Cocos king, landed with thirteen companions. The population is now forty. The writer says :

"The climate during the greater part of the year resembles a very hot English summer tempered with sea breezes. For a time the only meat of the settlers was provided by the birds which swarm all over the island and are extraordinarily tame. A government official from the Straits Settlement who visited Christmas Island in 1891 declares that he caught a little thrush with a butterfly net, and 'shot ten pigeons on one tree, one after the other, without one of them attempting to fly away.' Coffee can be cultivated with profit on the island.

"A high point of civilization has been reached among Mr. Ross' subjects, although it is not quite British, for English is not taught in the one school that is situated in the Cocos-Keeling group and conducted by a native islander who was trained at Singapore. Indeed, some members of the Ross family themselves speak little or no English. Yet vaccination is carried on.

BUT FOR RATS AND CATS !

"On the other hand, the rats of Western civilization are a great pest. They were once landed from a ship, and the cats that were imported to kill them have overrun the islands and become a perfect nuisance themselves by killing birds, most of which were brought to the islands to destroy the cocoanut-beetle.

"But the islands are happy in a series of negatives. There is no jail, no policemen, no opium, no Chinamen. The Rosses themselves do all sorts of work ; they are excellent mechanics and carpenters and made their little schooner.

THE RESCUE OF ADMIRAL CERVERA.

THE April *Harper's* contains a narrative, in homely but graphic style, of "The Rescue of Admiral Cervera." The tale is told by Peter Keller, an old man-of-war's man and boatswain's mate on the United States steamship *Gloucester*. When the *Maria Teresa* was disabled the *Gloucester* came around under her bow. Mr. Edson, who figures in the narrative, was the commanding ensign of the *Gloucester*. He and a crew, which included Keller, took the whaleboat and ventured near the wrecked Spanish warship.

"I tore my clothes from my body, and I jumped overboard and swam toward Brown and helped him to carry the line ashore. When we got there I saw about forty-five Spaniards and

their boats, which had been smashed to pieces on the rocks. As soon as we could I and Brown ran up to a tree. I took half a turn with the line around the tree, and then turned round and called upon the Spaniards the best way I could, 'Wiene qui !' That means 'Come here.' Those addressed came to us, and I told them to give us a pull, so that we could stretch the line.

"After the line was made fast I sang out to Ensign Edson, the officer in charge, 'The line is fast, sir. Go ahead.' He responded, 'All right.' While Mr. Edson was hauling his boat toward the *Maria Teresa* to save the officers and men, I remarks to Otto Brown, seaman, 'By gosh ! that line is very poor, Otto.' Brown said, 'It looks very poor, Keller.' I took the line in my hands and rubbed it and smelled it. It smelled to me like the rope was pretty bad—that is, an old rope.

THE YANKEE BOATSWAIN'S MATE AND THE SPANISH ADMIRAL.

"I turned round and asked one of the Spaniards if there was any Spanish officer ashore. The man told me, 'Yes.' I said, 'Where ?' and he pointed out with his finger an officer clad in undershirt and drawers, and a white cap on, and told me in Spanish, '*Almirante* ;' that means as much as 'There is the admiral.'

"I went up to Admiral Cervera, who had half a cigarette in his fingers, and told him, 'Admiral, be so kind and tell one of your officers aboard they should give us a better line if they want us to save all his people, because I found out that the line was very poor.' Admiral Cervera turned round and told one of his officers, in Spanish, to hail the *Maria Teresa* and tell them to give us a better rope. The answer he got from the *Maria Teresa*, from one of the officers, was that they could not give us any better rope, because everything was afire.

"Then I asked Admiral Cervera if his magazines—powder magazines—were under water. Admiral Cervera told me the after magazine was under water, but the forward one he was not sure of. I passed the remarks to Otto Brown : 'My God ! if we don't get other help we can't save those people ! That rope is very poor.' "

OFFICERS AND MEN IN THE SURF.

"There was a couple of men hanging on a boat's fall ; he [Mr. Edson] picked up those men, put them in the gig, and left for the *Gloucester*. Mr. Norman, with the *Gloucester's* gig, brought the last load of Spaniards ashore. After I and Brown had taken them through the surf and Brown had returned to the gig, Mr. Norman, who was in a hurry to return to the *Gloucester*, hollered

to me, where I was on shore, and said, 'Keller, you better hurry up, else you get left.'

"I jumped in the surf, and as I swam to the stern-post of the gig I told him, 'Mr. Norman, the admiral is ashore.' Mr. Norman told me, 'Hell! is he ashore?' I said, 'Yes, sir. Don't you want him aboard?' He said, 'Yes, go and get him.'

KIND TREATMENT OF THE ADMIRAL AND HIS SAILORS.

"I jumped in the surf again, swam ashore, went toward the admiral, and I told him, 'Admiral, will you be so kind and come along with me? The officer in charge of the gig would like to have you to come aboard the *Gloucester*.' The admiral extended his right hand, patting me on my shoulder, and said, 'Yes, boy.' He turned around and asked me if he could take his officers along with him. I told him, 'Yes, sir.' Then he called on his son, and the captain of the *Maria Teresa*, and his whole staff, and we proceeded toward the boat. As we proceeded toward the boat Brown was waiting for us.

"The admiral, Brown, and I jumped in the surf. I told the admiral to get his hand around my neck and the other hand around Brown, and he did it, and we swam toward the gig. When we reached the gig the admiral put his hand on the toll-board of the gig. Mr. Norman extended his hands and got hold of his both hands, while I and Brown lifted him up and put him in the gig. Then we went back and went after the captain. As the captain was wounded and was helpless, I and Brown had to carry him through the surf. When we came to the gig he extended his right hand, as his left hand was wounded. Mr. Norman extended his hands, grabbed his right hand, and I and Brown took him by the legs and lifted him up carefully. By this time he was taken by Boatswain's Mate Thompson and let down in the gig.

"The work of rescuing went on, to my best knowledge, for about two hours. Among those rescued from the *Maria Teresa* were many wounded, and wounded very heavy. As I remember, one man was shot all to pieces. Ensign Edson and one of the boat's crew lifted him up carefully out of the cutter, lowered him in the water, and I and Brown had to take him ashore through the surf more dead than alive. As far as I understood afterward, that man died on the beach.

"After we had about three or four loads put safe ashore by the cutter, the gig, in charge of Lieutenant Norman, hove in sight, and I saw Lieutenant Norman talking to Mr. Edson. After that I saw the gig and cutter working frequently to and fro from the beach."

PEARLS—NATURAL AND ARTIFICIAL.

M. DASTRE contributes to the first February number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* a very interesting paper on the production of fine pearls both by natural and artificial means.

We have lately been interested in the announcement that a syndicate in London were placing upon the market considerable quantities of pigeon-blood rubies which were products of the laboratory and not of the mine, and now it seems that as far back as November the French Academy of Sciences received a report on the experiments of a M. Boutan in the making of artificial pearls. The curious part of it is that in spite of the advances made in biology we are still ignorant of the precise manner in which the natural pearl is produced inside the oyster, and our imitations of nature must therefore be empirical and consequently not always trustworthy. There is no need to follow M. Dastre in his investigations into the ancient repute of the pearl as a gem. It is enough to say that the principal fisheries of pearls are those of Ceylon, the Coromandel coast, those which have existed from time immemorial in the Persian Gulf, and those of the Red Sea, the Antilles, and Australia. M. Dastre contrasts the intelligence of the Indian Government, which carefully regulates the fisheries within its control and draws from them an important revenue, with the entire neglect by France of her fisheries in the Gambier and the Tuamotu Islands.

It is interesting to note that M. Dastre does not expect much danger to the market value of the natural pearl from the competition of the artificial one. The artificial cultivation of the pearl-oyster appears to be a matter of considerable difficulty, which is always likely to handicap the artificial pearl in competition with the spoils of the pearl divers. By artificial pearl is meant, of course, some foreign body introduced into the oyster and clothed by it in the course of years with the mother-of-pearl covering with which the creature also covers its shell. The objection to introducing this foreign body into the oyster is that the result is not so fine as the pearls which are produced by natural means by the oyster itself. Curiously enough, in the last century a Swedish naturalist attempted to produce the real article by irritating the oyster, but though a merchant of Gothenburg bought his scheme for a large sum, he seems never to have carried it out.

In conclusion, M. Dastre gives some interesting figures as to the value of famous pearls. It seems that the modern collections of pearls do not really rival the magnificence of those possessed by the wives of famous Romans, and nothing, M. Dastre thinks, could compare with one necklace owned by Lollia Paulina.

THE STORY OF THE KEELY MYTH.

MR. JULIUS MORITZEN makes an interesting tale in the April *Cosmopolitan* out of "The Extraordinary Story of John Worrell Keely." Mr. Moritzen says that Keely was in truth a genius, as none else than a genius could have kept the world's most eminent scientists guessing for twenty years. His "vibratory generator" was first exhibited to a dozen well-known Philadelphians on November 10, 1874. Even in the minds of the most skeptical there was always at least a doubt in the mystery about Keely's projects until the day of his death, when his house was investigated and the commonplace trickery of his methods exposed.

"Leading Philadelphian scientists assisted in the work, and the first discovery came in the shape of an immense steel globe. Almost covered with dirt and rubbish, it was held down in the earth of the cellar by heavy beams. When relieved of its incumbrance the sphere was lifted out of its resting-place, and subsequently was found to weigh more than three tons. On the top of the globe a hole was discovered and, screw-threaded, the cavity gave a wider diameter the further penetrated.

"Immediately near the sphere was found an iron pipe which led for a distance of more than fifteen feet into the space under the front room. Here was discovered a pit lined with wood and covered by a trap-door. Fresh ashes gave evidence of a careful demolition of material not thought valuable enough for removal, and yet necessary to have out of the way. In these ashes, however, were found short sections of what at first was considered to be wire, but subsequently proved to be brass tubing. A large amount of glass tubes was likewise found in the debris. The fragments left behind gave striking evidence of the care exercised in removing the Keely motor machinery from its home.

"The next day still greater results rewarded the searchers of the premises. The room in the rear was curiously raised above the others, and this was the apartment in which Keely conducted all those experiments which had puzzled the world until his death.

"When the floor was torn up the revelation was complete. Through the joists, in holes specially cut for the purpose, ran a short brass tube. Other tubes were discovered also, and the whole went to show that the motor had been connected here with the spherical contrivance in the cellar.

"In the presence of Prof. Arthur W. Goodspeed, professor of physics at the University of Pennsylvania, Prof. Carl Hering, one of the most eminent electrical engineers in the country, Prof. Lightner Witmer, professor of experimental psy-

chology of the University of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Moore, who had the investigation in charge, the nature of what had been laid bare now came in for earnest consideration. It was determined beyond a doubt that the tubing and the spherical reservoir found in the cellar stood conclusively for the argument that compressed air might easily have accomplished all that had been demonstrated so mysteriously by Keely."

Mr. Moritzen goes into the details of Keely's trickeries and shows just how he probably got his "etheric force," which tore apart great ropes, broke and twisted iron bars, and discharged bullets through twelve-inch planks with what seemed to be an entirely mysterious force. In his exuberance of success Keely declared that he would be able with a quart of water to send a train from Philadelphia to San Francisco, and that to propel a steamship from New York to Liverpool and return would require just about one gallon of the same. Keely never allowed the slightest hint to fall as to the details of his secret force, claiming that this would hurt the commercial value of his discovery. Mr. Moritzen says that Keely's true secret was in the promoter's charm of manner and insight into human nature.

MONOPOLY IN BRITISH INDUSTRY.

MR. H. W. MACROSTY, writing in the March *Contemporary* on "The Growth of Monopoly in British Industry," does much to dispel the cheery confidence that "trusts" and "combines" were American contrivances fostered by protection and not likely to take root on British soil. The writer works to establish this conclusion:

"We see in British industry a steady movement toward combination and monopoly, a movement which is the natural outcome of competition, and therefore not capable of being prevented or undone by law. At one time it takes the form of the elimination of subordinate agents in production and distribution, at another of combinations or rings to regulate prices, at a third of the actual fusion of competing firms. The net result is a great improvement in productive organization, which is balanced by the possibility that the new machinery may be turned against the consumer."

IN THE RETAIL TRADE.

He first traces the change in distribution, and says:

"The retail trade is to-day passing through an industrial revolution similar to that which manufacture experienced in the early years of this century, and the small shopkeeper is the analogue

of the hand-loom weaver. Large businesses like Marshall & Snelgrove's, Peter Robinson's, and Lipton's obtain an ever-increasing share of trade, for, among other reasons, a well-known or well-advertised name is taken as a guarantee of quality. Establishments like the various 'stores,' Whiteley's, Spiers & Ponds', and other 'universal providers,' where a number of different but co-ordinate businesses are congregated under the same roof, like so many markets, are a never-ceasing source of wonderment to visitors to London. The joint-stock-company system has spread to distributive businesses. To the boom in breweries has succeeded a boom in groceries, and the capitalization of stores and trading companies in the grocery, provision, meat, oil, and drug trades in the two years 1896-97 was over £18,000,000.

"Retailers have awakened to the fact that competition has reached the point where it is no longer profitable, and that combination is a more effective way of obtaining a steady income. In the grocery, tobacconist, chemist, and baking branches of the shop trades the traders are grouped into local trade associations of more or less strength, and these, again, are federated nationally."

IN MANUFACTURES.

These combinations have reacted on manufacturers, who, being prevented by trade unions from recouping themselves by forcing down wages, are compelled in self-defense to combine as well:

"Single amalgamations, while not entirely excluding competition, control the screw, cotton, thread, salt, alkali, and india-rubber tire industries. In other cases a formal or informal agreement of masters fixes prices; thus in the hollow-ware trade (metal utensils) prices are arranged by an informal ring of a dozen Birmingham firms. Similarly there is no open market in antimony, nickel, mercury, lead pipes, fish supply, and petroleum. Steel and iron rails are controlled by an English rail ring, which so manages matters that it is undersold by American, Belgian, and German competitors. All the largest firms in the newspaper-making industry have just consolidated their interests into one large combination. In the engineering trade twenty-four firms have a subscribed capital of £14,245,000. In 1897 Armstrong & Co. absorbed Whitworth & Co., raising their capital to £4,210,000 in the process. Vickers & Co., the armor-plate manufacturers, are another example of a very large amalgamation. In the spring of 1897 they bought up the Naval Construction and Armaments Company, and later

they acquired the Maxim-Nordenfeldt Guns and Ammunition Company. Now they boast of being the only firm capable of turning out a battleship complete in every respect. The most noteworthy examples of combination, however, are to be found in the Birmingham staple trades and in the textile industries."

THE SEWING-THREAD COMBINE.

In the cotton trade since 1897 "a perfect mania for trusts has set in." The impulse came from the success of combination in the sewing-thread industry. The firm of J. & P. Coats, of Paisley, with a capital of £5,750,000, absorbed Kerr & Co. in 1895, and in 1896 amalgamated with Clarke & Co. of Paisley, Chadwick & Co., of Bolton, and Jonas Brook & Co., of Meltham, with £4,000,000 of fresh capital raised for the purpose. In 1897 fifteen firms amalgamated in the English Sewing Cotton Company with £2,000,000 share capital and £750,000 debentures. Messrs. Coats took £200,000 of ordinary shares.

"Since the formation of the company the large Glasgow firm of R. F. & J. Alexander, with a capital of £475,000, has been absorbed. Latest of all, a huge combination of American sewing-thread manufacturers is announced, with a capital of £3,720,000, and agreements have been entered into with Messrs. Coats & Co. and the English Sewing Cotton Company to avoid undue competition in output and prices, the former company taking up £103,000 in shares and the latter £744,000. It must be only a matter of a short time before the few remaining independent thread manufacturers in this country are brought into one or other of the great combinations."

IN THE COTTON TRADE.

The cotton spinners have begun to follow suit:

"The Fine Cotton Spinners' and Doublers' Association, Limited, was registered on March 31, 1898, with a share capital of £4,000,000 and £2,000,000 additional in debentures. Seventeen firms of spinners, mostly in Manchester and Bolton, and fifteen other firms of doublers are in the 'combine.' . . . Further combinations, spoken of but not yet completed, are the coarse yarn spinners in Oldham, with a capital of £3,000,000; the linen yarn spinners in Belfast and the neighborhood, with a capital of £4,000,000; and the jute manufacturers of Dundee, with an estimated capital of £2,000,000. The total capitalization of the various bodies in the textile industry which have either combined or whose union is in immediate prospect is £28,000,000, and the limit is still far from being reached."

"The latest and completest English trust" is said to be the Bradford Dyers' Association, Limited, formed in December, 1898, embracing twenty-two firms with a capital of £4,500,000 and possessing 90 per cent. of the trade—"a practical monopoly."

IN OTHER INDUSTRIES.

The writer recalls Sir George Elliott's proposal in 1893 to amalgamate nearly all collieries, and states that Mr. Ratcliffe Ellis, secretary of the Federated Coal Owners of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and the Midlands, has proposed that all coal owners form a limited company for the purchase and resale of their coal. In 1896 the sea-borne coal trade of London passed under the control of W. Cory & Sons, Limited, which included eight large firms, handled 5,000,000 out of the 8,000,000 of coal coming by sea to London, and had £2,000,000 share capital.

The transport trades show similar tendencies in omnibus, railroad, and shipping concerns.

THE REMEDY.

The real remedy for these monopolies which may be turned against the interest of the consumer is found by the writer in Parliamentary control. The paper concludes with the sanguine words:

"With the weapon of state control in hand, combination may be welcomed, and if control prove insufficient, state purchase and public administration remain behind."

ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

M. ERNEST LAVISSE'S reply to Sir Charles Dilke on the relations between England and France in the first February number of the *Revue de Paris* has been well advertised—it has been made the subject not only of a question in the House of Commons, but also of correspondence published in the daily press between Mr. Arnold White and the British Foreign Office relative to the Waima affair. But quite apart from these more or less accidental circumstances, the article deserves notice as a temperate and interesting statement of the French case with reference to the recent and existing causes of irritation between the two countries. It will perhaps be convenient to adopt M. Lavissee's own method of dealing with these *seriatim*.

FASHODA.

The equatorial provinces were intrusted by the Sultan to the Khedive, and now that they are rescued from barbarism their only legitimate master is the Sultan. But nobody dreams of

respecting Abdul's rights, though nobody dreams of denying them. France at Obok and Tadjura, Italy at Massowah, Abyssinia at Harar, Great Britain at Unyoro and on the right bank of the Nile opposite Wadelai, the Congo Free State at Wadelai, Dufilé, Lado, and the left bank of the Nile—these powers have all had slices of the cake. Sir C. Dilke argued that the English are in possession at Fashoda as at Khartoum. But Sir E. Gray, in his famous oft-quoted declaration of 1895, spoke only of English claims and interests on the Upper Nile, and M. Lavissee asks why the lapse of two years should have not only turned those claims and interests into rights and titles, but also annulled the French claims and French interests. Moreover, on September 9, 1898, Lord Salisbury changed his ground, maintaining that the provinces had become the possessions of the Khalifa and had been conquered from him by the Anglo-Egyptian forces. If, argues M. Lavissee, Khartoum is Anglo-Egyptian by right of conquest, then Fashoda was French by precisely the same title, though France later on abandoned the prize.

TUNIS.

M. Lavissee argues thus against the various charges of treaty-breaking and sharp practice brought against France in her dealings with Tunis: In 1881, before the cessation of hostilities against the Kroumirs, Lord Granville clearly indicated that the British Government expected France to obtain from the Bey "sufficient guarantees for the future," and that England saw France asserting her influence in Tunis without the least jealousy. As for British trade with Tunis, it has been largely developed, as the board of trade returns show. As for protection in general, England herself enjoys free trade with none of her colonies except New South Wales, while Canada discriminates in favor of English goods as against those of France and other countries.

NIKKI AND WAIMA.

As to Nikki, M. Lavissee practically says little more than that France did no more and no less wrong in taking Nikki than England did at Wa and Buna. He adds, however, that French energy has given the Gold Coast and Lagos a free access into the interior.

In the Waima affair, it will be remembered, English officers were shot down by a French force, admittedly by mistake, several years ago, and yet France has persistently delayed making reparation to the dead officers' widows and families. M. Lavissee asserts that the British force fired first, and that, in any case, the affair occurred within the territory of the republic of

Liberia, where neither France nor England ought to have had an armed force, and one French officer was killed and England has not compensated his relations. Besides, there is the affair of N'Compali, in which French blood was spilled owing to the action of British agents, and in which the French Government has paid compensation. Let that be set against Waima, says M. Lavissee.

As for the question of the French fathers in Uganda, M. Lavissee says that the compensation of ten thousand pounds, to save British susceptibilities, was paid to Cardinal Vaughan. We now know from the Foreign Office that this was done simply at the request of the French fathers, who, to speak frankly, seem to have preferred that the money should not go through the hands of the French Government.

M. Lavissee complains also that Samory was equipped with arms and ammunition from Birmingham.

ZANZIBAR AND MADAGASCAR.

M. Lavissee represents the British concessions to France in Madagascar as the price paid by Lord Salisbury for his extraordinary forgetfulness of French rights in Zanzibar when he made the Anglo-German agreement of 1890.

SIAM.

As to the ancient Cambodian provinces, M. Lavissee says that in 1893 Lord Rosebery had actually consented to their retention by France, but under pressure from Lord Dufferin, then British ambassador in Paris, he secured their retrocession to Siam. Generally, M. Lavissee simply pleads that England should behave as a good neighbor to France in Siamese regions, which is, perhaps, a sign that he has not a very good case on questions of right.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

On this question M. Lavissee's contentions are much the same as those of M. Fauchille in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. He traverses Mr. Chamberlain's implication that England would make a better job of it if she acquired all the French rights, citing Cyprus as an example of British administrative failure. As a parting shot he throws out a threat that France might sell, or even give, her rights in Newfoundland to the United States or to Germany instead of to England.

EGYPT.

M. Lavissee seems to think that the Cape to Cairo Railway is a speculation of a gang of company promoters, including Mr. Chamberlain and

Lord Rosebery. Of course he insists strongly on the British undertaking to quit Egypt. In conclusion, M. Lavissee utters an eloquent plea for peace between the two great free nations of the Old World which should lead in the van of humanity and civilization.

THE PEACE CRUSADE IN EUROPE.

THE London *Times* correspondent at Rome, Mr. W. J. Stillman, himself an American, writes in the *March Contemporary* on "The Peace of Europe." He proposes to examine the present movement in support of the Czar, to see whether it promises practical result or only a generous failure. He observes that a halt in armaments would enable the less efficient armies to overtake the more efficient, and would so promote the equality of chances which makes war more probable. He says:

"Practically war is continually being made between all those European nations who do not know how they may be arrayed in the case of actual collision; but it is carried on through their finances, and in this warfare the richest country conquers. Is it wise to exchange a system which removes bloodshed further into the future and which leaves England still mistress of the situation for one which practically facilitates a conflict of flesh and blood? . . . The suspension of increase of armaments, if practicable, would appear to operate to the disadvantage of England chiefly and chiefly to the advantage of Russia. But as neither the English people nor the English Government has any aggressive tendency, and England is the most unlikely of all the powers to disturb the peace of Europe without grave provocation, the best guarantee of peace is the affirmation of that preponderance which her present position gives her. Better spend your sovereigns than your sons."

After this somewhat negative conclusion, Mr. Stillman points out what he calls "the gravest of our errors," that to keep the nation in readiness for a serious conflict we need to have a war going somewhere. "War is less a school of courage than of indifference to death." No soldiers have been braver than the volunteers in the American Civil War or the Italian conscripts at Adowa.

LAY BARE THE CRIME OF WAR AND ITS CAUSES.

Asking what we can do to promote the cause of peace, Mr. Stillman answers:

"The first practical step toward permanent peace must be the education of the people in the knowledge that war is a crime, that killing is always murder, and that though a soldier is

morally justified in defending by arms and slaughter the rights of his country, the man who volunteers to fight where he has no duty is simply and purely an amateur murderer. And, secondly, if the Christian world is about to enter into a crusade against war, it must begin with understanding the real causes from which we may anticipate war and attacking the most menacing."

Mr. Stillman pays a high tribute to the British press for its devotion to a noble professional ideal, its honorable service of political progress and of peace. He lays down as the sound basis for the establishment of peace "the fact that England's highest interest and broadest sympathies are found in the preservation of peace among all civilized nations, and that the assent of England will certainly be given to all measures which tend to a just equilibration of national differences." As a student of European politics for more than forty years, he bears witness that England has all but invariably yielded more of what strict justice demanded than her opponents in international disputes. The one important exception was in the Angra Pequena question, which has imbittered Germany ever since.

THE FOUR QUESTIONS.

Dismissing relations with barbarous and half-civilized nations as outside the region of diplomacy, Mr. Stillman enumerates the danger-points:

"Within the limits of diplomatic action the questions which threaten the peace of the world most prominently are the following: Firstly, the most menacing, but not the gravest—the conflict between France and England over the African interests and pretensions; secondly, the question of Alsace-Lorraine, complicated like the first by the internal condition of France—the weakness of the republic and the dynastic pretensions; thirdly, the conflict between the aims of Russia and Austria in the Balkans—the remotest but the gravest of all; and, fourthly, the pretensions of the Pope to the restoration of the temporal power, complicated by the condition of Italy and her position in the triple alliance."

Mr. Stillman next offers his solution of each of these problems:

"1. The indispensable precaution against a conflict between England and France is patent: close the book of undue concessions, make a precise statement of treaty obligations which will be insisted on, and leave France responsible for the rupture if there be one. . . . France, as a feminine nation, has an hysterical tendency, and in kindness should always be treated accordingly—with firmness where definite and vital interests

are concerned, but with all possible indulgence for her sensitiveness as to her *amour propre*.

"2. A compact for purely defensive action between England and Germany, linking England, as it would do, with the central powers, would make the question of Alsace-Lorraine a *chose jugée*. Here, again, the determination of England is vital, and the obstacles in the way of such a compact are, so far as the best-informed people outside of the English ministry are concerned, comparatively trivial, and spring from the aversion of England to a fair adjustment of outlying questions with Germany.

"3. If the Czar means peace in Europe, he can contribute to it most influentially by withdrawing the agents who are working in Montenegro, Bulgaria, and other provinces to organize the Slavonic tendencies against Austria-Hungary. If these be continued, the suspension of European armaments has but one significance—that this organization and the undisturbed construction of all her military railroads may put Russia into the position of being able at a moment, perhaps not very remote, to defy all the plans and calculations of the Western powers for the maintenance of peace. . . . If England and Germany would compromise with Russia to give her all northern China and obtain her withdrawal from all propaganda in the Balkans, it would be a bargain in the interest of the peace of the world for half a century, in which time Europe may have definitely crystallized. If the Czar refuses to withdraw from that propaganda, the peace congress is a mockery and a mask for Russian plans."

4. The Vatican, dominated by the Society of Jesus—"the most virulent enemy of peace in the civilized world"—and thirsting for the restoration of the temporal power, is distracting Italy, and through her weakening the triple alliance, which is "purely defensive and pacific."

WHAT THE CRUSADE SHOULD AIM AT.

So Mr. Stillman's advice runs:

"A practical advance toward the object aimed at by the new movement would be the declaration of the Pope that he lays down his arms and accepts the *fait accompli*, and to this end let the crusaders and the congress address themselves to his holiness, if perchance he will hear and be persuaded. *Hic labor, hoc opus est*. As first-fruits we should have the cessation of the civil discords in the Catholic countries, the Jew-baiting in Austria and France, and a return to normal conditions in Italy, France, and Austria, with Christian charity to all and peace at home, without which peace abroad is in chronic peril. When the Pope accepts peace with Italy the crusaders may then ask the Czar to leave the Balkan tribes

to themselves, and no longer to feed discord with rifles and ammunition ; and when this is granted they may ask France to forego her vengeance, and then the lamb may lie down with the lion everywhere within the bounds of the civilized world. But to begin with England, who accepts in advance, and petition Queen and Parliament to take any initiative in the face of the experience of the three years gone by is to invite aggression and humiliation."

Mr. Stillman is a zealous advocate of the triple alliance.

"The triple alliance is, in effect, the nucleus, already formed, of the league of peace for all Europe, and thus substantially, for the civilized world, nothing more is needed than the adhesion of the other powers to its pact. The resolutions and agitations in England of the advocates of universal peace are, so far as England is concerned, hammering at an open door—there are no conversions needed here. England has shown by submitting to everything less than humiliation that she does want peace even at the sacrifice of not a little dignity—a sacrifice wearily made futile in the face of new exactions following each one."

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE CHINESE EMPIRE.

THE main purpose of the article by Demetrius C. Boulger in the *North American Review* for March is to show that the United States should join England in an effort—not to prevent China's disintegration, which he regards as inevitable, but to save as many as possible of the fragments, with a view to future union and reorganization, unimpaired by the inroads of foreign powers. In other words, our present duty, as this writer conceives it, is to develop China's latent strength for the purpose of China's own preservation. To many this may seem a Quixotic task, and the writer himself appears not fully convinced that it can be successfully performed, but he declares that it should not be abandoned till its futility is demonstrated.

The writer mentions two distinct movements as tending to accelerate China's disintegration :

"The first is the introduction of foreign capital for the construction of railroads, the working of mines, and for other public works of a remunerative or promising character. Not merely will such enterprises develop the resources of the country, but they will bring foreigners into parts of it where they would otherwise not think of going. There will certainly be a railroad from Canton to the Yang-tse and another inland from Shanghai. The French say they are going to spend eight millions in a line from their Anna-

mese possessions into Yunnan. They may carry these words into effect, but it is quite certain that their immediate consequence will be to expedite the railroad from British Burmah into the same province. There is to be a great mining undertaking in two of the most important and least-known provinces, Hunan and Shansi, and this will bring us into direct collision with the prejudices of the people in regard to the disturbing of cemeteries and the assumed injury of the *Feng Shui*, or spirits. It is probable that disorders and contests must arise from this cause, as there is no reason to suppose that the antipathy of the Chinese to foreigners has been exaggerated by the mandarins or that they have any desire to cultivate our friendship. As it always has been, at every stage of the Chinese question, the Western races are forcing themselves on the inhabitants of China and endeavoring to wring from them the admission of the principle of equality."

POLITICAL REVOLUTION.

The second accelerating cause, or set of causes, is wholly internal :

"For some time past an insurrection has been simmering in the southern provinces, and from time to time the authorities at Canton have published accounts of the successes they have obtained in the field. But the insurrectionary movement continues, and it is now declared that the rebels have left Kwangsi and are marching northward through Hunan. If this step has really been taken, it would be curious as showing how closely the present insurgents are imitating the proceedings of the Taepings half a century ago. We know very little about the resources, aims, and leaders of the still unnamed rebellion, beyond the fact that the bulk of its fighting force consists of the black-flag bands who fought so well against the French at Bacninh and Sontay. It would therefore be useless to speculate on its chances of success. But we do know that this body of armed and disaffected men is marching into provinces where the secret societies are most numerous and best organized, and we cannot overlook the fact that it was an alliance between similar insurgents and secret plotters which produced that Taeping rebellion which would probably have entailed the downfall of the Manchus but for the active intervention of the Europeans and the military genius of General Gordon. The point of immediate importance is that there are in progress in China independent movements, arising from discontent or ambition, that aim at the subversion of the existing government. These have to be watched. They undoubtedly aggravate the situation and

make the problem more difficult of treatment, but at the same time they may contain the germ of better things, and eventually the best, because the most natural, solution of China's troubles. From all these causes it is clear that the rate at which the internal reorganization or disorganization of affairs in China will progress is likely to accelerate, with the consequence that the action of those foreign powers who are interested in her fate will have to be far more prompt, vigorous, and decided."

AMERICA'S PART IN THE PLAY.

Possession of the Philippines will entail on the United States an active participation in the settlement of the Chinese difficulty. Great Britain seeks our moral support in her endeavor to keep the commercial field open for the whole world and at the same time to prevent Russia from acquiring the exclusive control of China's immense resources, in the development of which America and England are alike interested.

"The American people are entering into the contest of commercial and political equity—I will not use the hackneyed phrase of supremacy—in China at a highly interesting moment. Not merely is the problem, which has been more or less on the carpet since the treaty of Nanking in 1842, in a most interesting phase, but the period cannot be far remote when the momentous decision will have to be made as to the point at which the further progress of Russia will have to be arrested. The advent of that crisis is inevitable. Let it not find those who would suffer by the triumph of Russia unprepared. In the temporary break-up of the Chinese empire, which is inevitable, Russia can appropriate a vast expanse of territory without risk, because the population is scanty, and the only obstacle in her path will be the space she has to cover. But such successes will leave the real Chinese question untouched. There is still time left to approach it deliberately and to solve it in a worthy manner. The dissolution of the Chinese empire, which I foresee, and with regard to which I have offered a few suggestions, is one that, if we are wise and vigilant, need not prove more than temporary—a passing episode in the life of the oldest state in the world; and perhaps it might even turn out the means of solidifying and strengthening that empire. The object of Americans and Englishmen should remain as long as possible the saving of China from foreign annexation. Let it break in pieces if it must, but let each of us preserve the fragments, so that in time some true Chinese reformer and leader may rivet them together once more. That will be an honorable and a safe policy. If it does not

work we must try another; but until we have tried it we cannot pronounce it a failure. It should not be a failure if Russia is indeed the only wolf preying on the Chinese fold, for then the dogs could easily keep her off."

A JAPANESE VIEW OF CHINA'S PREDICAMENT.

THE *Orient*, a Japanese magazine published in the English language, makes editorial comment on Lord Charles Beresford's recent visit to China and his speeches there. In this connection reference is made to the plan of an alliance between the United States, England, and Japan. The writer says:

"We have viewed Lord Charles Beresford's visit to China with the deepest interest. In the printed reports of his speeches wherever they have appeared we have failed to meet with one biased sentiment or unjust conclusion. The speaker has, like the heroes of the service to which he belongs, ever been bluffly straightforward, withal the prudent politician. We therefore rejoice at his outspoken belief in the potential qualities of our Chinese neighbors, and are ready to enter into any compact having for its object the development and national integrity of the Chinese empire. But we are living in troublous times. More than a tacit understanding is imperatively necessary in order to preserve intact our mutual national interests. With an Anglo-Americo-Japanese alliance, we believe the equilibrium of power could easily be maintained in the far East; and we believe, too, and most positively, that without such defensive compact serious trouble is before long likely to ensue in this part of the world. Russia's territorial schemes and China's practical helplessness in the matter; France's great rapacity and equally great disregard of Eastern monarchs and boundaries—these things, wholly irreconcilable with the open-door policy and the Japanese as well as Anglo-Saxon love of fair play, are most portentous elements in the political situation of the Orient. We should like to say to Germany, '*Lass dich in unserem Bunde der Vierte sein*' ['Come and be the fourth in our league'], but we have no over-great faith in that power since the Kiao-Chau episode, the strange maneuvers of the German fleet in Philippine waters, and the 'mailed fist.' Nor are we entirely prepared to subscribe to the 'gospel of the Kaiser's sacred person'—we have creeds and doctrines enough already! But should Germany enter as a fourth into the far-Eastern alliance—sober, prosaic, hard-working Germany, not flighty, nervous, un-German Germany—we should welcome her as a powerful factor in assuring the

stability of international relations and the further development of the Orient. That Lord Charles Beresford is thoroughly acquainted with the military and naval preponderance of our land in the far East, we thoroughly believe; let him also be as fully persuaded of our resolve, our determination, to do good to our neighbors and not evil."

THE TROUBLE IN THE ENGLISH STATE CHURCH.

THE *Nineteenth Century* contains two articles on the present agitation in the Church of England, one by a nonconformist, one by a state churchman; one hailing, the other dreading, the approach of disestablishment; but both agreed in opposition to the Romanizers in the Anglican pale. The nonconformist is Dr. Guinness Rogers, who demands the surrender of the privileges and endowments of the Church as "the one method by which evangelicals can save the Protestantism of the Church of which they claim to be the champions, and high churchmen secure that spiritual independence for which they profess to sigh." "For ourselves," he adds, "we shall certainly resist any tampering with the present constitution in the 'Catholic' interest." In the course of his paper he draws a not too flattering parallel between the anti-Dreyfus War Office and the extreme Romanizers:

"We have been looking on recent proceedings in France with mingled surprise and condemnation, and tacitly congratulating ourselves on the fact that we are not as that misguided people. There it is the army which puts on airs of lofty independence, and we wonder as we see what numbers are misled by the specious pretext that the honor of the staff and officers must be preserved at all costs. But have we not here a parallel case? Here it is the rights of the Church and clergy which have to be so jealously guarded. To judge by their general tone and bearing, it is not the nation which establishes the priests, but the priests in their gracious condescension who are blessing the nation. They are not to be fettered by any restraints the state may impose, they are not to be brought within its jurisdiction in any manner affecting their office, they are not to be tried in its courts on any charge of ecclesiastical offense. They form a sacred order of their own without any civil law to bind them."

THE CRUX OF THE WHOLE BUSINESS.

The state churchman is Mr. Bosworth Smith, who fought resolutely in the columns of the *Times* against the Liberal assault on the estab-

lishments in Wales and Scotland some years ago. He declares this deliberate conviction:

"Great as the calamity would have been had the attack upon the Church succeeded fourteen years ago, it would have been insignificant, in comparison with the sin and with the shame, with the sting of purposeless humiliation, and with the permanent alienation from each other of all the component parts of the Church, which must inevitably ensue if disestablishment should come on now—as it seems only too likely that it will—as the result not of any hostile movement from without, but of disintegrating forces from within."

For what would be the result? In place of the parochial system, a squalid congregationalism; an alienated laity; one portion of the clergy gravitating toward Geneva, another and a larger portion steering straight for Rome. The crux of the whole question lies, he holds, in compulsory auricular confession. If that is maintained, no power on earth can save the national Church from disruption and dissolution. He implores the Holborn recusants to repent ere it be too late.

"The Simmerings of Social Revolution."

"The Looker-on" in *Blackwood* is very pronounced on "the commotion in the Church:"

"On this occasion we need not look deep to discover the simmerings of social revolution. . . . The de-Protestantizing of England is not an affair of religion alone. It is a matter of the profoundest importance socially and in every department of social life. . . . Yet it will be enough for contentment if the archbishops, in working out their plan of judicial intervention, deal straightly with the more defiant offenders and such as are made outlaws by their own contumacy. . . . Are they few? Then what risk of disturbance in depriving them of their opportunities? Are they many? Then how needful the work of purgation."

Secret Societies in the Church.

In the *National Review* for March Mr. William Walsh tenders proof of the existence and tactics of "secret societies" in the Church of England. The societies he names are the Society of the Holy Cross, the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, the Order of the Holy Redeemer, and the Guild of All Souls. To the charge of procuring his information in an underhand way the writer replies:

"I defy the Romanizers to prove their libelous and slanderous charges. They know very well that I have secured them all in the open market in a fair and honorable manner. I frankly

admit that I do not repent and am not ashamed of having told the whole country through my book the secrets of the ritualists. If they were honorable secrets I would respect them. It has been said that no gentleman would ever have published them as I have done; but I have yet to learn that a gentleman is expected to respect dishonorable secrets. The Romanizers plot in the dark because, like bats and owls, they dread and hate the light."

THE LATEST NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM.

PROFESSOR HARNACK'S "Chronology of Early Christian Literature" may be regarded as possessing some claim on the attention of the general reader when it extorts in the same month sympathetic and prominent notice from the *Dublin Review* and from the *English Historical Review*. In the former, which is the recognized organ of the Roman Catholics, Dom C. Butler details at length the brilliant Berlin professor's conclusions as to date and authorship of the books of the New Testament, and applauds the reactionary tendency manifest in the freest criticism of the sacred writings. Protestants may note with surprise that this Catholic review is eager to acquaint its readers with the results of the latest Protestant investigations from Germany. They will appreciate also the frank recognition of Harnack's exceptional eminence in the field of early Christian research.

THE EPISTLES AND GOSPELS UP TO DATE.

Here are the dates assigned by the latest and least-fettered criticism as voiced by Harnack and served up by Dom Butler:

A.D.	
48—49	St. Paul's two Epistles to the Thessalonians.
53	St. Paul's Epistle I. to Corinthians; Epistle to Galatians; Epistle II. to Corinthians.
53—54	St. Paul's Epistle to Romans.
57—59	St. Paul's Epistles to Colossians; to Philémon; to Ephesians; to Philippians.
59—64	St. Paul's Pastoral Epistles (the kernel).
65—70	St. Mark's Gospel.
70—75	St. Matthew's Gospel.
60—96	First Epistle of St. Peter.
65—96	Epistle to the Hebrews.
65—100	Gospel according to the Hebrews.
78—93	St. Luke's Gospel and Act of the Apostles.
93—96	The Apocalypse.
93—97	First Epistle of Clement.
89—110	Gospel and three Epistles of St. John.
90—110	Pastoral Epistles (in substantially their present shape).
c. 110—120	Soon after 110 the Four Canonical Gospels brought together into one book.
e. 100—130	Epistle of St. Jude.
c. 120—140	Epistle of St. James.
c. 150—180	Second Epistle of St. Peter.

Harnack questions Peter's authorship of I. Peter. He ascribes the Johannine Gospel and Epistles and the retouching of the Apocalypse (which he takes to be at bottom a Jewish and not a Christian work) to the same author, who is, however, John the Presbyter, not John the Apostle. He is strongly disposed to hold with Tertullian that Barnabas was the author of Hebrews.

"THE ESSENTIAL TRUTH OF TRADITION."

Dom Butler quotes from Harnack's preface a significant passage. In regard to the future, he says, Harnack, inspired by his great knowledge of the actual tendencies of scientific erudition, assumes almost the rôle of a prophet: "A time will come—it is already on the threshold—when we shall little more trouble ourselves about the decipherment of the literary-historical problems in the domain of Christian origins; for what in the main can be ascertained on this subject will come to be generally recognized—namely, the essential truth of tradition, apart from a few important exceptions. It will be recognized that partly before the destruction of Jerusalem [70], partly by the time of Trajan [98–117], all the fundamental stamps of Christian traditions, teachings, pronouncements, and even ordinances—except the New Testament as a collection—were essentially perfect, and that it is necessary to conceive of their institution within that period; and also to realize how the general ground lines of Catholicism must be conceived of in the time between Trajan and Commodus [117–190]."

Generally "Accepted Results."

The Rev. A. C. Headlam, in the *Historical Review*, asks, What are the accepted results of modern scientific criticism of the sacred documents?

"Of the Pauline epistles ten may be accepted. Professor Harnack has some doubts about the Ephesians, but they will probably vanish, and other critics who are not too old to learn will have to fall in with him. Of the exact date there will always be a certain amount of dispute, for we have not the materials for constructing a certain chronology. The Pastoral Epistles are still under dispute. Whatever a critic's personal opinion may be, he cannot appeal to them as undoubted documents. The favorite theory at present is to see in them evidence of interpolation; there is a genuine Pauline nucleus which has been added to. The Epistle to the Hebrews is certainly by some one who had come under the influence of St. Paul, and is certainly earlier than the letters of Clement. It is placed

by Harnack in the reign of Domitian and cannot be later.

"Passing to other groups of writings, the Acts and St. Luke's Gospel must have been written by a companion of St. Paul, and cannot be later than the year 90 A.D. The other two synoptic gospels date probably from the years 65-75; but the existence of late editions cannot be disproved, although it may be doubted. Not later than the age of Domitian must come the First Epistle of St. Peter. The theory of Harnack that the name of Peter was added by a later forger is hardly likely to gain credence. Christian tradition is now being again accepted, and the Apocalypse is placed in the reign of Domitian, while the other Johannine writings cannot be placed later than the year 110. Who wrote them? What is their historic value? These remain questions on which there is not yet agreement. The same may be said of the date of the Second Epistle of St. Peter and the Epistles of St. Jude and St. James."

HOME ORGANIZATION.

THERE is a sensible article in the April *Cosmopolitan* by Mrs. Edith Elmer Wood, the prize-winning article in the competition for the best paper on "The Ideal and Practical Organization of a Home." The editor of the *Cosmopolitan* divided the prize into three parts, one of them to apply to the discussions of the best manner of conducting a home on incomes of from \$1,600 to \$2,500 a year. Mrs. Wood aims to organize the domestic expenditures on the basis of a \$1,600 to \$2,500 income. With healthy intelligence and a good disposition Mrs. Wood thinks this income ought to enable people to live very comfortably and happily. She warns the mistress of the household against trying to do too much work herself at the expense of her mental development, and she says too much emphasis cannot be laid on the fact that it is far more important for a woman to be the alert and congenial intellectual companion of her husband and children than for the stockings to be mended always by Saturday night.

HOW TO APPORTION THE INCOME.

"The conditions of this article presuppose a family consisting of father, mother, and four children, with a yearly income of from \$1,600 to \$2,500. Let us take up first the minimum income.

"With \$1,600 a year I think we shall do well to set aside \$1,200 for household expenses, \$300 for clothing, and the remaining \$100 for incidentals. This last item is the one most

likely to run over, requiring retrenchments on really needed clothing or food, and it is the one in which the greatest amount of systematic self-denial will have to be exerted. To clothe a family of six on \$300 a year will need careful management, but it can be done. Dressmakers and tailors must be abandoned. The husband and father must content himself with ready-made clothes. The wife and mother will get a seamstress in for a week in the spring and fall and do the rest of the sewing herself. After all, clothing is cheap nowadays. And a little ingenuity in washing, turning, cutting down, and making things over for the children will accomplish wonders.

"With \$100 a month for housekeeping one can manage very comfortably. A tabulation of the principal items of expense would read as follows:

House rent	\$35
Fuel	10
One servant's wages	12
Gas	3
Provisions	40
Total	\$100

"The mode of expending the remaining ten dollars must depend on circumstances. So long as any of the children are babies I should strongly advise its being devoted to wages for another servant. As the little ones grow older she can be dispensed with, and then it may be wise to spend ten dollars more to secure a house in a better locality, that the children may have more desirable associates."

Mrs. Wood cautions the thrifty housekeeper from trying to economize on servants' wages too much. She thinks that a \$12 to \$18 a month girl is a much better investment than the \$8 to \$10 girl, inasmuch as the cheaper servant will always be leaving as soon as she has been trained.

AS THE INCOME RISES.

"As the income rises I should strongly advise, instead of increasing the household expenses or the allowance for clothing, the devotion of a hundred or so a year, if it has not already been done, to insurance policies. Next, the laying by of another hundred or so a year against an emergency. Then a gradual and cautious loosening of the reins of self-restraint in the matter of the incidental fund.

"By the time the income has reached the \$2,500 point, however, a somewhat more liberal style of living may be safely indulged in. Let the household allowance be increased about

twenty dollars a month. Then we shall have, perhaps, in the course of the year :

Household expenses.....	\$1,450
Clothing.....	450
Insurance premiums.....	150
Deposited in savings bank.....	150
Summer outing.....	100
Incidentals.....	200
Total.....	\$2,500

HOUSING THE POOR IN BELGIUM.

AN article in the recent number of the *Russkaia Misl* (*Russian Thought*) on the improvement of workmen's dwellings in Belgium is of interest.

OVERCROWDED BRUSSELS.

Overcrowding in the large Belgian cities exists as much, perhaps, as in England. In the first district in Brussels, for instance, it was found that not less than 578 workingmen's families occupied one single room each, and in seventeen cases the whole family had only one bed. In the second district 1,429 families occupied one room each, 196 having only one bed per family. In the third district 401 families and in the fourth 462 families were occupying single rooms; of these 77 and 116 respectively had only one bed each. These and similar facts evoked the activity of the Belgian Government and of society, and they began to take various measures in order to fight against the evil. The Parliament soon passed new laws, among which that of 1889 has already greatly helped and will still help to improve the houses of the working people. According to that law one or more boards of guardians were formed in each district, whose duties consist of (1) aiding to build for, sell, or let to the working classes healthy houses for cash down or in annual installments; (2) investigating everything concerning the sanitary condition of the houses occupied by workmen; and (3) assisting in the development of savings banks and old-age pension funds.

THE WORK OF THE COMMITTEES.

The boards of guardians who look after the sanitary conditions of the houses draw the attention of the landlords to deficiencies in the water-supply, drainage, etc., and in case the landlords take no steps to comply with the indications of the board, the latter informs either the local police or the sanitary authorities, who take action against the landlords. The boards, or committees, as they are called in Belgium, also assist in the formation of savings banks, life-insurance associations, old-age pension funds, co-operative banks, etc. The committees communi-

cate direct with the government, provincial authorities, and local sanitary authorities. They consist of either five or eighteen members, according to the number of the population. A part of the members (3—10) are nominated by the towns and the remaining (2—8) by the government. The law of 1889 permits the principal savings bank guaranteed by the state to grant loans to different companies which are engaged in building houses for the working people. The interest paid by the credit and co-operative societies is $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and that paid by the building societies is 3 per cent.

WORKMEN'S LOANS.

The credit societies, who have a right to borrow from the principal savings bank, must grant loans only to those workmen who desire to build or purchase a house for their own accommodation. The credit society in this case is acting more as an adviser, because the workman has the right to select ground and build the house according to his own taste. The credit societies must not be of a speculative character, and their dividends must not be higher than 3 per cent. In order to obtain loans from the savings bank the societies have in the first instance to apply to the local committee of guardians. The same rule applies to the working people who wish to obtain loans from the credit societies. The latter have no right to build, sell, or to let houses. All that is in the hands of the building societies, whose dividends are not limited. The cost of the house built or acquired with the aid of the credit societies must not be higher than 5,500 francs (\$1,100). The workman has to pay one-tenth part of the cost himself, the credit society gives three-tenths, and the savings bank the rest. The repayment of loans to the credit societies and savings bank is made by weekly, fortnightly, or monthly installments in ten, fifteen, twenty, or twenty-five years, according to the contract.

A FURTHER ADVANCE.

The Belgian law of 1893 supplementing the one of 1889 releases the houses of the working classes of any personal or ground taxes, governmental or local. This privilege applies only to houses inhabited by their proprietors themselves whose income from letting a part of the house does not exceed from 72 to 171 francs per annum, according to the number of inhabitants in the district. From this short expounding of the Belgian laws of 1889 and 1893 one can see that the committees of guardians created by these laws are a very important and useful instrument for the bettering of the workmen's dwellings. Their influence can be seen everywhere—in cre-

ating building and credit societies, in inspecting houses and whole quarters inhabited by the poor, and in advising the local authorities and the government.

THE WORKINGMAN TO-DAY.

Thanks to the credit societies and savings bank, an honest and hard-working man who has saved about 200 francs (\$40) can purchase a house worth 2,000 francs (\$400). Life insurance gives him the opportunity of providing for his family in case of death. The long term fixed for repayment of the loans greatly facilitates the fulfillment of his contract. The provisions of the law of 1889 clearly show that the law tends to ameliorate the condition of the true hard-working man, whose life and health are specially precious to every country. In order to get a loan for building or purchase of a house the workman must be laborious, honest, and sparing. The Belgian law offers a splendid example as a legislative measure for the bettering of the present conditions of the poorer classes in every country.

THE NECESSITY FOR SLEEP.

IN the April *Harper's* Dr. Andrew Wilson discusses in half-popular vein the phenomenon of sleep, under the title "The Ape of Death." He explains how it is that our organs rest while we are asleep. Even breathing becomes an intermittent action, and there is a pause between breaths. With the heart the pause is still more plain, and Dr. Wilson shows that, distinguished physiologist as he was, Dr. Holmes was not altogether accurate when he described the heart as "forever quivering o'er its task." The most remarkable part of Dr. Wilson's article is that which tells of the effects of losing sleep, when he illustrates the absolute necessity to the human system of giving the vital organs that rest which sleep brings.

"One of the most remarkable facts to be found in the history of sleep consists in the utter inability to resist its onset in cases of extreme fatigue. Several remarkable instances are given in which persons have continued to walk onward while sleep has overcome them, the automatic centers of the brain evidently controlling and stimulating the muscles when consciousness itself had been completely abrogated. It is recorded that at the battle of the Nile, amid the roar of cannon and the fall of wreckage, some of the over-fatigued boys serving the guns with powder fell asleep on the deck. Dr. Carpenter gives another instance of allied kind. In the course of the Burmese war the captain of a frigate actively engaged in combat fell asleep from sheer

exhaustion, and slept soundly for two hours within a yard of one of the biggest guns, which was being actively worked during his slumbers. It is matter of common medical knowledge that extreme exhaustion in face of the severest pain will induce sleep. Here the imperative demand of the body—a demand implanted, as we have seen, in the constitution of our frames—asserts its influence; and even pain, the ordinary conqueror of repose, has in its turn to succumb. One of the most extraordinary cases in which the overruling power of sleep was ever exemplified was that of Damiens, condemned for treason in Paris in 1757. He was barbarously tortured, but remarked that the deprivation of sleep had been the greatest torture of all. It was reported that he slept soundly even in the short intervals which elapsed between his periods of torture. Among the Chinese a form of punishment for crimes consists in keeping the prisoner continually awake or in arousing him incessantly after short intervals of repose. After the eighth day of such sleeplessness one criminal besought his captors to put him to death by any means they could choose or invent, so great was his pain and torment due to the absence of 'nature's soft nurse.' Persons engaged in mechanical labor, such as attending a machine in a factory, have often fallen asleep despite the plain record of pains and penalties attending such dereliction of duty, to say nothing of the sense of personal danger which was plainly kept before their eyes."

ABOUT DOROTHY DREW.

THIS world-renowned nine-year-old granddaughter of Mr. Gladstone is the subject of a most interesting sketch in the *March Young Woman*. It is full of droll anecdotes. The child's political education seems to have begun early and her political convictions are decided.

"WHERE GRANDAD GOES TO DO HIS LESSONS."

The writer, whose name is not given, says:

"When not four years had passed over her head she had joined the Radicals against the House of Lords. She has no love for that ancient institution and will not hear of it. 'You mean the House of Commons,' she would say whenever the 'upper house' was mentioned in her hearing. Nor is her view of the Commons calculated to impress the members of that house with a feeling of pride. Mr. Morley, if he has room to devote a page of his 'Life' to Dorothy, will be sure to tell us how many a time he has laughed at her references to the House of Commons as 'the place where grandad goes to do his lessons.'"

THE PARLIAMENTARY GYMNASIUM.

The young lady's reverence for Parliament was distinctly defective :

"Dorothy was only three when she paid her first visit to the House of Commons, and Mr. Gladstone was still the greatest member of that distinguished assembly. Her first impression was that she was in a church, but the constant jumping of the members up and down undeceived her, and her next thought was that she was in a gymnasium ! She had been to a gymnasium not long before, and the 'bobbing up and down' which she seems to have noticed particularly at both places connected the two in her mind, and for a long time afterward the House of Commons was familiar to Dorothy as the place 'where grandad goes to do his 'nastics,' 'gymnastics' being too long a word for her at that early age."

But after all, since "Parliamentary arena" is a phrase common enough, gymnasium is a figure which can hardly be disallowed. She had her views, too, on the Eastern question :

"Mr. Gladstone would talk with her in her simple way of whatever was nearest his heart. He must have talked to her a great deal of Armenia, for Dorothy is said to have asked, just after his death, 'Do you think the Turks will be sorry grandpa is dead?' and to have added sadly, 'I know the Armenians will.'"

HER RECEPTION BY THE QUEEN.

Her visit to Queen Victoria at Windsor just before the diamond jubilee day is narrated, partly in the words of the little woman herself :

"Dorothy relates how she went down the very long corridor to put on her new white frock and her silk gloves, and how a grand servant all dressed in red came to say that the Queen was waiting. 'The Indian man whom the Queen likes very much' was at the door, and the next moment Dorothy stood before the great Queen whom her grandpapa had served for sixty years. But Dorothy thought nothing of the vastness of the empire, of the record reign which all the world was celebrating. It was nothing to her that the kindly gray-haired lady before her was mistress of one-quarter of the whole human race. To Dorothy she was just another woman like grandmamma, with a white cap on her head ; and Dorothy courtesied and kissed her, and told her her name was 'Dorsie,' that she called Mr. Gladstone 'grandpapa,' that they all had pet names at the castle, and so on and so on ; and many interesting pet names were revealed on both sides. 'The Queen put on her glasses and asked me to go to the other side of the room, so that she could see me better,' Dorothy explains, 'and then she took a little jewel-case and said,

"This is for you." I opened it and saw a darling little brooch, with a diamond V and a diamond R and a turquoise I, and a little crown at the top made of red enamel. I courtesied and kissed her hand, and said, "Thank you very much." She looked very nice and kind, and I liked her very much.' Then the Queen kissed the little *débutante* again, and Dorothy and her mother returned to town."

THE BIBLE AGAINST EARLY RISING !

The little person evidently not only reads her Bible, but means also to turn it to practical account :

"Dorothy refused to get up one morning, and when all other means had failed to coax her out of bed Mr. Gladstone was called. 'Why won't you get up, my child?' he asked. 'Why, grandfather, didn't you tell me to do what the Bible says?' asked Dorothy. 'Yes, certainly.' 'Well, it disapproves of early rising ; says it's a waste of time.' Mr. Gladstone knew his Bible better than most men, but he was not equal to Dorothy. For once in his life he was nonplussed. 'You listen, then,' went on Dorothy in reply to his exclamation of astonishment ; and turning up her Bible she read the second verse of the one hundred and twenty-seventh Psalm, laying great emphasis on the first words, 'It is vain for you to rise up early.'"

HER VIEWS ON MR. KIPLING.

Among a host of other eminent persons who have been admitted to the privilege of the young lady's acquaintance was the creator of Mowgli :

"Dorothy has met Mr. Kipling, and the author tells a good story of the meeting at his own expense. They had been in the grounds together for some time, when Mrs. Drew appeared. 'Now, Dorothy, I hope you have not been wearying Mr. Kipling,' said her mother ; and the little celebrity replied, frankly enough, 'Oh, not a bit, mother ; but he has been wearying me.'"

WAGNER AND SCHOPENHAUER.

IN the March number of the *Fortnightly Review* Mr. William Ashton Ellis, the translator of Wagner's prose works, has an interesting article on Schopenhauer's relations to Wagner. The article, which deals with Wagner and the "*Ring des Nibelungen*" before the composer had become acquainted with Schopenhauer and his philosophical system, may be taken as a refutation of a statement made by Nietzsche attributing the drama, or at least parts of it, to the immediate influence of Schopenhauer—a mistake since repeated by others.

NIETZSCHE'S MISREPRESENTATION.

In 1870 Nietzsche wrote to a friend :

"Everything that is best and loveliest is knit, for me, with the names of Schopenhauer and Wagner."

But in 1888 Nietzsche makes the following remarks on the "Ring" poem :

"Here, undoubtedly, Wagner sought his highest goal. What happened? An accident. The vessel struck a reef; Wagner was run aground. The reef was Schopenhauer's philosophy. Wagner was run aground on a contrary view of the world. What had he set to music? Optimism. Wagner was ashamed. In addition, it was an optimism for which Schopenhauer had coined an opprobrious epithet—the infamous optimism. He was still more ashamed. He pondered long; his plight seemed desperate.

"At last an outlet dawned on him. . . . And he translated the 'Ring' into Schopenhauerish. In all seriousness, that was a redemption. The debt which Wagner owes to Schopenhauer is immeasurable. The very philosopher of decadence gave to the artist of the decadence himself."

GENESIS OF THE "RING."

To this reckless misrepresentation Mr. Ellis replies :

"If any one ought to have known the truth about the genesis of the 'Ring' drama, as regards both its words and its music, it was Friedrich Nietzsche, so frequent a guest in Wagner's house at Tribtschen at the very time when the sixth volume of the master's '*Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen*' was being prepared for the press and the music for '*Götterdämmerung*' completed in all but its instrumentation (February 9, 1872). He therefore must have been aware that whatever Schopenhauerism is contained in the '*Ring des Nibelungen*' as we know it existed there before Wagner had read one line of the Frankfort philosopher's works or even heard of his system; and we can only conclude that Nietzsche's memory was the first of his faculties to fail him."

Mr. Ellis then summarizes the stages of the evolution of the "Ring." The first prose sketch, he says, was made in the summer of 1848, and in November of the same year the last two-thirds of the prose sketch were turned into a drama. But that libretto was never set to music. The political events of 1849 drove Wagner into exile, and it was not till the spring of 1851 that he seriously proposed to begin the composition of the music. Then "the spring itself inspired him to write a drama full of brighter life." This was "*Der Junge Siegfried*," but the musical setting was not begun.

"THE GRANDEST POEM EVER WRITTEN."

The next stage, dating from the autumn of 1851, is the conception of the work as a four-night piece—that is to say, two other dramas were to precede the two already written. The poem of the "*Walküre*" was completed on July 1, 1852, and the poem of the "*Rhinegold*" early in November of the same year. In a letter to Liszt, dated November 9, 1852, Wagner writes :

"I have still to rewrite the two former dramas, 'Young Siegfried' and 'Siegfried's Death,' as very considerable alterations have become necessary. . . . The tetralogy is the poem of my life and all that I am and feel."

And a little later in the same month :

"I am now working at '*Der Junge Siegfried*.' I shall soon have finished it. Then I attack '*Siegfried's Tod*'—this will take me longer. I have two scenes in it to rewrite entirely. Besides this, everything needs most thorough revision. The whole will then be—I am brazen enough to say it—the grandest poem ever written."

Before Christmas, adds Mr. Ellis, the literary work was given its last retouch, and in the first week of February, 1853, the whole four dramas appeared in type—for private circulation only.

RETOUCHING.

Mr. Ellis then deals with the changes introduced by the revision of 1852, and contends that the trend of the drama as finally printed at the beginning of 1853 is purely pessimistic. It was not till September, 1854, that Wagner first made acquaintance with Schopenhauer's system. Did he thereafter "translate the 'Ring' into Schopenhauerish," as Nietzsche alleges?

"Apart from certain minor stylistic and artistic amendments that have nothing whatever to do with what we may term the 'philosophy' of the drama, he made one temporary alteration in the text, and one only : he replaced Brünnhilde's closing apostrophe to 'Love' by what Nietzsche has called a 'versification of the fourth book of '*Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*;' but he abandoned the changeling."

It should be noted Mr. Ellis has had access to a copy of the 1853 edition—the copy presented by Wagner to Schopenhauer and annotated by the latter. He has thus been enabled to settle in the negative the question of retouching the "Ring" in a Schopenhauerian sense.

UNCONSCIOUS COLLABORATION.

The second half of the article is devoted to Schopenhauer's attitude toward Wagner's music. Schopenhauer was a fervent admirer of Rossini and Mozart; but, in conclusion, Mr. Ellis quotes instances from the early writings of Wagner and

Schopenhauer showing that the bulk of the latter's philosophy of music, with its application to the drama, is in such complete agreement with Wagner's aims and theories that we might well think the two authors were collaborating did we not know that they were ignorant of each other's views till late in 1854 :

"The difference between the two men's views of music and drama is merely this : the philosopher felt the possibility of their being united in such a way that each would supplement what the other lacked, but he could find no present tangible proof of such a possibility ; the artist not only felt the possibility, but gradually worked out for himself the means of converting it into a reality."

Another interesting article might be written on Schopenhauer and Wagner after the composer had made acquaintance with the tenets of the philosopher.

WAGNER AND BEETHOVEN.

IN November, 1897, there appeared in the *Neue Deutsche Rundschau* an interesting article on the symphony since Beethoven, by Felix Weingartner, the famous conductor. An English version of this article has now been prepared by Carl Armbruster for the *Contemporary Review*, and has duly been published in the February and March numbers. Wagner, says the writer, pours his keen satire on the symphony writers since Beethoven. He is surprised that composers gayly go on writing symphonies, without becoming aware of the fact that the "last" symphony, Beethoven's Ninth, has already been written. Herr Weingartner then proceeds to review the new classical school of composers, and says in conclusion :

"Be it a little song or a great symphony which you compose, it will be a masterpiece only if it deserves the same motto which the great Beethoven wrote upon the score of his '*Missa Solemnis*'—'From the heart—may it go to the heart.'"

In the current number of the *Monthly Musical Record* Mr. Edward A. Baughan has a word to say on Herr Weingartner's article. He is disappointed because Herr Weingartner does not fully recognize the modern developments of the symphony :

"Certainly no greater word has been said than Beethoven uttered, but a review of symphonic efforts must not be bounded by the towering wall of the Bonn master's genius. True, the symphony writers immediately following him—Schubert, Schumann, and then Brahms—cannot for a moment be compared with Beethoven, but it is certainly wrong to infer that none of these men did anything for the symphony."

GALLICANISM VERSUS ROMANISM.

REV. WILLIAM BARRY, D.D., writes in the *March National Review* on what he calls "An American Religious Crusade." His theme is Father Hecker's life and its impression on French thought. Of the struggle impending in the papacy between the Latin and the American tendencies Dr. Barry, a devout Catholic, has much to say.

THE DEAD HAND OF NAPOLEON.

He deplores the condition into which Napoleon has reduced the Church in France. It, too, is "a barracks and its clergy are a regiment. They have been made serfs of an atheistic republic." Yet they are mightily shocked when Englishmen or Americans tell them that this system is "Gallican, not by any means Catholic, and has had its day :"

"An evil day ; for it has killed initiative, sanctified cowardice, and helped to make of the French laity what they are now confessedly becoming, indifferent, or hostile, or corrupt, to a degree which no other country in Europe can rival. . . . By sheer effect of its own incompetence the system that Napoleon established has begun to show grave and disquieting tokens of failure, in the army no less than the university, in finance and law, and in the Church itself. . . . M. Taine tells us, therefore, that 'by an insensible and slow cause,' during the whole of this century, 'the great multitude of the peasants, in the wake of the multitude in the cities, is falling into paganism.' In other words, they are giving up religion. The barracks complete what was begun in the fields or the workshop or the factory ; and to scrape together as much money as possible and to have as few children as possible is the moral code, thanks to which France has arrived at her present condition. . . . We are running no small risk of lapsing into a religious society composed of clergy, women, and children, with the merest sprinkling of grown-up men."

"BE ROMAN—NOT LATIN."

This is a heavy indictment against the Church in France from the pen of a loyal Catholic. He goes on to distinguish between decadent Latinism and perennial Romanism. He says :

"The Latin experiment is coming to an end. If Rome were simply Latin it would be coming to an end likewise. It would lose its hold upon the intellect and character of those in every nation who guide the course of things ; it would shrivel up into a memory or be entombed like a fossil in the depths of the past. . . .

"When Leo XIII. was addressing the Slavs,

whom he is anxious to keep or to bring within the pale of his jurisdiction, he said to them, 'Be Roman; I do not ask you to be Latin;' and he left to them their own liturgy in their native tongue. He has done as much, or more, on behalf of the Oriental Christians. And he is watching with keen interest the ebb and flow of ideas, social or religious, or both, among those Americans who at length seem destined to make the English spirit an open instead of a sealed volume to races bred upon the classic and coercive tradition of which Napoleon was the last great figure. Nay, it was his chosen legate, Cardinal Satolli, who in a memorable address at Chicago put forward the Book of the Gospels and the American Constitution as furnishing a complete charter of human life."

THE RÔLE OF THE NORTHERN NATIONS.

Freedom and self-control are the qualities needed to burst the Napoleonic fetters and save the Latin races from their deadly thralldom.

"What we are now considering is the future. It would appear that Rome has something precious to offer it, and that the English and Teutonic peoples do not come to that bargain with empty hands. If authority be indispensable where tradition is to be upheld—if history cannot be blotted out and union is the safeguard of dogma; yet the Northern nations, founding themselves on old and undoubted Catholic principles, have alone understood how to combine social freedom with stable institutions, and that is the gift which they now would make to the Latin world."

TOLSTOI AND HIS FAMILY ESTATE.

MR. TCHERTKOFF, late secretary to Count Leo Tolstoi and now one of a group of exiles in Essex, explains to an interviewer in the *Young Man* for March something of the family relationships of the great Russian. He says:

"You must bear in mind that Tolstoi was

married before he formed his present opinions. His wife is rich, and she by no means shares his views. She has, in fact, not the slightest sympathy with them. The Countess figures in the society of Moscow and lives as ostentatiously as she pleases, quite regardless of what people may think. She has with her, too, nearly all the children—only two out of the eight, both daughters, having any sympathy with their father. Soon after his marriage Tolstoi made over to his wife the sole rights of certain books, which were then and still are of considerable value. Since changing his views, however, Tolstoi has renounced some of his earlier works, with which he does not now fully agree; and he has, of course, refused to receive any payment for his literary work. Once his books are published they are common property, and anybody can print them. After his 'conversion' he applied this rule to all his old books over which he had control. His wife, however, declined to relinquish the interest in the works which he had given her, and she still receives money from these books, though she knows it is strongly against her husband's wishes. That is the kind of treatment Tolstoi endures in his own home.

A GUEST IN HIS WIFE'S HOUSE.

"It can hardly be called a home, in fact; Tolstoi is simply a guest in his wife's house. But he is devotedly attached to his wife, and he is always so perfectly contented that he forgets the little ironies of home life and the petty persecution to which he is subjected and is quite happy. As wealth goes in Russia, the family are very well-to-do. They derive a large income from several estates in the possession of the Tolstoi family, and years ago Tolstoi made over all his property to his wife and children, each child receiving five hundred pounds a year save one daughter who refused it. She shares her father's views, which forbid the holding of unnecessary property and indulgence in luxury. Tolstoi himself has neither money nor property."



THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

WE have quoted in another department from the story of "The Rescue of Admiral Cervera" and from Dr. Andrew Wilson's study of the phenomenon of sleep, in the April *Harper's*.

An extremely readable account is given by Rear Admiral Beardslee of the trial of the battleship *Oregon*, in May, 1896, when the *Oregon* maintained for four hours a speed of 16.79 knots and earned for her builders \$175,000. The price of the boat was \$3,180,000, and the minimum contract speed was 15 knots, with a bonus of \$25,000 for each quarter knot excess. Admiral Beardslee evidently has a splendid confidence in the Scotts, who built the *Oregon*, as well as another famous ship, Dewey's *Olympia*. In the midst of the trial of the *Oregon* he says that Mr. Scott asked him what he was excited about. "Great heavens, Mr. Scott!" I answered, "why are you not excited? The breaking of a ten-cent bolt may cost you a hundred thousand dollars." "Yes," he answered, "I fully realize it; but it isn't going to break. I know them all personally."

In Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge's history of the Spanish-American War he describes the blockade of Cuba and pursuit of Cervera in this third chapter. There is a picturesque travel sketch entitled "Thirteen Days in Unexplored Montenegro," by May McC. Desprez, with good photographs, and an article of æsthetic interest, opening the number, by Arthur Symons, entitled "Aspects of Rome." A new serial begins in this number, "The Princess Xenia," by H. B. Marriott Watson.

THE CENTURY.

THE April *Century* opens with further installments of its two serials, "The Many-Sided Franklin," by Paul Leicester Ford, and "Alexander the Great," by Prof. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, both of them finely illustrated and altogether worthy of the *Century*. Rufus B. Richardson describes some "American Discoveries at Corinth," including a relic of St. Paul. J. James Tissot, the creator of the now well-known pictures of the life of Christ, contributes a short sketch, "Round About Jerusalem," in which he describes the casual scenes of every-day life about the sacred city, and aids his text with sketches of the types of Jews to be seen about Jerusalem by the tourist of to-day. General Sherman's contribution for the month is taken up with his visit to Russia, which he tells of in diary form.

Mr. William C. Peckham makes an interesting article on the "popular scientific" vein, under the title "Absolute Zero." In his discussion of the scientists' search for that ultima Thule, the greater part of his article is taken up with a discussion of what has recently been done in the liquefying of air, especially Mr. Tripler's laboratory work. But as to the attainment of the absolute zero there is still an undiscovered boundary before the experimenter. "That was a proud moment," says Mr. Peckham, "for the investigator when the last-known gas yielded to his power. By boiling liquid hydrogen in a vacuum he may approach within 40° or 45° of absolute zero. But unless some new and more

subtle gas can be found in considerable quantities or some new mode of working be invented, there is little hope of crossing this narrow intervening space."

Admiral Sampson tells of "The Atlantic Fleet in the Spanish War," and discusses with dignity and direct simplicity the points which have been so much mooted of late concerning the knowledge of the whereabouts of Cervera and the quality of Schley's judgment when he was before Cienfuegos. Admiral Sampson calculates that there were 9,420 shots fired by the American fleet in the action of July 3, which ammunition cost about \$85,000 and consisted of 47 thirteen-inch, 89 twelve-inch, 319 eight-inch, 171 six-inch, 473 five-inch, 251 four-inch, 6,533 six-pounder, 780 three-pounder, 466 one-pounder, and 330 one-pounder and 37 mm. shells. As against this, Dewey shot away 5,651 shells, costing \$45,000, to destroy the Spanish fleet, and his ammunition was classified as 157 eight-inch, 635 six-inch, 623 five-inch, 1,957 six-pounder, 648 three-pounder and 47 mm., and 1,682 one-pounder and 8 mm. shells.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE.

IN his April chapter in the story of the Rough Riders Colonel Roosevelt describes the effects of the Mauser bullets when they struck the American soldiers. He says they made a small, clean hole, and the wound healed in a remarkably short time. Some of the men shot in the head had the skull blown open, but in other cases the wounds from these little steel-coated balls were nothing like so serious as those made by the old large-caliber, low-power rifle. Very few of the wounded died, even under the adverse conditions of poor attendance and a lack of supplies.

Prof. William James writes on "The Gospel of Relaxation," discussing the necessity for real rest from the standpoint of the psychologist. Professor James' application of psychology to practical life argues for the effort of every one to give an example of easy and calm ways, and he shows the psychological effects of an imitative law which will bring an immediate influence under the reflex of calmness in the individual on the conduct of his associates and acquaintances.

Mr. Frederick Palmer describes graphically "A Winter Journey to the Klondike," with a glimpse of the mines in and around Dawson, illustrated with some striking photographs made by the author while taking this perilous journey.

McCLURE'S MAGAZINE.

THE April *McClure's* opens with one of Mr. Cleveland Moffett's graphic descriptive articles, telling the story of his ride on the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy special train which runs up to ninety miles an hour in its race to save a day between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

Mr. Brooks Adams, one of the four sons of Charles Francis Adams, contributes a well-considered article, "The New Struggle for Life Among the Nations." He looks upon the Spanish war as only the shock caused by the movement of the economic center of the world to

the West, a movement that has been going on for a thousand years. "Probably," he says, "within a generation the United States will have faced about, and its great interests will cover the Pacific, which it will hold like an inland sea. The natural focus of such a Pacific system would be Manila. Lying where all the paths of trade converge, from north and south, east and west, it is the military and commercial key to eastern Asia. Intrenched there and backing on Europe, with force enough to prevent our competitors from closing the Chinese mainland against us by discrimination, there is no reason why the United States should not become a greater seat of wealth and power than ever was England, Rome, or Constantinople."

In Dr. George Adam Smith's introductory chapter to the life of Prof. Henry Drummond, printed in this number of *McClure's*, he says: "Perhaps the most conspicuous service which Henry Drummond rendered to his generation was to show them a Christianity which was perfectly natural. You met him somewhere, a graceful, well-dressed gentleman, tall and lithe, with a swing in his walk and a brightness on his face, who seemed to carry no cares and to know neither presumption nor timidity. You spoke, and found him keen for any of a hundred interests. He fished, he shot; he skated as few can; he played cricket; he would go any distance to see a fire or a football match. He had a new story, a new puzzle, or a new joke every time he met you."

There is a new installment of "Sketches in Egypt," by Mr. C. D. Gibson, another "Stalky" story by Rudyard Kipling, further chapters in the serials on Lincoln's life, and Captain Mahan's "The War on the Sea and Its Lessons."

THE COSMOPOLITAN.

WE have quoted in another department from Mr. Julius Moritzen's "Extraordinary Story of John Worrell Keely" and from Mrs. E. E. Wood's article on "The Organization of a Home." The literary feature of this number of the *Cosmopolitan* is the opening installment of Count Leo Tolstoi's latest novel, "The Awakening." The ten chapters which are printed here are occupied in telling of the fall and terrible misfortunes of a Russian girl and of the personality of her lover and betrayer, a young Russian of high family, whose character and sociological predilections suggest that the Count is looking on his own career as a young man in making the picture. Another great Russian helps to make the number attractive. The opening feature is the reproduction of a dozen of Verestchagin's great pictures of Napoleon at Moscow. The painter proves himself to be, after Tolstoi, the first supporter of the Czar in his policy of disarmament.

Of the "Great Problems in Organization" Mr. F. W. Morgan discusses "Recent Developments in Industrial Organization," in rather too abstract and philosophical a vein to be most effective. Mr. Morgan thinks that without a legislative protection the public is generally amply able to look after itself. "If," he says, "a purchaser invests in shares quoted at 90 per cent. below par, he must either know what he is doing and purchase with a fixed purpose, or he is one of those unfortunate individuals who are beyond the reach of all protective laws, and who will, so long as the human race exists, stand as an illustration of the old saw, 'the fool and his money are soon parted.'"

MUNSEY'S MAGAZINE.

IN an article on "The New Wall Street" the April *Munsey's* tells of the booming times now present in the financial center of the United States and the fortunes that have been made in the recent tremendous rise of values in the stock market. The writer estimates the values in stocks and bonds at the end of February, 1899, at probably greater by between two thousand and five thousand millions of dollars than they were at the end of February, 1898. The leader in this tremendous bull movement has been the astute Mr. Roswell P. Flower, ex-governor of New York State, with Mr. D. O. Mills, the Vanderbilts, and others as enthusiastic lieutenants.

A well-illustrated article on "The Filipinos" is chiefly occupied in telling of the dress and manners of Filipino women. The women are industrious, but this writer says that the men do not make her a beast of burden, as is the case with the Chinese, and he gives the Filipinos credit for a native manliness that accounts for this superiority.

Munsey's tells of the promising orator who has come to the Senate, the Hon. Albert J. Beveridge. Mr. Beveridge was an Illinois farmer boy who worked as a teamster and lumberman and paid his way through Fresh-water College, working so energetically that his health failed and he had to go to the plains to regain it. Then he became a successful young lawyer in Indiana and is at thirty-six a United States Senator, one of the youngest men ever elected to the Senate from an important State. He and Mr. Depew are the most striking of the new members of the Senate.

THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

THE April *Ladies' Home Journal* has some readable reminiscences of "The Magnificent 'Madam' Rush," as the writer, William Perrine, calls the old lady who ruled the fashions and manners of Philadelphia in the middle of this century. This curious autocrat was of huge stature, she spent an unheard-of amount of money each year on her dress, although she was from respectable Quaker stock, and was as eccentric in her attire as in every other matter of her life. The President of the United States could not feel his visit to Philadelphia complete until he had been presented to this personage as she paraded down the street with a magnificent beau on either side of her as escort. Curiously enough, the lady was exceedingly homely, but her mind was quick, original, assertive, her will masculine in firmness and her flow of high spirits un-failing, her conversation astonishingly fertile and her generosity lavish. Her mind so engaged the admiration of men that they forgot her homeliness. This lady's husband was a quiet, scholarly man who took no part in the extravagances of his spouse and seemed unmoved by her daring eccentricities. When Mrs. Rush died the doctor-husband lived alone in solitary privacy for twelve years, and when he died left their enormous fortune to found a library for scholars, from which the testator ordered that all fiction should be excluded, as well as newspapers, which, in his judgment, were "vehicles of disjointed thinking."

A Japanese writer, Onoto Watanna, describes in this number "The Life of a Japanese Girl." She says that the Japanese girls of to-day enjoy much greater freedom and liberty than before the great revolution of the

governmental system. Previous to that time there had been distinct classes of people in Japan, and the classes were forbidden under pain of punishment to intermingle. It was only the higher classes who enjoyed opportunities of advanced education and had chances for development, but in these days all classes have equal rights.

Dr. J. T. Scharf describes what he calls "The Most Remarkable Trees in the World." Among these he tells us about the largest tree in the world, which is to be seen at Mascali, near the foot of Mount Etna, and is called "The Chestnut Tree of a Hundred Horses." The trunk is two hundred and four feet in circumference. He tells us that in Lombardy there is a cypress tree which is said to have been planted in the year of our Saviour's birth, and he mentions others that are said to be from four thousand to six thousand years old. Other remarkable trees he describes are those that produce bread, butter, candles, vinegar, saccharin, and flour. He gives the palm for the most beautiful tree to the peepul, of Hindustan.

THE NEW ENGLAND MAGAZINE.

THE April *New England Magazine* opens with a finely illustrated article on "The New England Governors in the Civil War," by Elizabeth B. Bates. The writer admires the way in which the war governors in New England stood together through the troublesome times, irrespective of their personal opinions, each giving his unqualified support to the Government.

Charles Welsh writes on "The Early History of Children's Books in New England," beginning with the very first appearance of juvenile literature and passing through the dreary period in the literary history of this country during the one hundred and sixty years which followed the landing of the Pilgrims. In fact, he says it was not until nearly a hundred years after that epoch that any special attempt was made in New England to provide literature for the children, so that the early settlers brought nothing with them in the way of knowledge of that sort of thing. Most of the books were, of course, religious. Of these, of course, the first was "The Pilgrim's Progress," which was printed in Boston in 1681 and reprinted in 1706.

An article which deals with quite a different section of the United States than New England is written by Calvin Dill Wilson, "Through an Old Southern Country." He describes that part of Maryland which borders on Pennsylvania and Delaware, chiefly famous nowadays as the home of the canvas-back duck, and which produced some fine men as well as ducks in early days. At the head of the Gunpowder River was a town named Joppa that was for many years the chief port of Maryland. Ships from all over the world came into its harbor, and it promised to be one of the leading towns of our country. But Baltimore began to loom up, and for many obscure reasons, never satisfactorily explained, Joppa lost ground, until now there is but a single house on its site.

THE CHAUTAUQUAN.

MISS R. B. MORY begins the April *Chautauquan* with an article on "Women at the English Universities." At Oxford there are about three thousand men and two hundred women students, and nearly the same number at Cambridge; at Cambridge the women being housed at Girton and Newnham Colleges

and at Oxford in four halls—Somerville, Lady Margaret, St. Hugh's, and St. Hilda's. The earliest of these women colleges was Girton, opened twenty-six years ago. These are only residence halls. At Cambridge most of the lectures are repeated to the women, and at Oxford the women attend the university lectures at the same time and place as the men, with the exception of Magdalen College, whose courses are still closed to them. The great question, of course, now mooted is the admission of women to degrees. The women are allowed to take the examinations just as the men do, but as yet they have not been allowed to take degrees.

William E. Curtis describes the curious community at Calumet, a settlement on a sharp tongue of land projecting into the center of Lake Superior, on the north shore of Michigan, which is neither a town, nor a city, nor a village, and is yet, perhaps, the richest community of its size in the world. It has nearly two thousand houses, twenty miles of streets, and eleven miles of macadam roadway. It is not incorporated, it has no organized form of government, but seems to get on perfectly well, without saloons or disorderly houses of any kind or without constables or courts.

In a short paper on "Cooperation in Business" Mr. C. W. Whitney sketches the devices, more or less socialistic, which have been attempted in America to equalize the distribution of profits in business as between the proprietor and manufacturer and the working people. He gives in the course of his article Mr. De Vinne's opinion that profit-sharing would not work, at least in his business. It had been thoroughly tried.

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE.

LIPPINCOTT'S for April begins, as usual, with a novelette this month, entitled "The House of Pan," by Anna R. Brown. Frank A. Burr tells about "The Men Who Impeached Andrew Johnson." When the final vote was taken on the impeachment, on May 26, 1868, thirty-five men voted that the President was guilty and nineteen opposed them and saved him.

Frederick H. Dewey attempts to describe "How an Earthquake Looks and Feels." His experience is chiefly gained in California, where the earthquakes are not uncommon, but are seldom dangerous. Mr. Dewey says:

"The sensation of an earthquake at sea is startling. The ship is shocked from stem to stern, and the first impression is that she has struck a rock. On a railroad train in motion the sensation is that the wheels have run over a fair-sized stone, for it is a severe jolt. In the lofty modern office-building the affrighted tenant fancies the edifice is swaying back to and fro over the periphery of about half a block, when in reality the oscillation is confined to a few inches, except in severe cases."

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

THE *Atlantic Monthly* for April begins with an essay by Prof. John Fiske, entitled "The Mystery of Evil"—needless to say a study of eminent ability. In it the writer reviews the conceptions of evil that have been held by theologians and philosophers, and while making no pretense of solving the problem and explaining the mystery, attempts to show how at any rate we can conceive that the presence of evil is necessary in the world if we are to know what good is—that is, he insists on the necessity of a contrast in any conception of good or goodness.

Mr. Samuel Harden Church contributes a tricentenary study of Oliver Cromwell, apropos of the three hundredth anniversary of Cromwell's birthday, April 25, 1899. Mr. Church is an ardent Cromwell worshiper, and concludes this article with a congratulatory assurance that this anniversary finds the Puritan's fame "cleared from every unjust aspersion, his public acts illuminated by the purest patriotism, his work so well understood as to be full of inspiration for freemen in all ages, and his statue set among the sovereigns of England, of whom he was the greatest."

Prof. T. J. J. See writes on "The Solar System in the Light of Recent Discoveries," beginning with a new law of temperature, discovered by him, which sheds some new light on the theories of creation held by astronomers. There is another chapter of "Reminiscences of Julia Ward Howe," and an article on the "Growth of the British Colonial Conception," by W. A. Ireland.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

IN another department we have quoted from two articles appearing in the March number of the *North American*—Demetrius C. Boulger's study of the Chinese question and Charles A. Crampton's paper on the present prospects of the sugar-cane industry in our new dependencies.

Mr. Walter C. Hamm reviews the successive phases of negro suffrage in the South from the close of the Civil War down to the present day. First came the negro and carpet-bag governments of the decade ending in 1877; then succeeded an era of white domination maintained very generally by force and fraud; finally we have the adoption of educational qualifications of the suffrage in Mississippi, South Carolina, and Louisiana, with the probability that other States will follow. Negro suffrage has involved the whole country—not the South alone—in serious embarrassments, out of which the writer of this article can see but one straight road—namely, through a constitutional amendment making ability to read and write a suffrage requirement throughout the Union, and also making literacy the basis for the apportionment of members of the House of Representatives and of votes in the electoral college.

Writing on the proposition to reestablish the railroad pooling system in this country, Mr. H. T. Newcomb asserts that the opposition to such a system is largely based on a popular misconception of the efficacy of competition in reducing transportation charges. Then, too, the "trusts" and corporations which now profit from unjust discriminations see that a well-regulated pooling system would make such discriminations difficult or impossible to obtain. Hence the opposition to these interests.

Seldom has the emptiness of the popular cult known as "Christian science" been so mercilessly exposed as in the paper by Mr. William A. Purrington in this number of the *North American*. The quotations from Mrs. Eddy's books amply justify the writer's conclusion that publicity will be more effective than legislation in condemning such a system of "faith."

Mr. Andrew Carnegie's second article on "Americanism Versus Imperialism" is devoted to the expansionist argument—which Mr. Carnegie characterizes as "the one vital element of imperialism"—that we owe a national duty to subject races, "the white man's burden." Mr. Carnegie meets this argument with the contention

that our people cannot elevate the Filipinos because we cannot live among them—at least, our women and children cannot, and the contact of our soldiers with the natives is likely to prove anything but elevating.

Dr. Felix L. Oswald contributes an interesting comparison between the results of ancient and modern battles in respect to loss of life, tending to show that the invention of gunpowder has made war less murderous than it was before.

Alexander Sutherland, author of "The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct," discusses some of the points raised in a recent criticism of his book by Goldwin Smith; a paper written by the late Nelson Dingley on "The Sources of National Revenue" is published in this number; ex-Senator Peffer writes on "A Republic in the Philippines;" the Rev. Dr. J. P. Jones, an American missionary in India, contributes the first of a series of articles on "British Rule in India;" Leon Mead advocates the founding of a training-school of diplomacy at Washington; John Gilmer Speed writes a rather caustic review of the operations of the newspaper correspondents in our war with Spain.

THE FORUM.

ELSEWHERE in this number we have quoted from the articles on "Colonies and Other Dependencies," by President C. K. Adams, "Influence of the War on Our Public Life," by Prof. L. S. Rowe, and "Is Our Army Degenerate?" by Col. A. S. Bacon, in the March *Forum*.

Capt. H. C. Taylor, writing on the future of our navy, estimates that during the time prior to the establishment of a naval basis in the Philippines we should require eight battleships in those waters to make head against the six that a possible combination of naval forces there might oppose to our fleet.

Mark Twain frees his mind in this number in regard to the pay and clothes prescribed for our diplomatic servants by the Government at Washington. He says:

"For a long time we have been reaping damage from a couple of disastrous precedents. One is the precedent of shabby pay to public servants standing for the power and dignity of the republic in foreign lands; the other is a precedent condemning them to exhibit themselves officially in clothes which are not only without grace or dignity, but are a pretty loud and pious rebuke to the vain and frivolous costumes worn by the other officials. To our day an American ambassador's official costume remains under the reproach of these defects. At a public function in a European court all foreign representatives except ours wear clothes which in some way distinguish them from the unofficial throng and mark them as standing for their countries. But our representative appears in a plain black swallow-tail, which stands for neither country nor people. It has no nationality. It is found in all countries: it is as international as a night-shirt. It has no particular meaning; but our Government tries to give it one: it tries to make it stand for republican simplicity, modesty, and unpretentiousness. Tries, and without doubt fails; for it is not conceivable that this loud ostentation of simplicity deceives any one. When a foreigner comes among us and trespasses against our customs and our code of manners, we are offended, and justly so; but our Government commands our ambassadors to wear abroad an official dress which is an offense against foreign man-

ners and customs, and the discredit of it falls upon the nation."

Mr. Edward Kelly outlines a borough system of city government similar in many respects to that of Paris.

"Let every citizen have, within easy access of his home, a borough building to which he can address himself for all the social and municipal purposes of life. Let those who take an interest in improving social and municipal conditions find in such a building a place where they can meet and know one another. Let such a building be a ground upon which the city official can meet the citizen volunteer in those departments where coöperation between them is advantageous."

Prof. D. T. MacDougal gives reasons for considering life on other planets than ours as quite within the range of possibility, if not probability, although up to the present time there has been a lack of actual demonstration leading to such a conclusion. For the required evidence we may look with hope to the investigations on the surface-markings of Mars now in progress.

Dr. Felix L. Oswald takes a pessimistic view of the difficulties in the way of overcoming outlawry in Cuba. He calls the island "a lost Eden," and predicts that large areas of it will not be wrested from the bushwhackers for years to come.

The old idea of Liberian colonization for the American negro is persistent. Mr. O. F. Cook, formerly a professor in Liberia College, advocates it in the March number of the *Forum*, holding, however, that the colonization societies should devote more attention to organized efforts for aiding the colonists on their arrival in Liberia than to inducements to negroes to go there.

The Hon. W. D. Bynum discusses "Needed Reforms in Our Monetary System;" Mr. C. Wood Davis reviews the controversy of the statisticians over the American wheat supply; Mr. Norman Hapgood propounds a theory of dramatic criticism; and the Hon. Charles Denby undertakes to tell us what is to be done with the Philippines, but is interrupted in the middle of what promises to be a very satisfactory article by his appointment on the Philippine commission.

THE ARENA.

IN the March *Arena* Mr. William J. Strong, of Chicago, presents the case of the railroad employees who were "black-listed" for participation in the great strike of 1894. Photographic reproductions of parts of the evidence in the case accompany the text of Mr. Strong's article.

The Hon. John T. Kenney, a member of the Ohio Legislature that elected Senator Hanna, relates the doings of that body, not omitting certain alleged occurrences that one would fail to find reported in the official record of proceedings.

Mr. J. A. Kinghorn-Jones offers the following as a tentative scheme of government for our new possessions:

"A. Inhabitants of districts shall appoint committees to register occupants of all land.

"B. Use only will constitute ownership of land.

"C. No land shall be sold.

"D. Occupants shall retain only as much land as they can use, the remainder being open for settlement by others.

"E. Land value shall be coined and pass into circulation. The United States Treasury to lend up to half

the value of the land to users, who will repay one-tenth of the amount of such loans each year.

"F. In allotment of lands present occupants will have precedence; then other natives of the islands; next, other inhabitants; and, lastly, immigrants in the order of their arrival."

Mr. S. Ivan Toujoroff says of the growing friction between Norway and Sweden:

"The Norwegians are hotly intolerant of the Swedish claim of hegemony, or even of coördinate government over Norway. During the past few years the separatist movement in Norway has been advancing at a rate which has alarmed more than one crowned head who rules over a composite country. Only a short time ago the German Emperor quietly intimated to the Norwegian Parliament that it would have to deal with the armed power of the German empire if it undertook to employ force in its struggle for separation from Sweden. The Norwegians, however, were not very seriously alarmed by this imperial demonstration in the interest of existing conditions, and, as if in flat defiance of the Kaiser's warning, ended a long succession of separatist measures by decreeing that Norwegian vessels and public buildings should carry a distinctively Norwegian flag, free from the odious emblems of unity with Sweden. This crowning act of aggression at Christiania convinced the Swedish Government of the important facts that Norway was on the verge of revolt and that the separatist movement needed more drastic treatment than King Oscar, the conciliatory, had found it in his heart to employ."

Mr. Charles Johnston describes the literary methods of Count Tolstoi; Mr. Bolton Hall contributes a bit of satire on private ownership of land, entitled "Lords of the Air;" Cora L. V. Richmond writes on "The Spiritualism of To-day;" and Dr. W. R. Tuttle propounds the query, "Does Education Produce Pessimists?"

THE COMING AGE.

MR. B. O. FLOWER'S new magazine has two interesting editorial "conversations" with Mr. William D. McCrackan and Mr. James A. Herne, respectively. Mr. McCrackan devotes his remarks to the discussion of the land question, while Mr. Herne discourses on the present outlook for the American drama, which he considers by no means dark.

"The drama is moving onward and upward; it is in a state of evolution. But by confusing the drama with anything in the form of entertainment that takes place in a theater, the people allow themselves to be misled. I believe the drama is healthier, stronger, and truer to-day than ever before, and I believe that there never was a time when there was so much good acting as to-day. I have never seen so much really good acting—stock acting—by average actors as there is in New York at the present time. The actors, for the most part, seem to be honestly trying to get down to the truth, and that is very hopeful."

There is a "Peace and Progress" symposium, in which the Rev. R. E. Bisbee, Ernest H. Crosby, and Mrs. Mary A. Livermore participate. Each of these writers seems to take the Czar's proposition at its full face value and to be fully convinced that the time for an aggressive forward movement of the advocates of international peace has arrived.

The Rev. Dr. George C. Lorimer writes on "The World's Indebtedness to the Jew." He says:

"These people cannot in the future be subjected to severer ordeals than they have endured in the past. History witnesses to their indestructibility; and we may be sure they will survive whatever strain they may be called on to endure in the struggle for existence. And more than this, notwithstanding the fury of their adversaries, the day will come, and is not far distant, when the world's indebtedness to the Jews shall be universally acknowledged, and the long night of the great tribulation be ended for evermore."

Mr. E. P. Powell has constructed a skillful argument to prove the insanity of Napoleon, especially after 1807; Prof. Daniel Batchellor writes on "Music in Relation to the Spiritual;" Mrs. C. K. Reifsnider contributes a brief account of the work carried on by the railroad department of the Young Men's Christian Association; and Dr. George D. Herron defines "The Kingdom of Heaven."

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE dominant interest in the March number of the *Contemporary* is, as usual, political and economic. A number of the principal articles have been already separately quoted elsewhere in these pages.

MRS. FAWCETT ON COMPULSORY VACCINATION.

Mrs. Fawcett defends the British Government for having relaxed the compulsory clauses of previous vaccination acts. She points out that compulsion was adopted in 1853 on two grounds—namely, that thorough vaccination in infancy was an almost complete protection against small-pox, and that universal infant vaccination involved no risk to life or health. She considers both positions to have been proved erroneous. She also quotes statistics to prove that while the deaths from small-pox had been for years steadily decreasing, the "vaccinal default," or number of children unvaccinated in proportion to the annual births, was as steadily increasing, from 4.9 per cent. in 1860 to 33 per cent. in 1878. "After thirty-two or forty-six years of nominal compulsion a very much smaller proportion of the infants born every year were actually vaccinated than was the case before the compulsory law was in the statute-book." Conjoined with the rapidly increasing number of boards of guardians which refused to carry out compulsion, these figures justified the government refusing to risk a violent conflict with the local authorities. Mrs. Fawcett strongly denounces the conduct of many magistrates toward the "conscientious objector." She says:

"I am not an anti-vaccinator—that is, I believe that vaccination generally gives protection long enough at any rate to carry one safely through an epidemic; but I have been nearer to being an anti-vaccinator than I ever was before since I have seen that the cause of vaccination appears to require magistrates in the course of the discharge of their duties to insult and endeavor to perplex the poor and ignorant who appear before them to claim exemption."

THE MUSIC THE TWENTIETH CENTURY NEEDS.

Felix Weingartner, of the Berlin Royal Opera, continues his description of the symphony since Beethoven. He speaks in the highest terms of Hector Berlioz, whose merits were not appreciated until long after his death. Variations of a theme had been common enough, but "the dramatic psychological variation" was, the writer declares, absolutely Berlioz' own creation; and in this

sense he is held entitled to be called a predecessor of Wagner. "But this daring symphony writer and master of orchestration was not yet capable of taking that grand step which was reserved for Richard Wagner—namely, to let the music of his drama grow out of the spirit of the poetry without troubling about the opera form." Yet Berlioz was the real founder of the modern school. Liszt further developed the dramatic psychological variation of a theme, and in his "Symphonic Poems" expressed the law that a piece of music must be a poem, springing from some poetical idea or mental impulse, but assuming a definite musical form. These symphonic poems of Liszt mark the modern direction since Beethoven, just as Brahms ends the neo-classical. Then in sublime elevation is seen the gigantic figure of Richard Wagner, whom no "school" touches and who stands hand in hand with Beethoven. The writer concludes with this advice to "gifted and ambitious composers:"

"Let your feelings, your thoughts, your ideas be great and noble, as great and noble as those of our great masters; then you will produce the right kind of works, and just as you produce them they will be right. . . . Brilliant technically is not enough. What we want is natural music, straightforward and powerful, sincerity and truth— . . . 'from the heart . . . to the heart.'"

THE ITALIAN ARMY AS A MEANS OF EVANGELISM.

How militarism helps on evangelism is illustrated in the life of Cavalier Luigi Capellini, founder and pastor of the Military Evangelical Church of Italy, as shortly sketched by G. Dalla Vecchia. This "Italian army evangelist," who fought for Victor Emmanuel in 1860 and 1866, chanced one day to come across a fragment of a New Testament, the reading of which changed him from Catholic to Protestant and made him an ardent evangelical propagandist. "He was fully convinced that the barracks were the most desirable field for the much-needed evangelization of Italy." In 1873, in spite of fierce clerical opposition, he founded the Evangelical Military Church. As a result the remark is sometimes heard, "All the regiment are becoming Protestant." Open opposition in the barracks has now ceased, and "the Bible is to be found wherever there are soldiers." The King knighted the evangelist in 1884 and promoted him in 1890. Before his death the Bible was read in the remotest parts of Italy. Colporteurs in the remote districts meet some one who speaks of the Bible, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred it is an ex-soldier who was in the Evangelical Military Church.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE March number of the *Nineteenth Century* offers a somewhat low average of interest, unbroken by any marked literary or social eminence.

LINE OF CLEAVAGE BETWEEN ENGLISH PARTIES.

Mr. T. E. Kebbel asks, "Is the party system breaking up?" He answers:

"The party system is disorganized now, but, so far from being exhausted, materials seem to exist for its reconstruction in more than ordinary abundance, and that in a singularly well-defined and cohesive form. . . . There is a radical party in the country growing in strength every day with faith in its own principles, and seemingly prepared to face a long period of opposition in the persecution of them. On the two questions

I have mentioned—the House of Lords and the Church of England—they will be whole-hearted; and these will be quite enough to find food for party for at least another generation.”

TRADE DISPUTES AND THE BRITISH NAVY.

Mr. A. S. Hurd writes upon the retardation of the navy by the machinists' strike. The year 1898-99 will close without a single battleship being added to the effective list of the navy. But for the trade dispute the navy would be stronger to-day than it is by twelve warships: five battleships, three first-class cruisers, one second-class cruiser, three third-class cruisers. "If war with an alliance of two or more powers had become inevitable during the past year, the navy would have been seriously handicapped in consequence." Nevertheless, England is making up leeway as quickly as possible. During the present financial year no fewer than sixteen first-class battleships are under construction, all of which are expected to be flying the pennant in 1902. The entire total for the year of armored ships under construction is twenty-eight.

PLEA FOR A BRITISH NORDRACH.

Mr. James Arthur Gibson insists that the Nordrach cure of consumption by means of high feeding and plenty of open air is quite practicable in Great Britain. He kindly details the diet and general regimen suitable for a consumptive patient. He pleads for the establishment of a British sanatorium. He urges that climate has nothing to do with the matter.

"All that is absolutely necessary is (1) a spot in the country where pure air is to be had, (2) well away from smoke, dust, traffic, and excitement, where the patients may lead the quiet, unconventional lives so necessary to their well-being; (3) the proper treatment, and (4) (but most important) the man to honestly carry it out. These four things are indispensable; nothing else is. . . . I should suggest that one thousand pounds a year at least should be given to the doctor. . . . A complete sanatorium for forty patients . . . should not cost more than five or six thousand pounds at the outside."

He holds that it will be the duty of the state to undertake such measures as may be necessary for the cure, prevention, and final eradication of the disease.

THE REAL MENELIK AND ADOWA.

Vicomte de Poncins, writing from personal impressions in Abyssinia in 1897-98, sets to work to destroy "the Menelik myth." The real Negus is no highly civilized patron such as he is often portrayed. He is "a fortunate adventurer, who has raised himself by personal valor to a supreme rank in his country; who has gathered and held the force necessary to maintain that supremacy. In Africa this implies ferocity, cunning, intelligence, and luck." He has tried to replace the old feudalism of the chiefs by a new feudalism altogether dependent on himself. He likes to be thought a pioneer of civilization, but he has been too successful against Italy to carry out that rôle:

"The victory has been disastrous to European prestige; it has destroyed the fear of the white man which was instinctive in the negro mind. The Abyssinian draws no distinctions between the various European nations—they are all whites and as such worthy of hatred; they were all, in his opinion, defeated at Adowa, and may henceforth be regarded with contempt and insulted at pleasure. The salutary lesson of Magdala is

completely forgotten, and not an Ethiopian but believes that his race has nothing to learn from us. Menelik may desire to foster European civilization, but the whole consensus of national opinion is against him, and I do not hesitate to say that the victory of Adowa has raised Abyssinian pride to such a point that the country has become inaccessible to all progress."

OTHER ARTICLES.

A grewsome historical document has been translated from the Chinese by Prof. R. K. Douglas and presented here in English dress. It is a description by an eyewitness of the sack of Yangchow in 1644 by the Manchus. It is a story full of the kind of horrors which the Turks practiced in Bulgaria and Armenia.

The Comte de Calonne describes the French judicial system, which costs twenty-five million francs a year, but which is very badly overstaffed and underpaid. He suggests many reforms, of which the chief is this: "Instead of the paid thousands we have now, a few hundred would suffice. The idea of having single judges in the courts is gaining ground."

THE FORTNIGHTLY.

IN the March *Fortnightly* Mr. Wilfrid Ward discusses the relations of Vatican and Quirinal from the Catholic point of view. He comments on the overtures now made to the papacy by ministers and ex-ministers desirous of ending the abstention of Catholic voters and of securing their aid against the forces of disorder. He refers to a pamphlet by an ex-minister which suggests the cession to the Pope of a strip of land on the right bank of the Tiber, with a railroad to the sea, and a capital sum down in place of a yearly salary. Mr. Ward's answer to these overtures is that the anticlericalists have not shown themselves negotiators worthy of confidence. "To shut up the clubs and bully the priests and bishops one day and the next to ask for an alliance is a policy which is hardly consistent." He thus describes the situation and a possible way out:

"At present each side mistrusts the other. The government knows that it has for years harassed the Church, and suspects that at bottom Catholics would be glad of any opportunity of striking at it. The Catholics mistrust a government which has for years taken every excuse to deprive them of their property. If the government undid some of its wrongs, ceased to harass the clergy, and to refuse their *exequatur* without just cause to make unfounded charges against the Catholic committees; if it gradually, but systematically, restored to the Church even a portion of the property of which she has been deprived, carried out some of the suggestions made in the pamphlet from which I have quoted, legalized the religious orders, tried to act as the genuine ally of the Church in securing respect for religion, it might gradually restore the confidence which the fanaticism of the past has wrecked. That force would be removed which has driven some Catholics to republican sympathies."

LORD CARNARVON'S HOME-RULE POLICY.

An unsigned article reviews Lord Carnarvon and home rule in the light of the "Life" of Parnell. The writer sums up:

"We now know for certain that Carnarvon was at the time of his appointment and had been for some years in favor of a policy of home rule for Ireland. It is

equally clear that he was chosen for the post of lord lieutenant on that account. It is admitted that his negotiations with Parnell were made known to and approved by Lord Salisbury. It is certain also that the appointment of Carnarvon and the belief that he was in favor of home rule and that he was pledged to support this view in the cabinet was the main motive for the Irish vote in the English borough elections being given to Tory candidates. It is equally certain that when the results of the elections were known and when the future policy to Ireland was discussed and determined by the government Carnarvon's policy was rejected and a policy of renewed coercion was determined on, and that Carnarvon's resignation was due to this."

Pending the publication of his correspondence with the premier, the writer finds two possible explanations of Lord Salisbury's attitude: either "he really was earnestly and honestly keeping an open mind on the subject," or he was at heart adverse to home rule, and only "used Carnarvon as a convenient tool" to ease the position and lure the Irish vote. The writer prefers the second alternative. He expresses the belief that Lord Carnarvon's tenure of office was the precursor of the ultimate success of his home-rule policy.

A TEST FOR FRENCH FRIENDSHIP.

"Diplomaticus" surveys the progress of Anglo-French negotiations under the heading, "Is It Peace?" He is skeptical. M. Cambon's proposal relative to access to the upper reaches of the Nile have, he says, been the subject of long discussion with Lord Salisbury. He continues:

"A decision is said to have been arrived at of which the precise nature has been the burden of various rumors. All, however, agree that a very substantial concession has been made to France. In one quarter it has been whispered that the Niger precedent has been strictly followed, with the result that France has obtained certain commercial stations on the Upper Nile. In another it is said that she has been allowed a strip of territory jutting out from her frontier at the eastern watershed of the Ubanghi to one of the tributaries of the Upper Nile. A third denies the whole Nile theory, and affirms that as compensation for the abandonment of her claims in that direction France has been given a large slice of territory in the northwest equal to the total area of France herself. This, of course, means the better part of Darfur, with a free hand generally in the hinterland of Tripoli."

The writer objects to any of these concessions. He points to the growing unfriendliness of French feeling. He declares that M. Zola was practically recalled to Paris from London by the French Government because his Anglophile utterances were held to jar on the Franco-Russian *fêtes*. "The present widespread denunciation of England" and the advocacy of a German alliance are but the precipitation of long-standing passions. The point of the article lies in these closing sentences:

"If France really desires a *rapprochement* with us, let her do what she has never done in the last twenty years—make some concession to us. . . . Let her sell to us her rights on the 'French shore' of Newfoundland."

TRAGEDY NOT NECESSARILY PESSIMISTIC.

Mr. William Archer writes on pessimism and tragedy. This is his text:

"My contention is—to put it briefly and at once—

that tragedy is not necessarily an expression of personal gloom, any more than comedy is necessarily an ebullition of personal gaiety, and that a work of imagination makes for optimism or pessimism in the reader, not in virtue of the gaiety or gloom of its story, but rather in virtue of its inherent vitality or lack of vitality, the bracing or 'lowering' quality of the spirit which animates it."

He finds tragedy, but no pessimism, in "Gösta Berling's Saga" and in "The Open Question," while he is painfully impressed with the pessimism of Sudermann's "Regina" and Meredith's "Ordeal of Richard Feverel."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Demetrius C. Boulger defends the Congo State from recent assaults of critics, maintains that the state has "done well, though not all well," and urges that it be left to work out the black problem itself. He hints that England has enough to do in Asia and should leave central Africa alone.

Maj. A. G. Spilsbury gives his version of the "Tourmaline" expedition for the opening of the Sus, and laments the disposition of Lord Salisbury to yield to the Sultan of Morocco while other powers are squeezing him to their hearts' content.

Mabel C. Birchenough writes on Jean Ingelow, whom she takes to be above all things as a poet "the singer of the English landscape."

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

THE condition of the English Liberal party gravely exercises the contributors to the *Westminster*. The first paper deals with "Liberals and Cross-Currents," and expresses the fear that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's election as leader is not and cannot be conducive to the general well-being of the party. Mr. Dudley S. A. Cosby, in the "Independent Section," tells how he would reunite the Liberal party. He wants a new leader and a new party of definite and outspoken principles. To sum up:

"A strong and just foreign policy will be linked with a policy of social reform at home, of which the question of the House of Lords and the disestablishment of the state church (in the interests of a pure religion) will be the most prominent features, and in which such questions as the 'taxation of ground-rents' and the taking over by the state of railroads and, what may be called for want of a better word, 'all other necessities of life,' will form the leading features of their programme."

A PICTURESQUE AMENITIES PARTY.

Mr. Richardson Evans describes the steps being taken to enable local authorities in England to put down "advertising disfigurement." He rejoices that "for the first time in English history a party has been formed within the House of Commons for the express purpose of defending" what he calls the "picturesque amenities." This is the title he gives to a committee formed to further his project. He insists that "there is as much popular demand for authoritative treatment of the advertising disfigurement question as for nine out of ten of the reforms that have been consecrated in the statute-book." He is prepared to grant that 5 per cent. of the public want to keep the disfiguring advertisements, sky-signs, etc., that 40 per cent. are indifferent with a leaning to toleration, 40 per cent. indifferent

with a leaning to dislike, while 10 per cent. are languidly and 5 per cent. strongly opposed to them. He holds this represents a net force strong enough to compel legislation. All lovers of scenery will welcome the endeavor to cleanse the landscape of these blots of commercialism.

THE TWO ROUSSEAUS.

Mr. Walter Emm concludes a study of Jean Jacques Rousseau with the paragraph :

"As we read the story of his life we seem to be in the presence of two men—one weak, petulant, and very human, with a romantic and impulsive temperament, an undisciplined and ill-regulated mind, demoralized by the absence of home restraints and cruel treatment during the most impressionable period of his youth, with no moral ballast to counteract inherited weaknesses, and from the first handicapped by a torturing and incurable malady ; the other, Rousseau, the fearless prophet, waging a splendid battle against tyranny and injustice in high places, inspired by a strong sympathy with the oppressed and a lofty ideal of social and national life, and withal a powerful moral and spiritual force, who stemmed the tide of materialism in France and roused the nation from a deadly lethargy and despair."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. W. Howard Campbell describes the work of famine relief in South India and quotes the remark of an old ryot : "It is a blessing that we live under this government. In the old Mogul times we should have fallen like leaves."

Priscilla E. Moulder bewails the unfortunate industrial position of women and believes the resolute suppression of sweating only possible by insisting on an act of Parliament fixing a minimum wage and a maximum working week for all classes of adult woman labor.

Mr. Robert Ewen presses for "open doors for trade" in England in the shape of free banking and the abolition of the Bank of England's monopoly.

Ellis Ethelmer's paper on "Fear as an Ethic Force" is little else than a plea for an ethics disjoined from religion.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

MR. WILLIAM WALSH'S indictment of secret societies in the Church of England receives special notice elsewhere.

THE UNHAPPY FLIGHT OF THE TRANSVAAL.

Mr. H. C. Thompson, who inveighed last month against the government of the Chartered Company, now exposes "the misgovernment of the Transvaal." Very earnest warning is given to President Kruger of what may follow on his obduracy. This is his counsel :

"People won't settle in a country where they are to be kept forever under a political disability, and until there is a free influx of an artisan population the tendency will continue, which is every day becoming more apparent, of the concentration not only of the land, but of all the resources of the country, in a few hands, so that the working classes will in time become doubly enslaved, politically to the Boers, financially to the

companies. The poorer mines are now being compelled to shut down and are being bought up by the various mining groups ; so, too, is the land. One great firm alone is said to own more than two million acres. In a few years more two or three firms will possess the whole Transvaal, and the bulk of the people will be merely engaged in working it for them at a wage, the owners, for the most part, having their permanent homes in Europe. There is little enough of independence of spirit even now in Johannesburg, and there will be far less then. What the burghers ought to do is to encourage the healthy development of a sturdy working-class element, to foster immigration, not to repress it, and to give facilities for the opening up of as many new mines as possible, so as to replace the stagnation which at present prevails by a healthy competition."

A NEW RÔLE FOR LORDS CURZON AND CROMER.

"The Future of the House of Commons" is speculated upon by a "Radical M. P." with his usual raciness. He comments on the lack of party discipline which even Mr. Gladstone could not maintain, and which Mr. Chamberlain's successful mutiny has made still more precarious :

"Mr. Chamberlain's rôle of Satan has turned out a screaming success. He has reversed the poetic justice of the Miltonic legend. The faithful and the fallen angels are each in the wrong place. It is not the rebel and his crew who have to face the 'hideous ruin and combustion,' the 'adamantine chains,' and the 'penal fire.' It is the front opposition bench Gabriels, and Michaels, and Raphaels, and Liberal seraphs generally who are sprawling over the 'burning marl,' while Beelzebub is perched up aloft in the seat of the scornful."

The writer asks whether the work of Liberalism is done, and answers, No. The working classes have to be raised in the scale of culture : "every human being in this country should and must be essentially cultured." "Radical M. P." complains that his countrymen are throwing away on conquest abroad the millions needed for education at home.

"We are throwing away men and services, as well as money, from my point of view. I think Lords Curzon and Cromer would be better, though perhaps less glitteringly, employed at Whitechapel or the New Cut or in the slums of Manchester or Glasgow than at Calcutta or Cairo."

The writer fears that "unless some powerful personality presents itself" the House of Commons will drift out of the safety of parties into the perilous chaos of groups.

OTHER ARTICLES.

The Dreyfus affair is still kept well to the fore. Sir Godfrey Lushington discusses and reprobates the conduct of M. Dupuy and M. Beaurepaire. Mr. F. C. Conybeare presents fresh evidence of the complicity of the Latin Church in the Dreyfus case. The editor retails with much amusement "the sins of the syndicate" as seriously described by the anti-Dreyfusite press.

Dr. Barry's distinction between Gallicanism, or Latinism, and Romanism is noticed in another department.

THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN REVIEWS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

M. BRUNETIÈRE'S many distractions entailed by the Dreyfus case and its developments have not apparently had the effect of making him neglect his famous review. The February numbers are fully equal to and perhaps even above the high standard attained by this repository of the best thought in France. M. Dastre's article on pearls is dealt with elsewhere.

EGYPTIAN FINANCE.

M. Lévy contributes to the first February number a masterly study on the history of the Egyptian finances. He explains how patiently England has, step by step, endeavored to render illusory the financial control established on behalf of the other great powers of Europe, though he does not say that the effect of the international control was not to the advantage of Egypt in so far as it locked up uselessly large sums of money which England wished to devote to Egypt's agricultural and commercial development. It has been well said that what Egypt wants are two things—justice and water; and M. Lévy explains very impartially the efforts which Lord Cromer and the Egyptian Government have made and are making to give the country the priceless blessing of irrigation by means of the great dam, of which the foundation-stone was laid by the Duke of Connaught the other day. In conclusion, M. Lévy seeks to ascertain impartially what influence the growing preponderance of England in Egypt has had and still has on the development of Egyptian finance. He admits that the financial credit of England, now the highest in the world, has been of great service to Egypt and has facilitated the various conversions of the Egyptian debt.

GERMAN COLONIAL METHODS.

M. Vié has a short paper on the impressions which he received during his travels in the German colonies. It is curious, by the way, to see that he has no illusions about the colonies of his own country, which, he says, flatter French vanity, but which, in fact, are not colonies, but merely a very fine colonia' administration. Bismarck once said that "England has both colonies and colonists, France has colonies without colonists, and Germany has colonists without colonies." This was truer of Germany when it was said some years ago than it is now, for in the interval Germany has largely added to her colonial empire. The development of the German colonies is primarily caused by the notable growth of the home population and the fierce struggle for a livelihood at home. The curious thing, however, is that the largest and most important German colonies are still to be found in foreign countries or in the colonies of foreign countries. Thus in the United States the strength of the German vote is well known to all politicians, and exercises a profound though unseen influence on the policy not only of the President, but also of Congress. We find these German colonies, too, in the Antilles and in the Spanish-American republics of South America. Unlike the Jews, the Germans are capable of attaining success in agriculture as well as in every kind of commercial operation. The colonial policy of Germany is not, like that of France, devoted to the acquisition of new territory merely as territory. Thus the acquisition of Kiao-Chau was not done at all for the sake of the comparatively small number of square

miles of territory, but for the sake of getting a center and a point for the development of German commerce in China.

THE NEWFOUNDLAND DIFFICULTY.

It is interesting to have from M. Fauchille, in the second February number, a clear statement of the French case in regard to Newfoundland. It is important to distinguish between the question of the fisheries and the French shore question. M. Fauchille goes over the familiar ground of the various treaties, beginning with the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, on which the French rights in Newfoundland are ultimately based. The two main difficulties between France and England in respect to Newfoundland are: (1) Whether the French fishing rights cover lobsters as well as cod; (2) whether the structures erected by the French on the French shore are permanent or temporary. M. Fauchille, of course, admits that a lobster is not a fish nowadays, but he pleads that the treaty of Utrecht should be interpreted according to current usage at that time—a principle which if applied to all treaties would probably have some startling results. Moreover, M. Fauchille does not cite any natural-history book published later than 1626 in support of the contention that a lobster was regarded as a fish in 1713, nearly a hundred years later. The truth is that in 1713 there were no lobsters in Newfoundland waters, and so nothing was said about them in the treaty. M. Fauchille also throws scorn on Lord Salisbury's contention that the French only have fishing rights and that fishing does not include trapping in pots. As regards the other question of the French shore, M. Fauchille asserts that the declaration of 1783 authorizes the French fishermen not only to construct buildings, but also to repair them, and it forbids British subjects from interfering with the buildings during the absence of the French in winter. This certainly seems to imply that buildings of a permanent nature were contemplated. The English complaint, of course, has been that the French, being only allowed to set up temporary buildings for dealing with fish, went on to put up permanent buildings, which interfered with the development of the mineral resources of Newfoundland.

A FRENCHMAN IN THE PHILIPPINES.

M. Bellessort gives a very unfavorable account of the native races in the Philippines, though he considers that the war served to develop their energies and to give them a moral strength which they did not have before. Their faces he describes as doleful or stupid, and their character, he says, is false, idle, and avaricious.

NOUVELLE REVUE.

MADAME ADAMS' review for February is, perhaps, hardly so interesting as usual, but on the whole it fairly maintains its reputation.

The place of honor in the first February number is given to a short paper by M. Le Myre de Vilers on a forthcoming work by M. Pavie, the well-known explorer. To judge by this account, the work when completed will long remain the standard authority on Indo-China. According to M. Le Myre de Vilers, M. Pavie was an ideal explorer who loved the natives and knew how to make them love him. M. Pavie sees in Cam-

bodia the land of Ophir, mentioned in the Bible, to which Solomon sent ships and which Ulysses visited.

CHARITY.

M. Elbert continues his series of papers on French charitable efforts. As is well known, the operations of private charity in France are somewhat limited owing to the existence of the *Assistance Publique*, and M. Elbert pleads most eloquently for the supplementing of official effort by a personal charity which would busy itself with individuals, putting the rich in direct contact with the poor, as a doctor is brought to a sick person, and promoting that personal sympathy and what may be called flexibility of relief which no official system, however well organized, can afford. In this connection it may be well to mention M. de Pouvoirville's article on the Green Cross. This is an organization for caring for the French soldiers from the colonies who have been discharged from the colors and find themselves without resources. As the state apparently does nothing for these poor fellows, efforts are being made to provide for their necessities, and one of Madame de Pompadour's old châteaux at Sèvres has been hired for their accommodation. M. de Pouvoirville pleads for twenty-five thousand dollars to buy the château, and adds that each invalidated soldier costs one hundred dollars a year.

REVUE DE PARIS.

EXCEPT for M. Lavis's article on Anglo-French relations, noticed elsewhere at length, there is not very much of great interest in the *Revue de Paris*. Curiously enough, nearly everything of importance seems to be concentrated in the first February number.

THE FUTURE OF AUSTRIA.

Dr. Kramarsch, a member of the Reichsrath and of the Bohemian Diet, in estimating the future of the dual monarchy, foresees danger from the violent partisans of the triple alliance in Austria. He is evidently afraid that they will become the blind tools of Germany. Indeed, he says frankly that the spread of "Pangermanism," if it really threatened Austria's national existence, would necessarily have to be checked by the other powers of Europe. That, he considers, is Austria's great protection. For the rest, he sees that what Austria needs is less bureaucratic routine and more energy. She wants a statesman who will give unity and strength to her aims both in military and in commercial affairs. The national development, intellectual and material, must be based on the formula, "No privileged nation; Austria for all her peoples."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Among other articles may be mentioned a most amusing account of the University of Salamanca and its bachelors by M. Reynier, and a careful study by M. Ernest Daudet of the famous "*Chambre Introuvable*," elected in August, 1815, and its dissolution in September, 1816. The second February number is only remarkable for another installment of Balzac letters addressed to Madame Hanska. They are dated from September 17, 1837, to July 15, 1839.

THE ITALIAN REVIEWS.

ALL the leading Italian reviews have articles this month suggested by the peace conference. The question of the presence or no of a papal delegate at the conference is exciting great interest in the peninsula, and, unhappily, much angry controversy.

In the *Rassegna Nazionale* (February 16) the well-known publicist who writes under the *nom de plume* of "Eleutero" pleads for the admission of the Pope to the conference on the distinct understanding that he attends not as a temporal sovereign, but as the Vicar of Christ and the head of the greatest Church on earth.

On the other hand, in the *Nuova Antologia* Professor Zaruchelli, of Siena, after discussing exhaustively the constitutional position of the Pope under the law of guarantees, declares that Leo XIII. has no right whatever to representation in a conference of sovereigns only, and that if he be invited the King of Italy should regard the action as a direct insult to himself. Moreover, the professor goes on to declare with much vehemence that even in his purely religious capacity he cannot see how the Pope can claim any rights beyond those belonging to the heads of any other Christian denomination, and he is convinced that his presence would only be a source of moral weakness to the conference itself.

The *Civiltà Cattolica* (February 18), wisely avoiding the immediate controversy, contents itself with pointing out in a historical sketch how both in the Middle Ages and in modern times the popes have continually played the part of mediator between nations in the interests of peace.

The *Rassegna Nazionale* hails Don Lorenzo Perosi, the young Italian composer, as the supreme genius who is to save the country from the accusation of decadence in art. In an interesting sketch of his personality the author speaks of him as a true mystic, as one whose whole work is a perpetual and passionate contemplation of the things of God. "Who," he writes, "seeing him so modest and unconscious in the midst of the triumphs that surround him, with his kindly, smiling face, like that of a child, can believe that he is in the presence of a contemporary of Gabriele d'Annunzio? As for me, the first time I met him I felt that his soul was in opposition to the decadence of our times, and that our art was sickly and unreal in comparison with the fresh and vigorous inspiration which bursts from his soul." Of "*La Gioconda*," d'Annunzio's latest play, Signor de Gistille writes in the same number with cautious praise. As an acting play he regards it as superior to "*La Città Morta*," more human and more poetic. But, like its predecessor, it is overshadowed by a sense of fatality, which to the modern reader can never be very convincing.

To the *Nuova Antologia* Signor Bosdari contributes a long and laudatory criticism on Rudyard Kipling, "a giant who has arisen in the Anglo-Saxon world." He can think of no one with whom to compare him save Homer!

The *Civiltà Cattolica* (February 18) contains a most learned and exhaustive article on the much-debated question, "When does the new century begin?" summing up all that can be said on both sides.

THE NEW BOOKS.

RECENT AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

BOOKS ABOUT THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

The Fight for Santiago. By Stephen Bonsal. 8vo, pp. xxviii—548. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. \$2.50.

Mr. Stephen Bonsal is a trained observer and a fascinating writer. His book is strictly a military contribution. It is above all a tribute to the American private soldier, who, in Mr. Bonsal's opinion, was the man chiefly entitled to credit for what was accomplished by our troops last summer. In so far as fundamental blame is to be assigned for the unreadiness of the American army for its work, Mr. Bonsal lays the responsibility at the door of Congress,—not the last Congress, but all Congresses, for years past. And Congress was nothing else than the exponent of the country itself. Mr. Bonsal does not think it worth while to enlarge the area of controversy, and is not much concerned with disputes about the merits of this or that leader. He gives us a fine description of the work of the army, and it will hold its place as one of the really good books that the war year has produced. Inasmuch as Mr. Bonsal did not seem to be occupied with the generals and their rivalries, it is a curious fact that he has stirred them up very much by certain allusions that are strongly criticised.

In Cuba with Shafter. By John D. Miley. 12mo, pp. 238. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

Lieutenant Miley left San Francisco with General Shafter as a member of his staff on the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, and remained with him throughout the Santiago campaign. His book purports to be a systematic account of the Santiago expedition, and is, presumably, a statement representing General Shafter's personal views. What Mr. Miley omits is perhaps the most conspicuous part of his narration.

The Spanish-American War. The Events of the War Described by Eye Witnesses. 8vo, pp. 228. Chicago: Herbert S. Stone & Co. \$1.50.

This little volume, which appears anonymously, is edited from the writing of newspaper correspondents, principally those who served the Associated Press during the late war. It is limited strictly to the military and naval action of the war period, and its account runs by days from February 15, the date of the explosion of the *Maine*, to August 13, the date of the capture of Manila. The book contains a good many pictures, and its direct and condensed news character makes it convenient and valuable for reference.

The Story of the War of 1898. By W. Nephew King. With Introductory Chapters by O. O. Howard and Robley D. Evans. Large oblong folio, pp. 322. New York: Peter Fenelon Collier. \$15.

The most sumptuous volume by far that has yet appeared in record of the events of our war against Spain, is issued by Mr. Collier, the publisher of *Collier's Weekly*. The book opens like a great spread eagle, and it is forty inches across the double page. It is, in fact, a portfolio, the great size of the book being due to the character of the illustrations, a number of which are beautiful specimens of color printing. While this volume is, above all, a picture book, the text is by no means to be despised. Lieut. W. Nephew King of the Navy has written a clear and faithful narrative. The illustrations in color are reproduced from paintings by Christy, Redwood, Reuterdaahl, Tyler, Stoopendaal and Pansling. The half-tone pictures, many of them very notable, especially those of the wrecked ships of Cervera's squadron, are from photographs by Hemment and others. There are also a number of full-page illustrations reproduced in half-

tone from drawings by well-known illustrators. The volume is unwieldy, but it is meritorious in the most unqualified sense. It weighs eighteen pounds!

War Poems: 1898. Compiled by the California Club. With Illustrations by W. H. Bull and Gordon Roes. 8vo, pp. 147. San Francisco: The Murdock Press. \$1.

The patriotic gentlemen of the California Club, presumably led in the matter by Mr. Irving M. Scott of San Francisco, who signs the preface, have taken the trouble to edit and publish a volume of American war poems pertaining to the events of last year. The collection is made, of course, from the periodicals and newspapers. The more ambitious contributions are followed by a lot of so-called "war jingles." It shakes one's confidence a little in this collection to find the most famous jingle of the whole war period omitted. The one rhyme of deathless quality that swept the United States last May after its prompt recognition by the *New York Sun* was credited to Kansas. It began: "Oh, Dewey was the morning!" We take it for granted that everybody knows the rest. We would suggest that the public exhaust this first edition promptly, so as to compel the California Club to print a new and revised one in which to include a good many more bits of verse. Mr. Irving M. Scott of San Francisco would probably not take it amiss if American patriots should send in to him the fugitive pieces that they had clipped from the poetry corner of their favorite paper, in order to give his committee the largest possible range of selection, if indeed they should decide to enlarge the book.

The Pearl of the Antilles. By Frederic M. Noa. 16mo, pp. 97. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 75 cents.

This very small book, that one might easily read in half an hour, contains a remarkably accurate picture of Cuban political conditions in the past, in justification of the movement for Cuban independence.

The Sinking of the "Merrimac." By Richmond Pearson Hobson. 12mo, pp. 306. New York: The Century Company. \$1.50.

Mr. Hobson's charmingly written and intensely interesting account of the sinking of the *Merrimac*, which has appeared in the *Century* magazine, is now accessible in book form. It may be safely relied upon that this book will be treasured by American boys for several generations to come. This remark is not intended to imply that the fathers of those boys will not also appreciate it.

With Sampson through the War. By W. A. M. Goode. With Contributed Chapters by Rear Admiral Sampson, Captain Robley D. Evans, and Commander C. C. Todd. 8vo, pp. 307. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. \$2.50.

The important leaders in the late war, whether by land or by sea, are not to go unrepresented in the growing collection of war books. Most of them have developed a surprising literary talent, and are rivaling the journalists and correspondents in chronicling the deeds upon which their fame will rest. Admiral Sampson was fortunate in having with him on the *New York* throughout the war a very skillful and accomplished representative of the Associated Press, Mr. W. A. M. Goode. The volume that Mr. Goode now gives us must of necessity have been written altogether from the point of view of a man who saw the war from the deck of one ship. But one must be somewhere to see a naval war, and there certainly might be worse places than the deck of the flagship. The spirit of the North Atlantic squadron is

faithfully reflected in these readable pages, and some brief chapters are contributed by commanders,—one of them on the reasons for the victory over Cervera's fleet by Admiral Sampson himself, one on the Schley expedition to Santiago by Capt. Robley D. Evans, and two brief chapters by Commander Todd of the *Wilmington*, one of which is on the Cardenas affair and the other on the southwestern blockade. Naturally, Mr. Goode takes the Sampson side in the controversy over the relative honors due that Admiral and Schley.

The Story of the Philippines. By Murat Halstead. 8vo, pp. 400. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. \$2.

Mr. Halstead has not given us a very systematic book, but it embodies a remarkable amount of information and of interesting and pertinent comment, apropos of the performances and achievements of the United States during the past year. Mr. Halstead made a very quick trip to the Philippine Islands, starting from San Francisco with General Merritt, but pausing for a time at Honolulu, and making the rest of the journey by a later ship. He would not regard himself as a first-hand authority upon the islands; but he knows unusually well how to obtain the information which he sets about acquiring, and his trip was by no means a fruitless one. In the light of what has since happened, Mr. Halstead's interview with Aguinaldo has an unanticipated importance. The volume in all its parts will be found to contain a surprising amount of timely material.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Bismarck, The Man and the Statesman: Being the Reflections and Reminiscences of Otto, Prince von Bismarck. Translated under the supervision of A. J. Butler. 2 Vols., 8vo, pp. 437—382. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$7.50.

The Bismarck conversations, as they were taken down by Busch and as they formed the basis of the gossip but important volumes which appeared some months ago under the title "*Bismarck: Some Secret Pages of His History*," certainly added nothing to the dignity of the great German statesman. They revealed, however, many of the lines of rugged strength which belong to the character of the man who made modern Germany. The two volumes of similar bulk which have appeared more recently are credited to the pen of Bismarck himself. In his last years, after retirement from office, he undertook at the instance of a firm of leading German publishers to put down on paper for publication after his death, some reminiscences of his long public career. Bismarck had failed so greatly in his old age that it was very difficult for him to carry out his plans; and Herr Bucher, whose business it was to hold the old Prince at work and take down his observations in shorthand, had a very unhappy time of it. Bismarck's mind led him off to interminable digressions; and the work seemed to move no whither. It is greatly to the credit of Bucher that he persisted under difficult circumstances, editing the notes, securing Bismarck's revision,—or, what amounts to the same thing, his acceptance of Bucher's revision,—until a large number of chapters were brought into a valuable shape. It is scarcely true to say that they form a great autobiography; but they must constitute an invaluable part of the materials for the construction of the great biography that some one has yet to write. The work is abundantly worth reading from beginning to end; but an easier and more agreeable way to deal with it will be to take it up now and again for individual chapters. For example, it is a great piece of good fortune to the student of politics to have thirty or forty pages from Bismarck himself on the Triple Alliance, a chapter on the future policy of Russia, and another on the Berlin Congress of 1878. It is needless to say that his chapters which pertain to the Versailles episode, the making of peace, and the proclamation of the new German Empire, are important in the highest degree. The first volume,—which gives Bismarck's recollections of the year 1848 and the events preceding and following that great epoch, and also his early experiences as a diplomatist and his recollections of the Crimean War,—brings the retrospect down to the Frankfurt

Diet and the affairs of the early sixties. Thereafter, the great Bismarckian-Prussian drama develops rapidly with the Schleswig-Holstein episode and the events leading up to the Franco-Prussian War. The book ends with a brief chapter on the Emperor Frederick III., following a long one on William I. There is no discussion of the present Emperor, or of Bismarck's troubles with his overapt pupil. There is, after all, a fascination that nothing else can equal in the account which a great man of action himself gives of the great events in which he played the leading rôle.

The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell. By R. Barry O'Brien. Two volumes in one, 8vo, pp. 772. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$3.50.

The public had a right to expect an authoritative biography of Charles Stewart Parnell; and the men of Irish stock scattered throughout the English-speaking world were entitled to have the great leader of the cause of Ireland adequately portrayed by one who knew him well. Mr. O'Brien, in other books, has shown himself master of the political history of Ireland and of the Irish question, and in this work he shows himself able to write a very readable biography. These two volumes, bound as one in the American edition, contain a great number of letters and documentary matter which enhance the historical value of the work. A long interview with Gladstone on the character and career of Parnell comes to us like a voice from the dead, inasmuch as it belongs to the latest period of the utterances of the great English advocate of Home Rule.

When Knighthood was in Flower, or, The Love Story of Charles Brandon and Mary Tudor, the King's Sister, and Happening in the Reign of His August Majesty, King Henry VIII. By Edwin Caskoden (Charles Major.) 12mo, pp. 249. Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Company. \$1.50.

History tells us that Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, a valiant knight of the time of King Henry VIII., was sent to France to bring home the widowed French Queen, Mary Tudor, sister of Henry, and that he married her. Tradition has added many details to the record and by a judicious and masterly exploitation of both history and tradition Mr. Charles Major, a lawyer living in Shelbyville, Ind., has created what we should call, for lack of a fitter expression, an historical drama of real power. The work is as free as possible from the various tricks and artificialities so common in attempts of this kind, but its simplicity is its strength. It is a plain, straightforward tale of life, not without occasional crudities of diction, not always faultless when tried by accepted standards of literary construction, but yet, after all deductions have been made, a book of rare merits. As a character study Mr. Major's delineation of Mary Tudor is remarkable, but the author deserves quite as much praise for his unusual success in surrounding all his characters with what is technically known as the "atmosphere" of their times. This is what gives the work its wonderful unity and consistency—qualities obviously lacking in so many would-be "historical" novels. None but a devoted student of English history could have produced such an effect. One hesitates to class Mr. Major's effort with the romances of Anthony Hope; it reminds us rather of the genius of Sir Walter Scott, and without going back to Scott it would not be easy to find its equal in its particular field. Assuredly, the spirit of romanticism is not dead.

The Companions of Pickle. By Andrew Lang. 8vo, pp. 318. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$5.

The readers of Mr. Andrew Lang's "*Pickle the Spy*" who care to pursue farther the historical by-paths on which that work may have started them will find in its sequel an entertaining volume constructed on similar lines. Mr. Lang's characters are never dull, whatever else may be their merits or defects. Somehow we find ourselves criticising them as if they had their parts to play in some bit of fiction; under Mr. Lang's deft touch they soon cease to pose as his-

torical personages; we forget, indeed, that they are historical. To us they are merely good players.

Historical Tales. Spanish. By Charles Morris. 12mo, pp. 331. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. \$1.25.

Mr. Morris has contrived to weave into these tales a considerable amount of sober history. Some of the chapters deal with distinct episodes, such as the battle of Lepanto, the sailing of the "Invincible Armada," and the defeats at Manila and Santiago, while others are more philosophical, discussing, for example, the causes of Spain's decadence.

The Autobiography of a Veteran. By General Count Enrico Della Rocca. Translated from the Italian and Edited by Janet Ross. 8vo, pp. 311. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

The Italian general and statesman, Count Enrico Della Rocca, died in 1897 at the age of ninety years. During his long life he had witnessed many important political developments. He had seen the revolutionary movement of 1848, the rise and downfall of Napoleon III., and finally the growth of a united Italy. His impressions and reflections were recorded in the autobiography which he completed in the last years of his life.

The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom. By Wilbur H. Siebert. With an Introduction by Albert Bushnell Hart. 8vo, pp. xxv—478. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$4.

A few books and magazine articles have been published about the famous "Underground Railroad" of antislavery days, and allusions to it in the literature of the period are not infrequent. It has remained for Professor Siebert to write the first comprehensive history of this unique institution. As a preparation for this work the writer spent several years in gathering materials for the narrative from living participants in the operations of this secret system of slave transportation. Interviews were had with surviving refugees themselves, when possible, as well as with those who helped them on their way out of bondage. The names of more than three thousand "underground" agents, conductors, and station-keepers are published in an appendix of the volume. One of the most interesting features of the work is the map of "underground" routes to Canada. The life of the refugees after their settlement in Canada has been traced by Professor Siebert with great care, and recent photographs of some of them are presented. There are also portraits of several leaders in the antislavery cause who promoted the efficiency of the "Underground Railroad," and various other illustrations. The volume contains a full bibliography of the subject, and foot-note references to authorities are supplied for nearly every statement made in the text. The author has given us a most interesting treatment of an important chapter in American history.

Zoroaster: The Prophet of Ancient Iran. By A. V. Williams Jackson. 8vo, pp. xxiii—314. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$3.

This work is a scholarly and exhaustive biography of the great prophet of the fire-worshippers, written by one of the very few men in the world competent to perform such a task. Indeed, when we consider that only a few years ago scholars were declaring that Zoroaster was a myth it seems a venturesome undertaking, even for a Columbia University professor, to challenge iconoclastic criticism with a 300-page "life" of a personage whose birth is placed at least as far back as the seventh century before Christ. Yet Professor Jackson cites abundant authority for his statements about Zoroaster, if contemporary commentaries on the Avesta, or sacred books of Zoroaster's faith, are to be accepted as authority, and much of our accepted information about other historical characters rests on evidence in no degree more trustworthy. While Professor Jackson's data cannot be independently examined by his readers generally, his standing as an Indo-Iranian scholar, both in this country

and abroad, will assure most students as to the general accuracy and reliability of his conclusions. The final verdict, of course, must be given by the small group of scholars who are familiar with the evidence at first hand.

Saladin, and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. By Stanley Lane-Poole. 12mo, pp. xxiv—416. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

This volume in the "Heroes of the Nations" series has at least the great merit of reliability. The writer tells us that nearly all of the sources of his information are contemporary, a large part of the story being told by eye-witnesses, while in no instance has an authority been relied on who was more than one generation removed from the events he narrates. This fact gives value to the work from the point of view of historical criticism. In other respects also the book is a worthy companion of its predecessors in this excellent series. The illustration, especially, is of a high order.

Egypt: The Land of the Temple Builders. By Walter Scott Perry. 8vo, pp. xv—249. Boston: The Prang Educational Company. \$1.50.

Professor Perry, the accomplished director of the department of fine arts in the Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y., has prepared a helpful book for students of Egyptian art. Numerous illustrations supplement the text.

The Homeric Palace. By Norman Morrison Isham. 8vo, pp. 64. Providence, R. I.: The Preston & Rounds Company. \$1.

This study has been made from the architect's point of view, as well as from that of the Homeric student. The accompanying bibliography and foot-notes facilitate a more minute investigation by such readers as care to pursue the subject farther.

Michael Faraday: His Life and Work. By Silvanus P. Thompson. 12mo, pp. 318. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.25.

This volume tells the life story of the discoverer of magneto-electric currents—"the principle upon which all our modern dynamos and transformers are based, the foundation of all the electric lighting and electric transmission of power," as Professor Thompson puts it. Such a biography appears very fittingly in the "Century Science Series." Faraday was, indeed, one of the giants of the nineteenth century in scientific achievements.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION.

In the Forbidden Land. By A. Henry Savage Landor. 2 Vols., 8vo, pp. 323—262. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$9.

It is not often in these prosaic times that a traveler on any part of the earth's surface can bring back tales of personal danger and hairbreadth escapes. Even African exploration has largely ceased to be a matter of personal prowess. The story of Mr. Landor's adventures in Tibet is therefore unusually startling, for it tells how an English traveler, as recently as in the spring, summer, and autumn of 1897, was captured, imprisoned, and tortured, while on a peaceable journey through "the forbidden land." This work, however, is far more than a narrative of stirring incidents, novel and important though they be; it gives a revelation of a hitherto little-known land and people. During much of the journey the circumstances were far from favorable to scientific investigation, but Mr. Landor collected data of great value, and his work throughout bears the impress of the man of science. In the matter of illustration the publishers have been lavish. Such a search-light illumination of this strange country and its uncouth inhabitants was never before attempted.

Picturesque India: A Handbook for European Travelers. By W. S. Caine. 8vo, pp. xlv—662. New York: George Routledge & Sons. \$4.

Mr. W. S. Caine's very interesting descriptive volume

entitled "Picturesque India," which has so firmly established itself with the British public, has appeared in a new edition, with a contributed chapter from the pen of Lord Curzon, the new Viceroy to India, on "The Northwest Frontier of India." Mr. Caine's volume is highly recommended as a handbook for travelers.

Within the Purdah. By S. Armstrong-Hopkins, M.D. 12mo, pp. 248. New York: Eaton & Mains. \$1.25.

This volume records the personal observations of a woman medical missionary in India. It pictures the domestic life of the high-caste Indian woman.

NATURE STUDY.

The Principles of Biology. By Herbert Spencer. Vol. I., pp. 718. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$2.

All students of biology will welcome the revised and enlarged edition of Herbert Spencer's "Principles of Biology" which is just coming from the press. The work originally appeared in 1884 and has long held a place beside the treatises of Darwin and Huxley as one of the exponents of the evolutionary school of thought.

The Foundations of Zoölogy. By William Keith Brooks. 8vo, pp. 389. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

The lectures delivered at Columbia University by Professor Brooks, of Johns Hopkins, on "The Principles of Science as Illustrated by Zoölogy" have been published in a handsome volume. Dr. Brooks, unlike many scientific investigators, is the master of a happy literary style. He is able to so illuminate his subject as to make it attractive to the general reader.

The Wild Fowl of the United States and British Possessions; or, The Swan, Geese, Ducks, and Mergansers of North America. By Daniel Giraud Elliot. 8vo, pp. 316. New York: Francis P. Harper. \$2.50.

The final volume in Professor Elliot's ornithological series has just appeared. The same careful methods have been pursued in this as in the preceding volumes on "North American Shore Birds" and "Game Birds" and the same artist, Mr. Edwin Sheppard, has made the drawings for the plates used to illustrate the text. These three volumes constitute a useful little library of American bird lore. Both popular and scientific descriptions are given, with numerous incidental aids to the identification of species. The drawings were made from the life and add much to the value of the books. This is a distinction of the series.

Lectures on the Evolution of Plants. By Douglas Houghton Campbell. 12mo, pp. 327. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.25.

The professor of botany in the Stanford University presents in this volume the more striking facts bearing upon the evolution of plant forms. We have here a connected account, from the evolutionist's point of view, of the development of the plant kingdom. The treatment of the subject, so far as possible, is freed from technicalities and is addressed not only to the student of botany, but to those general readers who are interested in biological problems.

The Principles of Agriculture. Edited by L. H. Bailey. 12mo, pp. 815. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.25.

This is an elementary treatise on the management and enrichment of soils, the culture of plants and crops, and the care of stock. The book abounds in practical suggestions, several of which are very effectively enforced by the illustrations. The editor of the volume is the able and successful professor of horticulture in Cornell University. He has designed his book for the use of schools and rural societies.

The Story of the Cotton Plant. By F. Wilkinson. 16mo, pp. 191. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 40 cents.

A brief account of the culture and manufacture of cot-

ton in all parts of the world. The manipulation of the fiber in the successive processes is fully described and illustrated.

A Handbook of Medical Climatology. By S. Edwin Solly, M.D. 8vo, pp. 470. Philadelphia: Lea Brothers & Co. \$4.

While intended especially for the medical profession, Dr. Solly's treatise on climatology will naturally interest many lay readers. An unbiased guide to the leading health resorts of this and other countries has long been desired by all who appreciate the value of climate in the prevention and treatment of disease. Such a guide seems to have been provided by Dr. Solly, who also gives an interesting exposition of the underlying principles of medical climatology. Several excellent maps accompany the text. If we mistake not, this is the first comprehensive treatment of the subject in the English language.

A Laboratory Manual in Astronomy. By Mary E. Byrd. 8vo, pp. 281. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.35.

There seems to be no good reason why "the laboratory method," which has done so much in recent years for the other physical sciences, should not be applied to college work in astronomy. It seems absurd that the study of the heavenly bodies should even at this late day be so largely a matter of "book learning" and that students should have to be exhorted to use their eyes and train their powers of observation, rather than rely exclusively on dry mathematical calculations which might be worked out in the study without any reference to the visible stars in the heavens. This "Laboratory Manual," prepared by the director of the Smith College observatory, shows what may be done with home-made apparatus, as well as with the unaided eye, in the direct observation of the heavens.

A Short History of Astronomy. By Arthur Berry. 12mo, pp. xxxi—440. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

The aim of this work is to give an outline of the history of astronomy "in a form which shall be intelligible to a reader who has no special knowledge of either astronomy or mathematics, and has only an ordinary educated person's power of following scientific reasoning."

Flashlights on Nature. By Grant Allen. Illustrated by Frederick Enock. 12mo, pp. 312. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. \$1.50.

Mr. Grant Allen has found out a great many of Nature's secrets and he is able to tell them in an effective and unhackneyed way. His tales of every-day experiences in the vegetable and animal worlds are decidedly entertaining and conducive to independent research and observation on the part of the reader. The illustrations made for the book by Mr. Frederick Enock are unusually meritorious.

ESSAYS AND MISCELLANY.

Essays in Dramatic Criticism. By L. Dupont Syle. 16mo, pp. 161. New York: William R. Jenkins. 75 cents.

In this little book the assistant professor of English literature in the University of California develops certain principles of criticism and applies them in the consideration of a few modern plays now frequently produced on the English and American stage. It hardly need be said that the author's ideals of the drama permit but a scant tolerance on his part of the bulk of this latter-day dramatic material.

The Drama: Its Law and Its Technique. By Elisabeth Woodbridge. 16mo, pp. xvi—181. Boston: Lamson, Wolfe & Co. \$1.50.

This is a lucid discussion of the subject in its practical as well as its philosophic aspects. The book is particularly adapted for use in the college class-room. The author acknowledges her obligations to Freytag, but the method of treatment and illustration followed is entirely her own.

Angels' Wings. By Edward Carpenter. 12mo, pp. 248. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.

Under this title are grouped nine essays on art and its relation to life. In the first essay the democracy of Wagner, Millet, and Whitman is discussed. Other papers treat of "Nature and Realism in Art," "The Human Body in its Relation to Art," "Tradition, Convention, and the Gods," and two chapters are devoted to Beethoven and his work. The volume is illustrated with nine full-page plates.

Miscellanies. By Austin Dobson. 16mo, pp. 364. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.25.

A series of vivacious papers having to do chiefly with the London of the eighteenth century and the literary celebrities of that era. The range of biographical and antiquarian lore brought to light in this volume is remarkable. On some accounts the most important of the essays is the first, on "Goldsmith's Poems and Plays."

The Lesson of Popular Government. By Gamaliel Bradford. 2 Vols., 8vo, pp. 539-602. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$4.

The title of Mr. Bradford's rather formidable two-volume work would seem to indicate that it is intended to point a moral or make an argument, rather than to present a treatise on government in the scientific spirit. Mr. Bradford for a great many years has been writing pithy letters to newspapers in Boston and New York, arguing in favor of the admission of members of the President's Cabinet to the chambers of Congress for active participation in the discussion of matters affecting their several executive departments. There is, of course, something to be said in favor of that suggestion, while there is also a great deal to be said against it. That it would work any profound change, either for better or for worse, in our government is scarcely to be believed. Mr. Bradford seems to have committed himself to his thesis first, and to have made his research and inquiry subsequently, not so much for the purpose of testing the value of his theory as for the purpose of elaborating his argument. When once the reader is warned that Mr. Bradford's book is strongly colored by his preconceived theories, it is a pleasure to say that it is a most readable and creditable contribution to the literature of contemporary politics, in both the larger and more restricted sense of the word, and that, whether or not it makes converts to Mr. Bradford's way of thinking, it must take an important place in the literature of those able and strongly sustained discussions that are always so earnestly to be encouraged as needful to the wholesome life and progress of a democracy.

REFERENCE BOOKS.

A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897. By James D. Richardson. 10 Vols., 8vo. Published by Authority of Congress.

The publication of this important work, which has already been noticed in these columns, has now been completed. Numerous illustrations, comprising portraits of the Presidents, views of public buildings, reproductions of famous paintings, etc., have been incorporated. Mr. Richardson's condensed biographical sketches of the Presidents are admirable. The work has been placed on sale, through a "committee of distribution" having headquarters at Washington.

The World Almanac and Encyclopedia. 1899. 12mo, pp. 546. New York: New York World. Paper, 25 cents.

The Tribune Almanac for 1899. Edited by Henry Eckford Rhoades. 12mo, pp. 352. New York: The Tribune Association. Paper, 25 cents.

The Daily News Almanac and Political Register for 1899. Compiled by George E. Plumb. 12mo, pp. 483. Chicago: The Chicago Daily News Company. Paper, 25 cents.

The newspaper almanacs of the current year contain an

unusually large proportion of matter of permanent interest. The story of the war with Spain is concisely told in each of them. The compilation made by the *Chicago Daily News* is especially complete as regards information pertaining to the *personnel* of our army and navy. The list of volunteer officers is the most satisfactory that we happen to have seen anywhere.

Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1899. Compiled by Thos. G. Thrum. 8vo, pp. 208. Honolulu: Thos. G. Thrum; New York: Baker & Taylor Company. 75 cents.

This invaluable handbook of information relating to the Hawaiian Islands has reached its twenty-fifth year of publication. Tourists and merchants inquiring about Hawaii will find the facts and hints contained in this publication very helpful and suggestive.

Who's Who, 1899: An Annual Biographical Dictionary. Edited by Douglas Sladen. 12mo, pp. xx-1014. London: Adam and Charles Black; New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.75.

"Who's Who" has had an excellent reputation for many years as the standard biographical annual of Great Britain. As the volume is made up of brief biographies of living persons it is possible to print a large number of these in small compass. The general accuracy and trustworthiness of the book as a work of reference are unquestioned, but until it can have an American editing it will never be recognized as an authority on American biography. Its editor's wild gropings in the effort to select a few hundred American names are simply grotesque. We understand that next year's volume is to be greatly improved in this respect. The annual is so good in its general features that we do not care to dwell on faults so soon to be remedied.

LITERARY HISTORY AND CRITICISM.

A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne. By Adolphus William Ward. New and Revised Edition, 3 Vols., 8vo, pp. 588-778 -618. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$9 per set.

The original edition of this valuable work has been out of print for some time. The text has now been revised throughout and in parts rewritten. Later historical facts have been incorporated.

A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century. By Henry A. Beers. 8vo, pp. 462. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$2.

The principal writers treated by Professor Beers in this volume are Thomson, Collins, Shenstone, Akenside, Dyer, Gray, Mason, Thomas and Joseph Warton, Hurd, Beattie, Percy, Walpole, Clara Reeve, Anna Radcliffe, "Monk" Lewis, MacPherson, Chatterton, and Scott. The "romantic" movement in English letters began, as Professor Beers shows, earlier than on the Continent, but it was not crystallized. We do not recognize a distinct "school of romanticism" in England, but Professor Beers characterizes the whole period of reaction from the spirit of Pope, Dryden, Addison, and Swift, which began in the latter decades of the eighteenth century and culminated early in the nineteenth, as the "romantic" stage.

The French Revolution and the English Poets. By Albert Elmer Hancock. 12mo, pp. xvi-197. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$1.25.

Mr. Hancock's very interesting study deals with the English "romantic" poets of the opening nineteenth century—Shelley, Byron, Wordsworth, and Coleridge. Mr. Hancock takes up the thread of English romanticism where Professor Beers drops it.

Three Studies in Literature. By Lewis E. Gates. 12mo, pp. 211. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

These three essays treat of three prose writers of the

present century, Francis Jeffrey, Cardinal Newman, and Matthew Arnold.

A History of Japanese Literature. By W. G. Aston. 12mo, pp. 419. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

A large portion of Mr. Aston's volume is very properly given up to translation from the Japanese. No knowledge of the native literature can be assumed to exist as yet among English-speaking people. Mr. Aston makes it his business to impart such knowledge and he opens up to the Occidental literary excursionist a delightful field for exploration.

BOUND VOLUMES OF THE MAGAZINES.

The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine. Vol. LVI. New Series, Vol. XXXIV. May, 1898, to October, 1898. 8vo, pp. 960. New York: The Century Company.

The last bound volume of the *Century*—the fifty-sixth—is full of reminders of the Spanish war, although the more important serial accounts of that episode are appearing in the current volume. The *Century's* high standards are well maintained.

St. Nicholas: an Illustrated Magazine for Young Folks. Conducted by Mary Mapes Dodge. Vol. XXV. 8vo, pp. 1056. New York: The Century Company.

With such story-tellers as Kipling and Stockton to entertain them, the young readers of *St. Nicholas* did not suffer last year for lack of stimulating fiction. In other departments, too, the magazine nobly sustained its reputation.

The Bookman: an Illustrated Literary Journal. Vol. VIII. September, 1898—February, 1899. 8vo, pp. 600. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

One of the new features in the *Bookman* is Mr. Norman Hapgood's "Drama of the Month," an illustrated article appearing regularly. The "Chronicle and Comment" department continues to be cleverly illustrated.

SCHOOL AND COLLEGE TEXT-BOOKS.

Essentials of Psychology. By Colin S. Buell. 12mo, pp. 238. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.10.

The Rights and Duties of American Citizenship. By Westel Woodbury Willoughby. 12mo, pp. 336. New York: American Book Company. \$1.

First Lessons in Civics. By S. E. Forman. 12mo, pp. 192. New York: American Book Company. 60 cents.

A Compend of Geology. By Joseph Le Conte. 12mo, pp. 426. New York: American Book Company. \$1.20.

Physical Geography. By William Morris Davis, assisted by William Henry Snyder. 12mo, pp. 446. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.40.

Geographical Nature Studies. By Frank Owen Payne. Boards, 12mo, pp. 144. New York: American Book Company. 25 cents.

The Human Body. A Text-Book of Anatomy, Physiology and Hygiene. By H. Newell Martin. Fifth

Edition, Revised by George Wells Fitz. 12mo, pp. 422. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$1.20.

Seed Dispersal. By W. J. Beal. 12mo, pp. 87. Boston: Ginn & Co. 40 cents.

Bird World. By J. H. Stickney. 12mo, pp. 222. Boston: Ginn & Co. 70 cents.

An Introduction to Machine Drawing and Design. By David Allan Low. 12mo, pp. 187. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 75 cents.

Elements of Perspective. By Christine Gordon Sullivan. 12mo, pp. 96. New York: American Book Company. \$1.

A Short Course in Music. By Frederic H. Ripley and Thomas Tapper. Book II., square 12mo, pp. 175. New York: American Book Company. 50 cents.

First Steps in the History of Our Country. By William A. Mowry and Arthur May Mowry. Square 12mo, pp. 315. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co. 60 cents.

United States History in Elementary Schools. By L. L. W. Wilson. 12mo, pp. 58. New York: The Macmillan Company. 80 cents.

Algebra for Schools. By George W. Evans. 12mo, pp. 433. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$1.12.

The Public School Mental Arithmetic. By J. A. McLellan and A. F. Ames. 12mo, pp. 149. New York: The Macmillan Company. 25 cents.

Text-Book of Anatomy, Physiology and Hygiene. By E. Franklin Smith. 12mo, pp. xxiii—198. New York: William R. Jenkins. \$1.

Elementary Physiology. By Benjamin Moore. 12mo, pp. 295. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.20.

Our Feathered Friends. By Elizabeth Grinnell and Joseph Grinnell. 12mo, pp. 144. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.

The Seventh Book of Homer's Odyssey. Edited by Charles W. Bain. 16mo, pp. xi—123. Boston: Ginn & Co. 45 cents.

Ten Orations of Cicero, with Selections from the Letters. Edited by William R. Harper and Frank A. Gallup. 12mo, pp. 566. New York: American Book Company. Half leather, \$1.80.

Selections from the Correspondence of Cicero. Edited for Sight Reading by J. C. Kirtland, Jr. 12mo, pp. 103. New York: American Book Company. 50 cents.

A Dictionary of University Degrees. By Flavel S. Thomas. 12mo, pp. 109. Syracuse, N. Y.: C. W. Bardeen. \$1.

Authors' Birthdays: Second Series. By C. W. Bardeen. 12mo, pp. 459. Syracuse, N. Y.: C. W. Bardeen. \$1.



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Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index.

[All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

AHR.	American Historical Review, N. Y.	Dub.	Dublin Review, Dublin.	NIM.	New Illustrated Magazine, London.
AJS.	American Journal of Sociology, Chicago.	Edin.	Edinburgh Review, London.	NW.	New World, Boston.
AJT.	American Journal of Theology, Chicago.	Ed.	Education, Boston.	NineC.	Nineteenth Century, London.
ALR.	American Law Review, St. Louis.	EdR.	Educational Review, N. Y.	NAR.	North American Review, N. Y.
AMonM.	American Monthly Magazine, Washington, D. C.	Eng.	Engineering Magazine, N. Y.	Nou.	Nouvelle Revue, Paris.
AMRR.	American Monthly Review of Reviews, N. Y.	EM.	España Moderna, Madrid.	NA.	Nuova Antologia, Rome.
ANat.	American Naturalist, Boston.	Fort.	Fortnightly Review, London.	OC.	Open Court, Chicago.
Annals.	Annals of the American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, Phila.	Forum.	Forum, N. Y.	O.	Outing, N. Y.
APS.	Appleton's Popular Science Monthly, N. Y.	FrL.	Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y.	Out.	Outlook, N. Y.
ARec.	Architectural Record, N. Y.	Gent.	Gentleman's Magazine, London.	Over.	Overland Monthly, San Francisco.
Arena.	Arena, Boston.	GBag.	Green Bag, Boston.	PMM.	Pall Mall Magazine, London.
AA.	Art Amateur, N. Y.	Gunt.	Gunt's Magazine, N. Y.	Phil.	Philosophical Review, N. Y.
AI.	Art Interchange, N. Y.	Harp.	Harper's Magazine, N. Y.	PhoT.	Photographic Times, N. Y.
AJ.	Art Journal, London.	Home.	Home Magazine, N. Y.	PL.	Poet-Lore, Boston.
Art.	Artist, London.	Hom.	Homiletic Review, N. Y.	PSQ.	Political Science Quarterly, Boston.
Atlant.	Atlantic Monthly, Boston.	IJE.	International Journal of Ethics, Phila.	PRR.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review, Phila.
Bad.	Badminton, London.	IntS.	International Studio, London.	PQ.	Presbyterian Quarterly, Charlotte, N. C.
BankL.	Bankers' Magazine, London.	IA.	Irrigation Age, Chicago.	QJEcon.	Quarterly Journal of Economics, Boston.
BankNY.	Bankers' Magazine, N. Y.	JAES.	Journal of the Ass'n of Engineering Societies, Phila.	QR.	Quarterly Review, London.
Bib.	Biblical World, Chicago.	JF.	Journal of Finance, London.	RasN.	Rassegna Nazionale, Florence.
BSac.	Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O.	JMSI.	Journal of the Military Service Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y. H.	RefS.	Réforme Sociale, Paris.
BU.	Bibliothèque Universelle, Lausanne.	JPEcon.	Journal of Political Economy, Chicago.	RRL.	Review of Reviews, London.
Black.	Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh.	Kind.	Kindergarten Magazine, Chicago.	RRM.	Review of Reviews, Melbourne.
BTJ.	Board of Trade Journal, London.	LHJ.	Ladies' Home Journal, Phila.	RDM.	Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris.
BB.	Book Buyer, N. Y.	LelsH.	Leisure Hour, London.	RGen.	Revue Générale, Brussels.
Bkman.	Bookman, N. Y.	Lipp.	Lippincott's Magazine, Phila.	RPar.	Revue de Paris, Paris.
BP.	Brush and Pencil, Chicago.	LQ.	London Quarterly Review, London.	RPP.	Revue Politique et Parlementaire, Paris.
Can.	Canadian Magazine, Toronto.	Long.	Longman's Magazine, London.	RRP.	Revue des Revues, Paris.
Cass.	Cassell's Magazine, London.	LuthQ.	Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, Pa.	RSoc.	Revue Socialiste, Paris.
CasM.	Cassier's Magazine, N. Y.	McCl.	McClure's Magazine, N. Y.	Ros.	Rosary, Somerset, Ohio.
Cath.	Catholic World, N. Y.	Mac.	Macmillan's Magazine, London.	San.	Sanitarian, N. Y.
Cent.	Century Magazine, N. Y.	MA.	Magazine of Art, London.	School.	School Review, Chicago.
Cham.	Chambers's Journal, Edinburgh.	Men.	Menorah Monthly, N. Y.	Scrib.	Scribner's Magazine, N. Y.
Char.	Charities Review, N. Y.	Met.	Metaphysical Magazine, N. Y.	SelfC.	Self Culture, Akron, Ohio.
Chaut.	Chautauquan, Meadville, Pa.	MRN.	Methodist Review, Nashville.	SR.	Sewanee Review, Sewanee, Tenn.
CAge.	Coming Age, Boston.	MRNY.	Methodist Review, N. Y.	Str.	Strand Magazine, London.
Contem.	Contemporary Review, London.	Mid.	Midland Monthly, Des Moines, Iowa.	Sun.	Sunday Magazine, London.
Corn.	Cornhill, London.	MisH.	Missionary Herald, Boston.	Temp.	Temple Bar, London.
Cos.	Cosmopolitan, N. Y.	MisR.	Missionary Review, N. Y.	USM.	United Service Magazine, London.
Crit.	Critic, N. Y.	Mon.	Monist, Chicago.	West.	Westminster Review, London.
Dem.	Demorest's Family Magazine, N. Y.	Month.	Month, London.	Wern.	Werner's Magazine, N. Y.
DH.	Deutscher Hausschatz, Regensburg.	MunA.	Municipal Affairs, N. Y.	WWM.	Wide World Magazine, London.
Deut.	Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart.	Mun.	Munsey's Magazine, N. Y.	WPM.	Wilson's Photographic Magazine, N. Y.
Dial.	Dial, Chicago.	Mus.	Music, Chicago.	Yale.	Yale Review, New Haven.
		NatGM.	National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C.	YM.	Young Man, London.
		NatM.	National Magazine, Boston.	YW.	Young Woman, London.
		NatR.	National Review, London.		
		NEng.	New England Magazine, Boston.		



THE AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW.

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REAR ADMIRAL ALBERT KAUTZ.
(Commanding the American naval forces at Samoa.)

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY

Review of Reviews.

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NO. 5.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

*American
City
Government.*

In the great towns of the United States there has been of late much to study and to observe. The path of municipal progress in America is not without its impediments and difficulties; but progress, nevertheless, is real and striking, as of course it must be if the nation is to keep its place in the van. Our cities are so large and have become so important relatively to the States in which they are situated that to abandon them to bad government and evil social conditions would be to poison the whole life, public and private, of our commonwealths and our republic. Henceforth, therefore, it will not do to say that we in America are successful in tasks of government and social organization except for failure to manage our cities well. The time has arrived when an exception of such magnitude would overthrow the general rule. Henceforth the government of our cities must be looked upon as a typical and representative matter; and if our democracies fail in the proper ordering of municipal life, they will not be adjudged successful in anything else.

*Boston
and
Mayor Quincy.*

For some years past it would seem that Boston has, among our larger cities, furnished the country with the best example of modern knowledge and ability applied to the conduct and development of the corporate life of a metropolitan city. Mayor Josiah Quincy has been singularly successful, and has earned the reputation of being the foremost practical expert in the science and art of municipal administration that we have in this country. His second term of office will expire at the end of the present year. It is reported that he will refuse to be a candidate for another term. The people of Boston ought to overrule that decision, for Mr. Quincy has begun a good many useful and practical innovations, which it is very desirable that he should protect and further develop until they are secure beyond all possible danger. Many other things that

Boston has done under Mayor Quincy's auspices have been more showy, but none in the end will have been proved more creditable and valuable than the establishment of the first real bureau of municipal statistics to be found in the United States. European cities find such bureaus exceedingly serviceable to all the departments of the administration. We publish elsewhere a very interesting sketch of Mayor Quincy and his municipal work, from the pen of an appreciative observer.

*The San
Francisco
Innovations.*

If Boston has set the best example among our larger cities in steady practical work along the lines of modern municipal progress, San Francisco, on the other side of our continental republic, has gone furthest and ventured most notably in adopting radical innovations in the plan of municipal organization. Elsewhere in this number of the Review we have explained the general nature of the new San Francisco charter which, after many years of discussion, has been ratified by the vote of the people of the city and agreed to by the Legislature. It exhibits a refreshing freedom from the useless and pernicious old system of "checks and balances" that has made the typical American city charter the very worst in the whole world. The most striking thing, however, in the new San Francisco arrangement is the manner in which the people themselves have reserved the opportunity to get directly at important questions, such as the extension or diminution of the range of public functions, and particularly such as the granting of franchises and privileges to private corporations. This charter not only provides for what is called the "referendum"—that is to say, for the referring of questions of popular interest to a direct vote of the people for acceptance or rejection—but it also provides for what is known as the "initiative," a method by which a certain percentage of the voters may of their own accord, by signing a

petition, cause a given subject to be referred for decision to the popular vote, such decision to be final, without the indorsement of the city council or mayor. Some of the "wise men of the East" will shake their heads gravely and tell us that they disapprove of all this. One or two newspapers, particularly, seem to exist for the purpose in part of sneering at all such propositions. But sneers hurt nobody, and the men that are wise in their own conceit are usually incapable of learning about anything that has happened within their own lifetime. People who are really wise will be delighted that San Francisco has decided to try these experiments of the referendum and the initiative, because it will give us all an opportunity to look on and to take note of the way those new methods of government will in a big town work. If they work well, the wisecracks and the men who sit in the seats of the scornful may be assured that we shall adopt those same methods in many another American city. The people are ready to learn.

Conditions in Chicago. Nobody could say in advance, of course, how the initiative and the referendum would work in Chicago, for example; but in view of the sort of experience that Chicago has had with city councils and State Legislatures during much of the time within the past ten years, there are plenty of men in that city who would welcome the chance to secure direct action of the people upon almost every question of considerable importance. It has not proved difficult in times past for corporations having millions upon millions to gain by securing the favor of the municipal authorities, to get absolute control of the board of aldermen. Last year certain notorious measures, which would have extended for half a century a series of monopoly transit franchises worth \$100,000,000, had secured the board of aldermen in the face of the most tremendous public opposition. Nothing saved Chicago but the interposition of the veto power of Mayor Carter H. Harrison. It is not for men at a distance to say that Chicago aldermen were bought by the street-railroad magnates as if they had been so many cattle—for men at a distance speak only by hearsay. But certainly it is true that no one in Chicago has any other opinion of the recent board of aldermen except that its attitude was due wholly and solely to bribery. If the extension of those franchises had been impossible without reference to a direct vote of the people of Chicago—as henceforth all such matters will be referred to the people of San Francisco—the situation would have been very different; for even the richest of our trolley traction magnates could scarcely hope to buy up a

majority of 400,000 voters, even with so heterogeneous a population as that of Chicago and with so huge a mass of non-English speaking Bohemian, Polish, and other foreign laborers. It is indeed quite possible that scores of thousands of voters should be bribed. But under the existing ballot system, while not impossible, it is nevertheless comparatively difficult to manage these wholesale transactions in votes.

The Re-election of Mayor Harrison. The best the people of Chicago could do to show their opinion of the franchise question was to reelect the man who had put his veto in the way of the so-called Allen bills, and saved to a generation yet unborn the right of control over the great thoroughfares of a metropolis that will probably have, within fifty years, not 2,000,000, but 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 people. Whatever the facts may be, it was the opinion in Chicago that if Carter Harrison had gone the way of the majority of the council, he might suddenly have found himself a man of much wealth. In any case, the people thought it worth while to reelect him. The Republican opposition to Mr. Harrison dwelt almost entirely upon questions connected with the police administration. They charged great laxity in the enforcement of the laws against gambling and disorderly houses, and declared that Chicago was running in a scandalously wide-open fashion. This indeed may have been largely true. Yet a majority of the staunchest Republican newspapers in Chicago believed under all the circumstances that Mr. Harrison was entitled to another term. It was a conspicuous fact that capitalists who had endeavored to filch away the people's valuable assets in the form of fifty-year franchises were strong supporters of the Republican candidate, Mr. Zina R. Carter. This does not of necessity prove anything against Mr. Carter, who is said to be a gentleman of excellent standing and reputation. The people, however, had the impression that they could make no mistake in supporting the man that the street-railroad magnates were opposing. They loved Carter Harrison for the enemies he had made. The election came on April 4. Mr. Harrison received 149,000 votes, Carter 107,000, and the third candidate, ex-Governor Altgeld, received 46,000. It had been supposed earlier in the campaign that the division of the Democrats into two fiercely rival factions, the one supporting Mayor Harrison and the other supporting Mr. Altgeld, would almost surely result in the election of Mr. Carter. Governor Altgeld was regarded as representing in the campaign the more advanced principles of the national Democratic platform of 1896, and particularly the

doctrine of municipal ownership and direct operation of public works as regards the city of Chicago. If Mr. Harrison had not been running, Mr. Altgeld would probably have been elected over the Republican candidate by a large majority. But whereas many citizens regarded the Altgeld position as rather extreme and *doctrinaire*, they were willing to vote for Harrison. With its electric-lighting plant for the illumination of the streets, Chicago is already engaged in a very large enterprise of direct municipal ownership and operation. It would be a marvelously interesting experiment if, on the expiration of the street-railroad franchises a few years hence, the Chicagoans should decide not to grant extensions on any terms, but should, on the other hand, purchase the trackage and permanent improvements at their actual value, and then lease the roads thus owned as municipal property to operating companies for periods not longer than ten or fifteen years. Such an agreement ought to be extremely lucrative to the city, and it certainly could not be disastrous. It would be a poor public financier indeed who could not, by such a leasing system, pay more money into the municipal treasury than by any scheme of franchise-granting that could ever be put into effect.

Some Notes Upon the Chicago Campaign. The Altgeld movement in the Chicago election had some characteristics that suggested the Henry George movement in the last New York City municipal campaign. Mr. George's movement was in reality intended to affect the national rather than the local political situation. In like manner the Altgeld movement represented a protest against the supposed understanding between Carter Harrison and Richard Croker with reference to the control of the national Democratic organization next year. The Altgeld programme, therefore, coupled "Municipal Ownership and the Chicago Platform" together. Carter Harrison's platform had avowedly devoted itself to local issues only. Mr. Altgeld's meetings were the most enthusiastic of any that were held in the city. It is significant of the new independence of the voters that almost 50,000 of them broke away from the regular Democratic ranks to support the independent Democratic ticket. It is equally significant that Republicans to the estimated number of 40,000 supported Carter Harrison in preference to Mr. Carter, the Republican candidate. Of the nine English dailies, the *Times-Herald*, *Record*, *Post*, *News*, and *Democrat* supported Harrison. The *Inter-Ocean* and *Tribune* were for Carter, and the *Republican Journal* and *Democratic Chronicle* did not take pronounced sides. The Altgeld movement had no

daily paper behind it, but issued a weekly called the *Municipal Ownership Bulletin*. A correspondent writing us from Chicago remarks, apropos of the newspaper situation, that this year, with an immense newspaper support, Mr. Harrison polled 8,000 less than a majority of all the votes; while two years ago, with every daily in the city against him with one minor exception, he rolled up a clear majority over all competitors. Our correspondent further remarks



MAYOR CARTER H. HARRISON, OF CHICAGO.

that the campaign disclosed three interesting results—namely: (1) the growth of independence and of attention to local issues; (2) the dominance of the street-railroad issue; and (3) the growth of sentiment in favor of municipal ownership. Nearly two-thirds of all the votes cast were against the Republican candidate, and our correspondent regards this as largely due to the belief that he, more than any of the others, represented the interests of the street-railroad corporations. Our correspondent holds that in all probability any practical proposition for municipal ownership and operation of the street railroads would to-day be approved by a popular vote in Chicago. It remains to be seen what position Mr. Harrison will take henceforth in view of this remarkable change that has come over the Chicago

community. Finally, our correspondent makes the following extremely interesting remarks upon another very important phase of the election—namely, the choice of members of the city council:

A word should be added about the new city council, though that subject be not of such wide interest. The marked and often unfortunate tendency to concentrate attention in a municipal campaign upon its conspicuous feature—namely, the election of a mayor—was again counter-balanced this spring by the Municipal Voter's League. Beginning with the campaign of 1896, this league has, by searching inquiries into the records of candidates for nomination and by discriminating indorsements of successful nominees, carried on a steady and effective effort to change the character of the city council. The result has been that by gradual increase the "honest minority," in a body of sixty-eight members has grown from 12 prior to 1896 to 40 at present; and the first fruits of this new "honest majority" has been realized in the non-partisan organization of the council committees, with ability and ascendancy for the first time in many years in the ascendancy. The campaign marks a distinct advance step in a slow but real progressive movement in local government.

*Mayor and
Council in
Minneapolis.*

This matter of the make-up of the council is, after all, in our American cities, of quite as much importance as the election of the mayor. And if our observation counts for anything, it is to the effect that the remarkable development of independent voting in municipal elections and of genuine local interest in municipal affairs are resulting almost everywhere in the country in the selection of stronger and better aldermanic bodies than one was accustomed to find a few years ago. The present situation in Minneapolis affords an instance worth citing. The mayor who took his seat at the beginning of the present year is Mr. James Gray, a young Democrat and well-known newspaper man, a graduate of the University of Minnesota and a believer in straightforward and progressive methods. The people of Minneapolis at their last election failed to approve and adopt a new charter that had been carefully and conscientiously drawn by a charter commission. They were independent enough, however, to elect an unusually able council, in which a considerable majority of Republicans confront the Democratic mayor. The prospect has seemed to be, however, that there would be no serious difficulty in securing a reasonably harmonious administration, because the mayor and the leaders of the aldermanic body—who are good citizens first and Republicans afterward—seem to be able to come together on the ground of practical measures in the direction of sound and business-like reforms in the departments.



MAYOR JAMES GRAY, OF MINNEAPOLIS.

*Detroit and
the Street
Railroads.*

Detroit, under the masterful hand of Mayor Pingree, entered upon an entirely new era of municipal life and activity; and although Mr. Pingree is now governor and not mayor, he has abated not one jot of his absorbing interest in the affairs of his home town. His latest project has been the out-and-out purchase by the city of the street railroads. For that purpose enabling measures have been pushed through the Legislature and through the municipal council. As mayor, Mr. Pingree had waged a Titanic struggle against the street-railroad companies on questions of improved facilities, compensation to the public treasury, and reduced rates of fare; and his success as champion of the people against the corporations gave the average voter such confidence in him that without the use of any of the winning ways of experienced politicians, this straightforward manufacturer was able to keep behind him a popular support, irrespective of party, that enabled him to defy his powerful opponents.

*Municipal
Transit
in Prospect.*

The contemplated purchase by the city of Detroit of the street-railroad system is probably the most advanced step in the direction of what is known as the policy of "municipal ownership" that any American city has as yet taken. Governor Pingree, in answer to an inquiry, sends us the following statement in regard to the origin of the movement:

The movement originated in this way. A representative of the street railroads asked me if the city of Detroit

would entertain a proposition to acquire the street railroads at such a figure that the net earnings of the roads during the average life of the present franchises would pay for them. I told him that for my part and so far as I knew they would entertain such a proposition. The idea is to acquire the street railroads, subject to an indebtedness which the net earnings of the roads would liquidate in about sixteen years, the plan being to pay the interest on this indebtedness, and to set aside a sinking fund entirely from the net earnings which would retire the indebtedness within the given time. An act of the Legislature was accordingly passed giving the city authority to acquire the railroads and operate them, and under the provisions of that act the commission of three men, consisting of Elliott G. Stevenson, a prominent lawyer, Carl E. Schmidt, a prominent manufacturer, and myself, was appointed by the common council of Detroit to negotiate with the street-railroad companies. These negotiations are now in progress. The law provides that the credit of the city and the property of the city cannot be pledged to pay the indebtedness, but that the indebtedness must be secured only by the properties of the street railroads to be acquired by the city. A great deal of misinformation has been conveyed to the public through the columns of two of the local papers which are controlled by men who are opposed and always have been opposed to the principle of municipal ownership; but I notice from clippings published in other cities which have come to me that the public outside of the city of Detroit have not been very much misled by such misinformation.

*Provisions
of the Act.*

The act passed by the Legislature is very broad in its provisions, and it certainly deserves to rank with the new charter of San Francisco among the memorable municipal enactments of the past season. The act empowers the common council of Detroit to appoint three persons known as the "Detroit Street Railway Commission." Every two years one member goes out of office, and his successor for a term of six years is appointed by the common council on the nomination of the mayor. The commissioners may hold any other office at the same time except that of alderman. Under this provision Mr. Pingree is enabled to belong to the street-railroad commission while serving as governor of the State. Each commissioner executes a bond for \$250,000. The commission is authorized on its own discretion to acquire any or all of the street railroads within the city limits—or outside if entering the city—and they are further authorized to operate and maintain such street railroads exactly as if they were a board of directors of a street-railroad company. They may incur no obligations on behalf of the city, however, except such as are chargeable upon the street-railroad system and its appurtenances. This, of course, is as it should be. The commission will have full authority to issue street-railroad bonds precisely as any street-railroad company would issue them,

the property itself being the security; and thus such obligations will form no part of the general municipal indebtedness. The commission has unlimited authority with respect to the extension and development of the transit system and the purchase and management of everything in the way of land, buildings, machinery for power plants, and the like that may be needed. It has also full authority to fix the rates of fare, with the one proviso that it shall not charge passengers more than they are now charged by the Detroit Citizens' Street Railway Company. The common council has always the right to examine



HON. H. S. PINGREE.

the books and accounts of the commission, and the city comptroller is under obligation to make such an examination every three months and report the results to the common council. The commission itself is also obliged to make a yearly report to the council, containing a full statement of its receipts and expenditures and other matters of information as to the property and the business. The commission has unlimited authority with respect to the employment of managers, superintendents, and the entire force of men necessary to carry on the business. The only other limitation upon the commission is found in a clause which declares that it is "hereby expressly prohibited from granting or extending the life of any franchise under any of the powers conferred upon it by this act." A preceding clause declares that not only may the act not be construed as extending the life of the franchise of any existing companies, but it implies no franchise rights in case of the reversion of the property to the grantors or their successors. That is to say, if the Detroit Street Railway Commission should not be able to purchase

some particular line of street railroad now existing, the franchise would in any case revert to the city without any compensation to the company a few years hence at the end of the franchise period. Inasmuch as this measure is already written in the statutes of the State and has been acted upon by the Detroit council, which has named Governor Pingree, Mr. Stevenson, and Mr. Schmidt as the commissioners, there would seem to be no reasonable probability of anything happening to interfere with the actual carrying out of the programme. Thus we may expect at a very early period to see municipal transit tried in Detroit, as in Glasgow and some other foreign cities.

Mayor Jones, of Toledo. The city of Toledo, Ohio, has found its Pingree in the person of another manufacturer not previously identified with politics, though now famous, by the name of Mr. Samuel M. Jones. Some two years ago, having made himself dear to his employees by his humane and considerate methods as an employer, and having shown himself in other relations to be of a highly altruistic disposition, Mr. Jones, at the time of a deadlock in the Republican city convention, emerged as a dark-horse candidate for the mayoralty. He was nominated, and after a very interesting and original campaign, enlivened in part by the singing of the songs which the candidate himself had composed for the occasion, he was triumphantly elected. His term of office was to end on the 8th day of last month, and he was a candidate for another term; but his party declined to give him the renomination. Mayor Jones had adopted pretty much the same policy in Toledo as respects the franchise monopolists that Mayor Pingree several years ago had adopted in Detroit. The interests affected, therefore, succeeded in preventing his renomination at the Republican convention. This, however, did not in the least dishearten the intrepid Mayor Jones. Though despised and rejected of monopolists and the local Republican machine, he knew that he was strong with the people. He simply ran again as an independent candidate, and, of course, was elected with *éclat*. The election occurred on April 3, and the votes for the three candidates, Republican, Democrat, and Jones, were in round figures respectively 4,000, 3,000, and 17,000.

Significance of the Toledo Election.

The election in Toledo, as in many another municipal contest from one end of the country to the other, shows that the habit of independent voting is growing immensely, in spite of all efforts to conduct municipal campaigns under the auspices of

the great national political organizations. Mayor Jones, in response to a letter asking him to state what he considers to be the most important lesson to be derived from the election, writes as follows to the editor of this Review:



MAYOR JONES, OF TOLEDO.

I think the important lesson of the recent election in this city is indication that the people are ready to emancipate themselves from the superstition and bigotry of pretended partisan hatred. I believe that the fact that 70 per cent. of a total of more than 24,000 votes were cast for the independent candidate shows that the people care nothing for the old slogan, "Stick to the party." That and that alone was the cry of both the Democratic and Republican political machines in this campaign. The partisan press sided with them to the utmost, resorting to the most villainous lies and infamous tactics in their vain attempt to hold the people in line to be made mere grist for the profit-gatherers' mill—that is, to be used as tools of the corporations. The failure of the political machines and partisan press is so overwhelming as to amount to ignominy; no other word expresses it. Up to the very last issue of their papers both parties confidently claimed the election, announcing to their readers that the "Jones forces were demoralized and scattered." It is a most striking illustration that no one knows so little about politics as politicians, and that the people are eagerly waiting for an opportunity to vote as people, as men, as brothers, having a common interest at stake, and to throw away the shallow mask of pretended partisan hatred that we have so long worn. You well understand that there are many limitations placed upon the cities of Ohio by State laws. These I confidently hope will be removed

to a very great extent by the next Legislature, and I believe that our city government will be ready to express the will of the people as far as they possibly can give us such reforms as are within our reach. The most conspicuous one that we stand in need of is the municipal ownership of a lighting plant; following that the manufacture of gas and the other reforms indicated in the summary of my message, which is herewith attached.

The inclosure to which Mayor Jones refers is his own summing up of his last message to the board of aldermen; and it represents so completely the practical programme for which almost three-quarters of the voters of Toledo deserted their regular party tickets and followed the lead of an independent candidate, that it is worth reprinting in full. It is as follows:

The establishment of a city plant for the manufacture of fuel gas.

The control and operation by the city of the electric lighting plant.

The establishment of civil service [merit system] in all departments of the municipality.

The enactment by the Legislature of laws that will give the city such a measure of home rule as will enable it to "bring out the best that is in its own people."

No grant or extension of franchises to private enterprise without the approval of the people.

The abandonment of the contract system on all public work, such as paving, sewers, etc.

The compilation and publication of the city directory by the municipality itself.

The establishment of kindergartens as part of the public-school system.

A larger appropriation for street improvement.

The sprinkling of the streets by the city itself.

The passage of the ordinance for the appointment of building inspector.

A larger appropriation for public parks.

An appropriation for music in the parks.

The establishment of playgrounds for the children.

The establishment of free public baths.

Improved facilities for those who market in Toledo.

The erection of a city building.

The uniting of all the people to the end that the Ohio Centennial may be made a grand success.

The revision of the city license laws.

The repeal of the ordinance licensing employment agencies in Toledo.

The veto power to be abolished and the referendum to the people substituted in its place.

In the face of so overwhelming an indorsement as the citizens of Toledo gave to Mayor Jones and his programme, it would certainly seem likely that no obstacles could well prevent the carrying into effect of a number, at least, of the objects for which the mayor is working.

*The Contest
in Cleveland.*

In the city of Cleveland the municipal contest was waged with extraordinary bitterness. Mayor Robert E. McKisson was a candidate for reelection, and the Democratic candidate was Mr. John H. Far-

ley. The Republican ticket in general prevailed by a considerable majority, but Mayor McKisson ran some 12,000 votes behind the rest of his ticket, and the Democratic candidate was elected by a majority of about 3,000. McKisson had against him the independent element, under the lead of the Municipal Association, which is a non-partisan body standing for good municipal government. This association made a careful investigation of the condition of the city and published a series of influential bulletins attacking at every point the methods of the existing régime. The reformers obtained what they regarded as reasonably satisfactory pledges from the Democratic candidate, Mr. Farley, and accordingly gave him their indorsement. The McKisson platform was favorable to municipal ownership; but too many other issues entered into the campaign to make that question really the determining one. The successful candidate is regarded



MAYOR JOHN H. FARLEY, OF CLEVELAND.

as extremely conservative and a believer in the old-fashioned spoils system of party rule, but thoroughly honest. The Republicans of Ohio are divided into two factions; and McKisson, with Senator Foraker, Governor Bushnell, and Mr. Kurtz, is one of the leaders of the wing that is always in opposition to Senator Hanna and the administration element. This factional situation, of course, played a considerable part in the Cleveland election. In Toledo the strongest opponents

of the policy of Mayor Jones were not able to prove one word against his absolute honesty, fidelity, and public spirit as an official. If the reformers in Cleveland had given the Republican candidate there the same kind of personal indorsement that men of their class were giving to Mayor Jones in Toledo, there is much reason to suppose that on the issue of municipal ownership the Republicans would have swept Cleveland very much as the followers of Jones carried Toledo.

The "Public Ownership" Issue in Denver. In Denver a vigorously contested municipal campaign found four strong candidates in the field for the office of mayor, and they ran the race almost abreast to the very end. The candidate who had the indorsement of the Civic Federation and all the other bodies representing conspicuously the idea of non-partisan good government was the existing mayor, Mr. McMurray, on a platform taking very strong positions in favor of municipal ownership. Denver is one of the two or three important cities in the country where a private company owns the water supply; and McMurray stood for a municipal water plant, for reduced fares and other concessions to the people on the part of the street-railroad monopoly, and for some popular departures in the direction of cheaper gas and electric light. Mayor McMurray had certainly given Denver a most admirable administration. He was supported as an independent by a group of Good Government and Civic Federation organizations and also by the People's party. Mr. H. V. Johnson, who was elected, ran on the Democratic ticket. The other two candidates were W. L. Ames, Silver Republican, alleged to be the candidate of the corporations and the opponent of the municipal ownership ideas, and finally Mr. Russell Gates, a regular, or McKinley, Republican, and regarded from the Denver standpoint as above all a supporter of the gold standard. It happens that the Democratic platform was almost identical with the McMurray platform in making the questions of water, light, and transit the main issues. The consequence is that the supporters of Mayor McMurray acquiesced in the results of the election with good grace. The *Rocky Mountain News* declares that all the vote for Johnson, all of that for McMurray, and half of that for Gates, constituting more than three-quarters of all the votes cast, may be regarded as "against corporation control of the city." It further states that all the supervisors and fourteen of the sixteen members of the board of aldermen are also pledged to municipal ownership. Thus Denver, almost as strongly as Detroit and Toledo, stands committed to a very advanced policy.



MAYOR H. V. JOHNSON, OF DENVER.

St. Louis Municipal Affairs. In St. Louis there was in session for a number of weeks through the late winter and early spring a commission sent down from Jefferson City by the Democratic legislature of the State to "lexow" the Republican municipal administration. The Republican minority of the legislative committee succeeded in securing the investigation also of certain Democratic officials who are the local appointees in St. Louis of the Democratic governor—for example, the police board, the excise commissioner, and the coal-oil inspector. So far as the two political parties are concerned, a particularly well-informed gentleman of St. Louis informs us that honors (or, rather, dishonors) may be regarded as easy—that is to say, while some serious wrongs and malfeasances were found in a number of offices and several officials were indicted, the offenders seem to be about evenly distributed between the two parties. The investigation was undoubtedly intended to affect the municipal election of April 4, when members of the two legislative bodies that make up the school board and the municipal assembly were to be chosen. The assembly is composed of a small council, the members of which are elected on general ticket by the whole city, and a house of delegates, so called, which is a larger body elected from wards. Six vacancies in the upper house, or council, were to be filled, and the Republican nominees were all successful. The Republicans also elected 21 out of 28 members of the lower house. For the first time in the history of St. Louis the nominations



THE NEW MUNICIPAL BUILDING AT ST. LOUIS.

were made, not by conventions, but by direct vote of the people in party primaries. This innovation is regarded in St. Louis as a great step in advance, and it will be worthy of the consideration of other communities. The public offices have now been removed from the old to the new city hall, which St. Louis has built without incurring a penny of debt out of annual installments appropriated from current taxation. The building is an excellent one and is very large, though it has cost only \$2,000,000.

Philadelphia's New Mayor and the Water Question. Nothing could be in greater contrast with the successful completion of this splendid city hall at St. Louis for \$2,000,000 than the experience of Philadelphia, where the city hall begun and occupied a great many years ago is still in the hands of a self-perpetuating board of commissioners which continues to spend every year a great sum, and which has now run the cost far beyond \$20,000,000, with every reason to suppose that they will find ways to keep themselves in office and spend several millions more before consenting to call the building finished. Whatever one may say about New York City under Tammany, Philadelphia must stand as the colossal type of corrupt administration, not only for the United States, but for the whole world.

There was a municipal election in Philadelphia a few weeks ago, but it did not greatly arouse the community. The Republican candidate, who won an easy victory, was Mr. Samuel H. Ashbridge, who was serving his sixth continuous term as coroner. Mr. Ashbridge's letter of acceptance was admirable, and his personal record was not deemed objectionable by the Municipal League, which stands in Philadelphia for genuine reform. The league did not regard the situation in Philadelphia as auspicious for a movement against the Republican machine. Any effort that might have been made would, in the view of the league, have been futile. Philadelphia during the past few months has been scourged by an epidemic of typhoid fever. This condition is said to be due altogether to the bad condition of the water supply. Citizens freely declare that the municipal water supply has been neglected by officials whose efforts ought to have been directed toward its improvement, because of a determined attempt on the part of private monopolists to persuade the local authorities to turn over the water works to be conducted as a private enterprise, just as a year or more ago a similar movement resulted in the turning over of the municipal gas works to a private company. Mr. Ashbridge, however, was sound on the water question. There is now an energetic disposition

on the part of the city government to improve the pumping stations, to check the wasteful use of water, and above all to take up seriously the question of filtration. Experts have been appointed, and some time within the present month of May they are to make a preliminary report, and within the next three months a comprehensive plan must be submitted under which Philadelphia may secure an ample supply of water of good quality.

*The
Pittsburg
Situation.* The fact is that in Philadelphia, as also in Pittsburg, the municipal elections were wholly subordinated to the remarkable political conditions that were disclosed in the protracted deadlock at Harrisburg over the election of a United States Senator. It was felt by the municipal reformers and independent voters in Pittsburg and Philadelphia that the best step in the direction of political reform that Pennsylvania could possibly take in the year 1899 would be the defeat of Mr. Quay for another term in the Senate. Now, it so happened that Mr. David Martin, known as the Republican boss of Philadelphia, and State Senator Flinn, one of the joint bosses of Pittsburg, were working as hard as they could to encompass the overthrow of Quay, with whom they had finally and completely broken. Inasmuch as the chief strength of the Republican machines of Philadelphia and Pittsburg were thus arrayed against the control of the State machine by Mr. Quay, it seems that the reformers reasoned from their own point of view that this was not a good year in which to oppose the two local machines. It is true that Mr. Magee, of Pittsburg, who is the senior member of the Magee-Flinn duumvirate, and who had for a long time been a bitter enemy of Quay, was now warmly supporting Quay for reelection. But there were also many people who believed that this was all arranged, in order that when the deadlock should finally break, it might be the easier for Mr. Magee to take Quay's place and attain the coveted seat in the United States Senate. The Pittsburg election occurred on February 22, and the Republican candidate, Mr. W. J. Diehl, was elected by a large majority. For several years past Mr. Diehl has been the secretary of the Wheeling Natural Gas Company, of which Mr. Flinn, the Pittsburg boss, is president and principal owner. Personally the new mayor is very highly spoken of, even by those who are thoroughly opposed to the rule of the city by those whom he represents. State Senator Magee and his close political associate, Senator Flinn, are the most prominent representatives of large Pittsburg enterprises in the nature of street railroads and other franchise-holding monopolies.

*Pittsburg
Improvements.* Among other public improvements in contemplation at Pittsburg is a filtration plant for the water supply, which is expected to cost \$3,000,000. The best citizens of Pittsburg have been endeavoring to secure an improved charter, and the matter was under consideration before the recent Legislature. Mr. George W. Guthrie, one of the most distinguished and public-spirited citizens of Pittsburg and one of the best authorities on municipal government in the United States, was very active in the endeavor to do away with certain objectionable features of the present charter and to introduce a better system. It is said that there is now in the immediate vicinity of Pittsburg a population of about 600,000; and the town is growing steadily. The library and free institute at Pittsburg upon which Mr. Andrew Carnegie has already spent perhaps \$5,000,000 is just now fortunate in the receipt from that same princely giver of another benefaction amounting to almost \$2,000,000. It is said that Mr. Carnegie's plans contemplate still further gifts in future years as this wonderful educational establishment grows to the point of needing enlarged buildings and further appliances.

*Mr. Quay
and the
Senatorship.* The indictment found against Senator Quay several months ago, to which reference was made in our number for November, came to trial on April 10 at Philadelphia. The object was to show that during a period of years through Mr. Quay's political influence very large sums of State money had been deposited for his personal use in the People's Bank, which failed last year. The failure was immediately followed by the suicide of the cashier. The accusation was that the State money turned over to this bank as a favored place of deposit was used by Mr. Quay and the late cashier in joint secret speculation in stocks, without payment of interest to the State. The prosecution had completed its case on the 19th, and the defense was expected to begin its testimony on the 20th. Mr. Quay and his friends had insisted that the whole affair was a move on the part of his political adversaries in their attempt to defeat his reelection to the Senate. His followers had clung to him with amazing tenacity through more than three long months of ineffective balloting at Harrisburg. At length, on April 18, State Senator Magee, of Pittsburg, withdrew his support from Quay and carried with him some fourteen votes, with the professed object of electing Mr. B. F. Jones before the expiration of the session of the Legislature on April 20. But there still remained at Mr. Quay's back a

solid phalanx of 93 votes, while Democrats to the number of 85 remained faithful to their own candidate, Jenks. At the last ballot, on the 19th, the vote stood: Quay, 93; Jenks, 85; Jones, 69. The Legislature adjourned on Thursday, with the understanding that Pennsylvania would have only one representative, Mr. Penrose, in the Senate during the next two years, unless the governor should call an extra session of the Legislature for the sake of endeavoring to fill the vacant seat.



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HON. MATTHEW S. QUAY.

Acquittal and Appointment. To the surprise of the public, the attorneys for Mr. Quay, after taking a day for consultation, decided to make no defense at all, but to allow the case to go at once to the jury. It was submitted to the jury at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of April 20, the day of the adjournment of the Legislature. The jury was out all night, and at 11 o'clock the following forenoon the verdict was brought in, declaring that Matthew Stanley Quay was not guilty of the charge of conspiring to use for his own unlawful gain and profit the funds of the State of Pennsylvania deposited in the People's Bank. Mr. Quay was present, and his friends created a scene of enthusiastic excitement. To cap the climax, Governor Stone immediately appointed Mr. Quay

United States Senator until the regular legislative session of 1901. It does not follow, of course, that Mr. Quay will be permitted to take the seat. The Senate has on several occasions established the precedent that when the Legislature has had due opportunity to fill a vacancy and has failed to do so, an appointment by the governor will not be recognized. It is, of course, possible that the Senate may reverse its own ruling, in which case not only would Mr. Quay be seated, but also appointees to be made by the governors of Delaware, Utah, and California.

*Metropolitan
Issues at
Albany.*

When the new charter for the Greater New York was adopted, it was the confident prediction of its makers and advocates that its result would be to transfer the consideration of vital municipal matters from the State Legislature at Albany to the two-chambered municipal assembly in the metropolis. It was the equally confident prediction of this magazine that nothing of the kind would result. The past winter and spring have been extremely lively ones in the discussion of all sorts of matters of importance affecting the metropolis, but not a single one of these discussions that have taken the attention of the community has been carried on in the municipal council. They have all gone straight to the Legislature at Albany. Out of a great number, perhaps the four most important ones have been (1) the measure to reorganize the police system of New York under a single head, doing away with the existing bipartisan board of four police commissioners; (2) the struggle to prevent the occupation of Amsterdam Avenue, one of the great thoroughfares of the city, by two rival double-track electric street railroads; (3) the bill to permit the Astoria Gas Company to enter the city by way of a tunnel from Long Island and thus do business in the metropolis; and (4) a measure changing the powers of the rapid transit commissioners in such a way as to enable them to confer upon a private company a perpetual franchise for the construction and operation of the long-proposed underground rapid transit railroad, if they should so choose. Other subjects of great importance before the Legislature had to do with the revision of the laws regulating the construction of buildings, particularly of tenement-house buildings in New York City; with a closer factory inspection, and virtual abolition of the worst evils of the sweat-shop system; and with a radical change in the system of taxation, for the sake of reaching the untaxed but immensely lucrative franchises of the street railroad, gas, and other municipal monopolies. As the net outcome of the legislative work, the seemingly inevitable double trolley system on Amster-

dam Avenue will be prevented. Through the arbitrament of Governor Roosevelt, a plan has been adopted which will result either in the joint use of tracks by the two companies or else in the withdrawal of one of the companies from the avenue on equitable terms.

*The
Underground
Road.*

The Metropolitan Street Railway Company, which now operates a major part of the surface lines of New York, and which in many ways has shown itself very enterprising and responsible, had made a proposition to the rapid transit commissioners which they seemed inclined to accept. The trouble with the proposition was that it sacrificed the next generation to the convenience of the present one. The proposition provided for the immediate construction of the underground road, which would be operated, under a system of transfers, in connection with the surface lines. The company proposed to give the city an extremely small percentage on the gross earnings, with no increase based upon the growth of business in the future, and it demanded as an absolute condition that its franchise should be perpetual. So firm has been the opposition of thoughtful elements in the community to the granting of such a franchise that the Metropolitan Company has withdrawn its proposal. The governor himself had at length given it to be understood that he could not sign a bill that did not limit the franchise to a term of years. The people of the city of New York have once had the question submitted to them, and they then decided at a popular election in favor of the construction of the underground road with municipal money. The rapid transit commissioners have steadfastly preferred this method, but have been opposed at every step by obstacles raised by politicians who, in turn, were the instrument of private corporations. Under all the circumstances, there seems to be no proper way in New York by which this great improvement can be carried out except by the use of municipal funds. The objections that have been raised are of such a nature that they can be overcome; and there are signs that the community will express itself so unmistakably that politicians and selfish private interests will be compelled to yield.

*Tammany
Under
Investigation.*

The proposed legislation for the reform of the police system was obstinately resisted by a small majority of the State Senate consisting of the Democrats under the general control of Tammany Hall and a handful of Republicans who, for some reason, were allied with the same interests. In like manner other desirable legislation that had re-

ceived the Republican stamp was deadlocked in the Senate. Such was the state of affairs when, without warning, there was introduced a resolution for the appointment of a legislative committee to investigate the present Tammany administration of New York City. It was stoutly alleged that this was a mere device to frighten the Tammany Democrats into withdrawing their opposition to pending measures at Albany. Nevertheless, the resolution was promptly adopted and a committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Mr. Robert Mazet, a young Republican member of the Assembly from New York, who was chairman of the committee on the affairs of cities. The commission selected Mr. Frank Moss as its principal counsel. Thus Mr. Moss occupies the same position with respect to this inquiry that Mr. Goff occupied when the committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Lexow investigated the Tammany administration five years ago. The work of the Mazet commission began on April 8. One of the first witnesses called was Mr. Richard Croker, and another was his right-hand man in the Tammany conduct of municipal affairs, Mr. John F. Carroll. Mr.



CHAIRMAN MAZET.

Croker proved an unwilling witness, and at times a defiant one; nevertheless, his statements and admissions were highly instructive, and his testimony has been commented upon from one end of the land to the other. There was no attempt on his part to deny the fact that his personal influence absolutely dominates New York City, and that money-making is his constant object in

politics. So far as the investigation had proceeded when these comments were written, its principal results seemed likely to be of an educational sort. The people of a great metropolis like New York, Philadelphia, or Chicago must gradually acquire familiarity with the methods by which they are governed, through



MR. FRANK MOSS.

agitation, investigation, and endless publicity. Mr. Moss, who is more conspicuous than any one else in the conduct of the investigation, is a man of the highest and most incorruptible character, and was for many years the legal representative of the Society for the Prevention of Crime, now commonly known as "Dr. Parkhurst's Society." When Mr. Roosevelt retired from the presidency of the police board under Mayor Strong to become Assistant Secretary of the Navy, it was Mr. Moss who was appointed to fill the unexpired remainder of the term. He was already exceptionally familiar with police affairs and conditions, and his brief service as president of the police board in 1897 was improved by him to the utmost in completing his knowledge and grasp of local affairs. This grasp causes him to be the dread of those evil-doers who make their living by virtue of corrupt municipal conditions. Dr. Parkhurst and some others refused to aid the Mazet inquiry because they doubted its motives and looked upon it as mainly a partisan device. But in its very opening days it had justified itself by the way in which it had helped the community to understand the new kind of "business politics."

*The
Jefferson
Dinners.*

The remarkable series of so-called "Jefferson" dinners given in New York on or somewhere near the date of the anniversary of the birth of the eminent author of the Declaration of Independence had, after all, extremely little to do with the reputed founder of the Democratic party. Nobody knows where Thomas Jefferson would stand in politics if he were with us to-day. Certainly no factors in our contemporary politics are more essentially antagonistic to one another in their sentiments and principles than some of the various groups that met last month in the name of Jefferson and arrogated to themselves the principles of the only genuine and simon-pure Jeffersonian democracy. The dinner of the Manhattan Single Tax Club was no innovation, for this organization has celebrated Jefferson Day for a good many years past. Its assemblage this year was unostentatious, but was characterized by enthusiasm, sincerity, and great oratorical ability. This group of Jeffersonians did not in the least relish the idea that Mr. Richard Croker's Democratic Club should suddenly take up the cult of the Sage of Monticello, and should illustrate Jeffersonian simplicity by a many-course dinner at \$10 a plate. It was a dismal and dreary affair, for all its attempt at magnificence; and its speaking was neither by men of great note, nor was it marked by anything but dullness and rather scandalous inattention. An attempt was made on this occasion to launch a Presidential boom for Mr. Augustus Van Wyck, Mr. Croker's defeated candidate for the gov-



MR. CROKER IN THE WITNESS CHAIR.

("If you can prove that I took a dollar of this city's money you can cut off this arm.")

ernorship of New York last fall. Mr. Bryan's widely published refusal to attend the Croker dinner had led immediately to steps for the organization of a one-dollar Jefferson dinner that should have Mr. Bryan as its special guest of honor. Subsequently a difference arose in the committee that had charge of this dinner over the question whether or not the occasion should be avowedly in the interest of the Chicago platform and Mr. Bryan's candidacy—a difference which threatened to become acute but was happily settled by the decision to hold two dinners, the one on the evening of April 15 and the other on the evening of April 19. The first of these was distinctly a Bryan political dinner. About 2,500 men sat down at the tables in the Grand Central Palace. The occasion was one great ovation to Mr. Bryan. The Mazet inquiry was very considerably humiliating to Mr. Croker and hurting his prestige; and thus it was that the invasion of Mr. Bryan came at a particularly auspicious time for the friends of the Western leader. Among the speakers at this dinner, besides Mr. Bryan, were Hon. George Fred Williams, of Massachusetts, Dr. John Clark Ridpath, Judge Tarvin, of Kentucky, and Mr. Towne, of Minnesota.

The other "dollar dinner," on the night of the 19th, was under the chairmanship of Mr. John Brisben Walker, editor of the *Cosmopolitan* magazine. Its keynote was social and industrial reform, and the speaking gave especial prominence to what is perhaps the most popular and significant movement of the day in the United States—namely, the demand for the direct municipal control of public services and utilities in our great towns. Mayor Jones, of Toledo, fresh from his amazing victory over the candidates of both leading parties, set the standard of speaking by a speech of great ardor and magnetism. Other speakers besides Mr. Bryan were Rev. Dr. Edward McGlynn and Mr. N. O. Nelson, of St. Louis. The real significance of these Jeffersonian dinners (a good many more of them were held than we have mentioned) lies in the fact that they were intended to help shape the battle lines for the Presidential contest of next year. Nobody can make accurate predictions about a situation that is shifting and developing so rapidly; but at least it is plain that a certain tide of enthusiasm that swept up from the West and South and nominated Mr. Bryan last year—in spite of the opposition of the old wheel-horses of the Democracy like Senator Gorman, Mr. Hill, and the rest—will not have spent itself before the conventions of the year 1900. Whether or not the silver

question should keep its relative prominence in the Democratic platform, there will be backing enough for the views and doctrines known as "Bryanism" or "Altgeldism" to keep full control of the Democratic national organization.

Mr. Reed
to Leave
Congress.

With the final adjournment of the Fifty-fifth Congress on March 4, it was to be supposed that for a few months the national legislature would not be a topic of immediate prominence. The Republicans had an assured, though not a large, majority, in the Fifty-sixth Congress, which is to meet



HON. THOMAS B. REED.

next December, and it was morally certain that the Hon. Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, would be reelected Speaker without serious opposition. In the middle of April, however, the political world was set agog by the news that Mr. Reed had finally determined to resign his seat in Congress and retire from politics in order to become a member of a law firm in New York City under circumstances which gave him the assurance of a very large income. Mr. Reed will be sixty years of age in October. He graduated at Bowdoin College in his twenty-first year, began to practice law at Portland four or five years later, and before he was thirty years of age he had fairly entered upon a career of honorable public office

that ends only with his voluntary retirement to private life. He was in the State Legislature for three years, then was attorney-general of Maine for the following three, after which he was city solicitor of Portland for four years, until 1877. At that time he entered Congress, where he has remained ever since. If he had concluded to serve through the term for which he was elected last fall, he would have been in the House of Representatives for twenty-four consecutive years. The general opinion of his probity and ability as Speaker of the House was expressed by us last month. It is the prevailing report that Mr. Reed's retirement is due to the feeling that he owes it to his family to make some money. There are men, some of whom the Mazet inquiry in New York has brought to light, who grow rich through their connection with politics, but who could not earn very much money by legitimate private effort. Mr. Reed is of exactly the opposite sort. While in public office he has given his energy to public affairs, although at any time—by considering his pocket-book first and his constituents and his country afterward—he could have entered the path that leads to riches. It is far too early to write biographies of Mr. Reed as yet, however, for although he is approaching sixty, he retains the vigor, appearance, and elasticity of youth, and after a few years the country may be fortunate enough to secure his services again. It is needless to add that there has been much discussion already of the question who shall secure the Republican caucus choice for the Speakership next December. Among the names most frequently mentioned are two members from New York, two from Illinois, and two from Iowa.

At Peace with Spain. It is pleasant to have the war with Spain ended in the technical sense by the exchange of ratifications of the treaty. This occurred at Washington on April 11. Spain was represented by the French ambassador, M. Jules Cambon. The ceremony took place at the White House in the presence of President McKinley and the members of the Cabinet. The American copy of the treaty was plainly but handsomely bound in dark blue morocco, having been carefully engrossed. While President McKinley handed this to M. Cambon, that gentleman delivered to the President the Spanish copy, very elaborately bound, ornamented, and incased. President McKinley at once issued a proclamation which recited the whole treaty document, and presented the facts as to the exchange of ratifications, in order that the agreement, having thus been made public, might be "observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and

the citizens thereof." We are to be represented at Madrid by the Hon. Bellamy Storer, who has for some time past been our minister at Brussels. Mr. Storer is a very well-known citizen of Cincinnati, a man of wealth and attainments, who served in the Fifty-second and Fifty-third Congresses and was a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee. His transfer to Madrid will be regarded as a promotion in the diplomatic service. He will be succeeded at Brussels by Mr. Law-



HON. BELLAMY STORER.
(Our new minister to Spain.)

rence Townsend, of Pennsylvania, now minister to Portugal. The new Spanish minister at Washington will be the Duke of Arcos, who was at one time connected with the Spanish legation in this country and who married an American girl. Subsequently he was Spanish minister to Mexico, and has for some time past been under secretary in the Foreign Office at Madrid. His place in that office will be taken by Señor Dupuy de Lome, whom he succeeds at Washington. The \$20,000,000 which the United States agreed to pay Spain by way of compensation for Spanish improvements in the Philippines was duly placed to the credit of Spain last month at the United States Sub Treasury in New York.

*In the
Philippines.*

The Philippine situation has continued to be the leading topic of serious discussion in this country, with no point of absolute unanimity except the fervent hope and prayer that the pending warfare between the United States troops and the natives may come to a speedy end. Meanwhile, there has been nothing of immediate moment that argument and controversy could accomplish here at home. Wise people have understood that for the present there was nothing to do but trust to the wisdom of those who have the affair in hand and who are doing their very best. Admiral Dewey, General Otis, and President Schurman are the three men that stand charged with the work of securing Philippine pacification. They have in times past earned the reputation of being wise men. We must now leave a critical situation in their hands. Since our last number went to press the American troops have made an easy capture of Malolos, which was the capital of the so-called republic of the Tagals. Aguinaldo's followers fled at the approach of our army. Operations have since been conducted in the general vicinity of Malolos. We have had some unfortunate losses of brave men, and the whole affair is painful and disheartening. None the less, it is not the proper time to find fault.

*A Better
Outlook.*

There is at least some ground for the belief that the insurgents are very tired of their perfectly futile and hopeless opposition to the United States. Their movement is in no sense an intelligent and high-minded effort to carry out a cherished plan for liberty and independence. Just as soon as the Philippine people can be made to understand what the presence of the United States signifies, they will be very happy to accept American oversight and protection. President Schurman and his fellow commissioners have issued a conciliatory proclamation to the people, and copies of it have been scattered broadcast throughout the archipelago. Reports from islands other than Luzon are rather encouraging. Our volunteers in the Philippines are about to come home, and a number of regiments of the regular troops are to be sent out to replace them. It has not yet been decided whether or not it will be necessary for the President to issue a call for the enlistment of any of the thirty-five thousand additional volunteers that the compromise army bill of the last session permits him to raise if he finds it advisable. A more detailed statement of events in the Philippines during the past month will be found in our Record of Current Events.

In Cuba.

A leading topic in Cuba has been the acceptance of the \$3,000,000 fund and the preliminary steps for its distribution among the impatient Cuban soldiers. About 40,000 names, it now seems to be understood, will bear the test of inquiry as belonging to the genuine Cuban army after the exclusion of mere camp followers and of the numerous men who have been enrolled since the conclusion of the war. This would mean an average of only about \$75 to each soldier. That, of course, is better than nothing, but it will not go far toward reestablishing these men in their homes and in the pursuits of civil life. Our views on this subject have been expressed at length more than once, and we have found no occasion to change them. Gradually the administration of Cuba becomes more orderly. American volunteers have been coming home, regiment after regiment, with the result of leaving in Cuba a greatly diminished army. Our military departments have been consolidated to some extent, with the result, for instance, of giving Gen. Fitzhugh Lee command over a considerably enlarged territory at the west end of the island.

*In
Porto Rico.*

Owing to the result of old wounds, and the impairment of his strength through assiduous service, Gen. Guy V. Henry has been obliged to give up the military governorship of Porto Rico. It is understood that his successor is to be Gen. George W. Davis, who has been serving on what is commonly known as the "beef inquiry." Porto Rico is not in a very happy condition. The people are entirely ready to do homage to the Stars and Stripes, but they find their industries prostrated, their old markets in Cuba and Spain no longer available, and no new market for their crops as yet discovered. Although we have annexed Porto Rico, we enforce against her our high tariff exactly as if she belonged to the French or British West Indies. Our zealous representatives of education and religion are trying hard to establish schools and protestant churches in Porto Rico; but they will have better success after economic and political conditions are remedied. The one short and easy way to improve the economic conditions is to bring Porto Rico within our commercial pale. It would not be practicable to extend the tariff system of the United States to the Philippines; but there is certainly much to be said in favoring of giving Porto Rico the benefit of commercial as well as political annexation. The sooner some form of civil administration is set up, by the side of the military government, the better it will be for everybody.

The Spanish Elections.

The Spanish parliamentary elections following the recent change of ministry were held on Sunday, the 16th. Nothing could throw a stronger light upon Spanish characteristics than the announcement cabled this country the following day that the vote in Madrid had been exceedingly light, owing to the absorbing interest in an unusually popular bull-fight. Elections are always held on Sunday in Spain and so are the bull-fights; and the less important things must give way to that which really claims the national attention. There was never a time during the Spanish-American War, if some fairly reliable testimony may be accepted, when the people of Madrid and the other large Spanish towns as a whole were not more interested in the bull-fights than in the course of the naval and military struggle. A nation in that condition has no right to hold sovereignty over outlying peoples such as the Cubans and the Filipinos. Spain will have to grapple seriously with reforms at home or else sink to a still lower place among the nations. It was to be taken for granted, as a matter of course, that the elections would be favorable to the new ministry, the election machinery being in the hands of the government of the day.

Activity of Russia.

Russia is much in evidence in these days, first, because of the prominence given to that country by the Czar's call for the peace conference, and, second, through reports of activity and progress in various fields of enterprise. The great Trans-Siberian Railway is pressing steadily onward toward its goal, and the Russians are making themselves masters in Manchuria and the northern provinces of Mongolia and of China. While they have been



VICE ADMIRAL MAKAROFF.
(Inventor of an ice-breaking steamer.)

staking almost everything upon the acquisition of a seaport and railroad terminus on the Pacific below the line of heavy ice that has always closed Vladivostok and the Siberian harbors, one of their enterprising naval leaders has been hard at work inventing a way to open ice-bound harbors by mechanical means. St. Petersburg heretofore has been shut off from sea traffic during several winter months, like Duluth and other of our great lake ports, by the ice that forms on the Neva. Admiral Makaroff, who has long been experimenting with ice-breaking

steamers, has at length invented a huge piece of naval construction that accomplishes the desired end. It plows its way with remarkable rapidity through solid ice, leaving behind a broad channel in which other vessels may safely navigate. This invention will not greatly diminish the Russian zeal for the China Sea and the purpose to maintain Port Arthur as a great Russian maritime rendezvous and railroad terminus; but along thousands of miles of frozen coast-line on the Baltic, the North Pacific, and the Arctic Ocean there will be am-



THE ICE-BREAKER "ERMAK."

(Built for the Russian Government on Admiral Makaroff's plans.)

ple opportunity to use Makaroff's ice-breakers. Several American ports on the great lakes and on rivers like the St. Lawrence might find it to their advantage to look into this Russian invention, with a practical object in view.

The Czar's Conference.

The Czar's peace conference, which will assemble on or about May 18 at The Hague, is to be presided over, according to general understanding, by M. de Staal, who heads the Russian delegation. This veteran statesman and diplomat is the Russian ambassador at London. Another famous Russian who will participate in the conference is Professor Martens, perhaps the greatest living authority on international law. Professor Martens, it will be remembered, is the fifth member of the Venezuela boundary arbitration commission, the other four members consisting of two American and two English judges. This Venezuela board was to have met at Paris on the 25th of the present month; but it is now announced that its meeting will be postponed for a number of weeks in order to enable Professor Martens to join in the conference at The Hague. The British delegation at the conference is to be headed by Sir Julian Pauncefote, for a number of years past the ambassador of Great Britain at Washington. The head of the French group will be M. Leon Bourgeois, formerly a prime minister of France and one of the most eminent and scholarly of contemporary French statesmen. Count Munster is named as the

principal delegate from Germany. Another prominent member of the German deputation found his appointment rather severely criticised in Russia and elsewhere by reason of recent



M. DE STAAL.

(Who will preside at the Czar's conference.)

articles in which he has shown himself a very pronounced defender of militarism and a skeptical critic of precisely the kind of reforms belief in which has inspired the call for the conference.



PALACE HUISTEN BOSCH, WHERE THE PEACE CONFERENCE IS TO MEET.



COUNT MUNSTER.



M. LEON BOURGEOIS.



SIR JULIAN PAUNCEFOOT.

This German is Professor Stengel. After the assembling of the conference, which will unquestionably be a body of great eminence and learning, we shall doubtless find occasion to publish a much more extended list of the members. Elsewhere we comment *in extenso* upon the members of the American delegation headed by Hon. Andrew D. White. Our delegates will do well to present at the conference certain advanced American doctrines of international law, such as the proposed immunity of private property at sea in time of war. Professor Moore, by the way, who was secretary and counsel to our peace commissioners at Paris, contributes to this number of the REVIEW a valuable article upon international law principles as tested and illustrated in the recent war with Spain.

*Affairs in
the United
Kingdom.*

In England, where the burdens of militarism are by no means heaviest, the new budget introduced the other day by Sir Michael Hicks Beach, the chancellor of the exchequer, showed how easily surplus revenue is absorbed in the maintenance and development of a vast navy and in the endless military expenditures that are the price of a world-wide empire. England has maintained unbroken peace with all nations of any rank for a great many years, and yet the growth of military and naval expenditure has gone on with feverish haste. The question has risen this year whether new forms of taxation should be devised or sinking-fund payments on the national debt should cease. A proposed new tax on transfers of stocks and shares has considerably perturbed the promoters and speculators. The great question that continues to agitate the country has to do with the suppression of unlawful ritualism in

the established Church. Sooner or later the controversy seems bound to lead to disestablishment. The county council elections in Ireland resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Nationalists everywhere except in Ulster. There had been an impression in England that the granting of local self-government under the new arrangement for elective bodies in the counties would greatly lessen the demand for parliamentary home rule; but the result seems to be just the opposite. The concession of county home rule is taken in Ireland as a sign that home rule in the full sense can be had if its friends are duly persistent.

*Removing
Causes of
War.*

Whatever the conference at The Hague may or may not do, the cause of peace has made huge progress in the past year, through elimination of unsettled questions which were liable to make trouble between powers of fighting rank. Spain, it is true, is not accounted one of the great powers, but she has, in our century, been military above all else. The trial of issues between Spain and the United States has undoubtedly taken the West Indies out of the realm of possible war-making disputes. But for American occupation, the Philippines also might sooner or later have led to a war-provoking scramble in which Germany and Japan would have participated. Among the very greatest recent events making for peace have been the agreements which practically complete the partition of Africa. First came the settlement of differences between England and Germany as respects southern and central Africa—a notable triumph of honorable diplomacy. And later came the understanding worked out between Lord Salisbury and M.

Chamberlain continues from time to time to say hard things about Mr. Rhodes' enemy, President Kruger of the Transvaal. That stolid old gentleman has of late shown signs of relenting toward the Uitlanders, who have been sending numerous signed petitions to the Queen of England to help them in their contentions against the Boer government. Kruger now proposes to considerably change the tax laws which rest so heavily upon the mining companies that exploit the Johannesburg reefs, and he is also promising to shorten up the naturalization period to a term of at most five years. This would seem reasonable

*The
Samoan
Muddle.*

The trouble in Samoa has proved to be far more protracted and serious than any one in Europe or America had anticipated when the dissatisfaction over the decision of Chief Justice Chambers was first announced three months ago. If the lamented Robert Louis Stevenson were still alive and in his home at Apia, the extraordinary events which have followed one another with bewildering rapidity in the neighborhood of that island port would give him material for another "footnote to history" of larger dimensions than the one that he wrote a number of years ago. It will be remembered that in 1892 Mr. Stevenson published a volume on the Samoan complications of that period, entitled "A Footnote to History." It looked for a moment last month as if the Samoan question might lead to the making of some serious history on a large scale. Happily, there is now reason to think that it may be kept in the minor and subordinate place of the "footnotes." When Chief Justice Chambers gave his decision in favor of young Malietoa Tanu and against Mataafa, the United States was not represented at Samoa by a warship. As our readers will remember, the English were in accord with the Americans in supporting the claims of young Malietoa, while the Germans were backing Mataafa. Only ten years ago the situation had been reversed. Mataafa was waging his war for supremacy under the direction of an American, while the Germans were in sympathy with the other side. A number of German subjects were massacred and mutilated by Mataafa. Subsequently England, Germany, and the United States came together and adopted the general act of Berlin. Mataafa was banished, and it was distinctly understood that he was to be henceforth excluded from all consideration in the selection of Samoan rulers. The Germans, however, for reasons that have to do with their strong desire to obtain a dominating influence in Samoa, brought Mataafa back and made him a candidate for the kingship on the death, last year, of the old Malietoa. Samoan kings, in accordance with their old-time customs, are elected by the people. There seems to be no doubt of the truth of the German contention that Mataafa received a large majority of the votes. The general act of Berlin, however, makes the decision of the chief justice on the question of the selection of the king final, beyond any further appeal. Chief Justice Chambers, after a long hearing of the case, found Mataafa ineligible under the act of Berlin, and gave his judgment therefore in favor of the younger candidate. The followers of Mataafa, still abetted by the German consul, Rose, the German president of the municipal



MENDING THEIR WAYS.

KAISER to RHODES: "Oh, yes! I don't mind. Just make it worth my while."

KRUGER to UITLANDER: "Here's a nice Easter card for you."—From *Fun* (London).

enough, but it is not what the Uitlanders want. It is the determination of the Englishmen who have gone to Johannesburg for gold-mining purposes to obtain the right to vote as citizens of the Transvaal Republic, while still keeping their status as British subjects. In short, they want to rule the Transvaal Republic without swearing allegiance to it. Certainly, from his own point of view President Kruger is right in holding that if the newcomers wish to exercise the privileges of citizens they should be willing to give their allegiance and assume the responsibilities. The only ultimate solution, of course, is the federation of the Transvaal and the Orange Free Republic with the other provinces of British South Africa. This may not be pleasant for the Boers, but it is manifest destiny.



SAMOAN REBELS MARCHING IN THE MAIN STREET OF APIA.

council of Apia, and all the German element of the foreign population, refused to accept the judgment of the court, made war upon the ill-armed followers of the young Malietoa, and installed Mataafa as king. This, of course, was a revolutionary proceeding. On account of the strength of the followers of Mataafa there was nothing to do for a time but to accept the arrangement as a provisional one until there was a sufficient physical force to sustain the chief justice. The United States sent the warship *Philadelphia*, under command of Admiral Albert Kautz, who arrived on March 6, and at once laid a calm but exceedingly firm hand upon the situation. He issued a proclamation, restored the authority of the chief justice, enthroned Malietoa, and joined the English in vigorously defending the situation when the followers of Mataafa took to the war-path. Marines and sailors were landed from the *Philadelphia* and the English ships, and the Englishmen and Americans fought side by side against large bodies of natives. There was an ugly rumor that Mataafa was obtaining arms and ammunition from the German warship. It is best not to believe this until there is unmistakable proof. Unfortunately, on

April 4th a party of British and Americans numbering 105 was ambushed on a German plantation (with the alleged active aid of the German planter) by about 800 natives. In the fierce fight that followed several sailors and officers, some being American and some English, were killed. This event at first stirred up a dangerously angry feeling against Germany. But the conclusion was soon reached that it would be well to wait for all the facts.

*Seeking
a
Remedy.*

Our own Government made an excellent impression everywhere by the coolness it maintained and the perfect good temper it exhibited in all that pertained to these unfortunate troubles in Samoa. It was readily enough agreed by England and the United States, on the proposal of Germany, that commissioners should be appointed to proceed at once to Apia and take the whole situation in hand, arranging for the settlement of all existing difficulties and providing safeguards against the future recurrence of like troubles. But inasmuch as England and the United States have of late found it easy to agree, and have been practically allies during the past four

months in Samoa, Germany insisted that no decisions of the commissioners should be valid unless unanimous. To this England objected decidedly. The United States did not consider the question a vital one, and agreed to accept any decision with respect to it that London and Berlin could arrive at. England finally yielded, and it was agreed that the commissioners should be unanimous in all their actions. The United States, on the other hand, insisted that the inquiries of the commissioners should go back to the original plotting on the part of the Germans, including particularly the events immediately following Chief Justice Chambers' decision against Mataafa and the attack on the Court. The Germans took the ground that the ultimate acceptance by all the consuls of Mataafa's provisional government had made a new starting-point, and that the thing to be investigated was the conduct of the American admiral, Kautz, in proceeding to depose Mataafa and to enforce the Chambers decision of last December. England stood with the United States in this contention and the Germans yielded. Thus the commissioners will go into the merits of the entire question, beginning with the return of Mataafa and the election last year. The



MATAAFA (IN WHITE ROBE) WITH LEADING SUPPORTERS.

commissioners will not have the final word, however, for their findings must be referred to their respective governments for ratification before taking effect. Some way must, and of course can, be found for removing the Samoan question beyond the possibility of making trouble among first class powers. Meanwhile the Government of the United States has greatly improved relations with Germany by the excellent diplomatic manners of our ambassador, Dr. White, at Berlin, and of Secretary Hay in his dealings with Ambassador von Holleben at Washington. Our member of the joint commission that goes to Samoa is Mr. Bartlett Tripp, of Yankton, S. D.

Mr. Tripp was at one time minister at Vienna, and previously was a Supreme Court chief justice in Dakota. He is a Democrat in politics and is accounted well fitted for the work in hand. The German member is Baron Speck von Sternberg, first secretary of the German embassy at Washington, a diplomat of much skill and experience. The English member is Mr. Eliot, one of the secretaries of the British embassy at Washington. They go to Samoa together on a vessel provided by the United States. Admiral Kautz has taken a bold course, but there is no doubt of his



MALIETOA TANU, PLACED ON SAMOAN THRONE BY ADMIRAL KAUTZ.

thorough familiarity with all the bearings of the treaty under which Samoa is governed ; and his course, as far as understood, meets with entire approval at Washington.

*Obituary
Notes.*

The most eminent American in the obituary list for the month that is comprised in our record was the late Justice Stephen J. Field, who not long ago retired from the Supreme Court bench after the longest service of any judge in its history. He belonged to a family of distinguished brothers, of whom the sole survivor is the Rev. Dr. Henry M. Field. The Baroness Hirsch, whose great



THE LATE BARONESS HIRSCH.

fortune inherited from her wealthy Belgium father was united to a still greater fortune when she married the late Baron Hirsch, died on April 1, leaving wealth estimated at about \$125,000,000, four-fifths of which is bequeathed to various Hebrew charities throughout the



Photo by Bell.

THE LATE JUSTICE STEPHEN J. FIELD.

world, in continuation of the stupendous work of Jewish colonization, education, and relief that was entered upon by her husband with her active aid some years before his death. The famous English Sanskrit scholar, Sir Monier Monier-Williams, of the University of Oxford, died on April 11 at the age of eighty. On April 8 the venerable Moses W. Dodd died in New York. He founded the publishing house now bearing the name of Dodd, Mead & Co., just sixty years ago. For almost thirty years past his son has been the head of the firm. The names of a great many other well known personages will be found in our obituary record published on another page.



RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From March 31 to April 30, 1899.)

THE FIGHTING IN THE PHILIPPINES.

March 22.—The transport *Sherman* arrives at Manila with United States troops to reinforce General Otis.

March 25.—General MacArthur leads an important forward movement to the north and east of Manila, the insurgents retiring before the American advance; the



COL. HARRY C. EGBERT, U. S. A.

(Killed in the Philippines on March 26.)

troops engaged are the Third Artillery, as infantry; the Montana, Kansas, Pennsylvania, Nebraska, Wyoming, Colorado, South Dakota, Minnesota, and Oregon Volunteers; the Third, Fourth, Seventeenth, Twenty-second, and Twenty-third Infantry; and the Utah battalion of artillery. American casualties, 176 (26 killed).

March 26.—General Wheaton's brigade takes the town of Malinta; Col. Harry C. Egbert, of the Twenty-second Infantry, is killed; the insurgents evacuate Malabon, burning the place; after the taking of Malinta General MacArthur's advance guard, the Third Artillery and the Twentieth Kansas, join General Wheaton's brigade; the brigades of Gen. H. G. Otis and General Hale advance toward Marilao as far as Meycanayan.

March 27.—General MacArthur's forces take and hold Marilao; the South Dakota volunteers, led by Colonel Frost, charge the Filipino troops commanded by Aguinaldo in person; the insurgents are repulsed with slaughter; American casualties, about 40.

March 29.—General MacArthur advances from Marilao to Bocave, Bigaa, and Guiguinto, on the road to Malolos, which is stubbornly contested by the Filipinos; American casualties, about 70.

March 31.—General MacArthur's division occupies Malolos, the insurgent capital, after slight resistance; American loss, 1 killed, 15 wounded.

April 4.—The American commissioners to the Philippines issue a proclamation stating the intentions of their government in dealing with the islands.

April 10.—An expedition of 1,500 men under General Lawton capture the town of Santa Cruz, on Laguna de Bay, Luzon, driving back the Filipinos with heavy loss; the American loss is 10 wounded, one of whom dies.

April 12.—General Wheaton drives the Filipinos north of Manila inland.

April 13.—A Filipino attack on the American lines near Malolos is successfully repulsed.

April 14.—The United States transport *Sheridan* arrives at Manila with reinforcements.

April 18.—Lieutenant Gillmore and 14 men from the United States gunboat *Yorktown*, while trying to rescue a besieged Spanish garrison near Baler in the Philippines, are ambushed and captured by Filipinos.

April 19.—The administration at Washington decides to send regular troops to the number of 14,000 as reinforcements to General Otis.



BRIG.-GEN. IRVING HALE.

(Actively engaged in the Philippines.)

April 20.—Two transports sail from San Francisco for Manila with troops and supplies.



HON. LAWRENCE TOWNSEND

(United States minister to Portugal, transferred to Belgium.)

THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF CUBA.

March 21.—General Ludlow authorizes an increase in the Havana police force of 400 men.

March 26.—Secretary Alger arrives at Havana and holds a conference with the heads of military departments.

March 28.—Two delegates from the Cuban Assembly arrive at Washington, but are not officially recognized....An independent postal service is established in Cuba.

April 3.—General Brooke and General Gomez hold another conference concerning the distribution of the \$3,000,000 intended to be paid to the Cuban army.

April 4.—The Cuban Assembly votes to disband the army and to dissolve.

April 7.—The Cuban generals decide to reinstate Maximo Gomez as commander-in-chief and to appoint an executive board to assist in the distribution of the \$3,000,000 to be paid to Cuban soldiers.

April 9.—A strike of railroad employees suspends traffic on lines leading eastward from Havana.

April 13.—The original rolls of the Cuban army are delivered to General Brooke at Havana; they show on their face the names of 48,000 officers and men.

April 17.—The military departments of Cuba are reorganized, those of Pinar del Rio and Matanzas being eliminated; the former is consolidated with the department of Havana and the latter with Santa Clara.

April 20.—General Brooke issues a decree constituting a court of final appeal in Cuba, with jurisdiction over such cases (both civil and criminal) as formerly went to Madrid for final disposition.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

March 28.—President McKinley returns to Washington from Thomasville, Ga.

March 29.—The New York Assembly passes a resolution providing for an investigation of the police and other departments of the New York City government.

March 30.—Baltimore Democrats nominate Thomas G. Hayes for mayor.

April 1.—The Detroit Common Council appoints a committee to purchase and operate the street railroads.

April 3.—Important elections are held in Ohio cities; the following are elected mayors: Cleveland, John H. Farley (Dem.); Toledo, S. M. Jones (Ind.); and Columbus, Samuel J. Swartz (Rep.)....The Republican State ticket, headed by Claudius E. Grant for justice of the Supreme Court, is successful in Michigan.

April 4.—Mayor Carter H. Harrison (Dem.) is reelected in Chicago by a plurality of 40,000 over Zina R. Carter (Rep.)....H. V. Johnson (Dem.) is elected mayor of Denver, Colo.

April 5.—Governor Dyer (Rep.), of Rhode Island, is reelected, with a Republican legislature.

April 7.—In the United States Circuit Court at Charleston, S. C., a true bill is found against 13 men accused of lynching Frazer B. Baker, the negro postmaster at Lake City, S. C., February 22, 1898.

April 8.—The Mazet investigating committee of the New York Assembly begins its inquiry into the Tammany administration of New York City.

April 14.—Richard Croker testifies before the Mazet committee in New York City.

April 15.—Attorney-General Monett, of Ohio, files in



MAYOR-ELECT CORNELIUS T. DRISCOLL, OF NEW HAVEN.

the Supreme Court of that State a bill of information relating the alleged attempt to bribe him in connection with pending litigation against the Standard Oil Company and asking an investigation.

April 18.—The New York Legislature passes the White civil-service bill....Cornelius T. Driscoll (Dem.) is elected mayor of New Haven, Conn.

April 19.—James P. Taliaferro (Dem.) is chosen United States Senator by the Florida Legislature.... The final ballot for United States Senator in the Pennsylvania Legislature results in no choice.

April 20.—The retirement from public life of Representative Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, is announced.... The Pennsylvania Legislature adjourns.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

March 21.—The French Court of Cassation orders the secret *dossier* in the Dreyfus case to be submitted.

March 22.—The Corean cabinet is dismissed and two of the members banished.

March 24.—A deadlock is reported in the legislative council of Jamaica on the tariff bill.

March 25.—Dr. Hans Delbrück is fined 500 marks for expressing disapproval of the action of the Prussian Government in expelling the Danes from Schleswig-Holstein.

March 28.—The Danish lower house votes a credit for a warship to enforce Denmark's demands on China.... The British House of Commons adjourns till April 10.

March 30.—The French Senate adjourns till May 9 and the Chamber of Deputies till May 2.

April 3.—The Greek ministry resigns.

April 7.—A vote of censure on the government is passed in the Jamaica Legislative Council.

April 8.—The managers of the Paris *Figaro* are fined 500 francs and costs for publishing testimony furnished to the Court of Cassation in the Dreyfus case.

April 11.—The Jamaica Legislative Council withdraws its vote of censure on the government and votes \$500,000 to meet current liabilities.... The Roumanian cabinet resigns.

April 12.—M. Theotokis is asked to form a new cabinet in Greece.

April 13.—The British budget is introduced in the House of Commons.

April 16.—General elections for members of the Cortes are held throughout Spain.

April 19.—The British House of Commons rejects on second reading the bill to repeal the Irish coercion act of 1887.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

March 21.—The Anglo-French agreement regarding frontiers in Africa is signed at London.

March 22.—Malietoa Tanu is crowned King of Samoa,

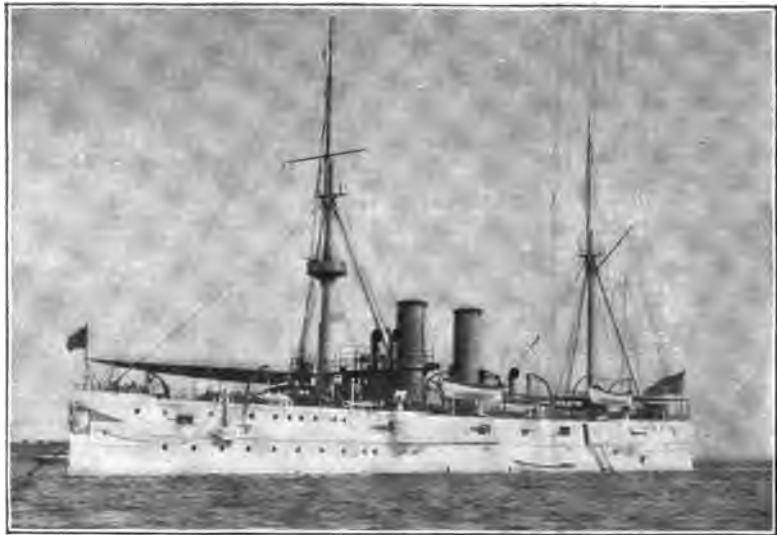
American and British representatives participating in the ceremony.

March 23.—Samoa villages held by Mataafa are bombarded by the United States cruiser *Philadelphia* and the British cruisers *Porpoise* and *Royalist* after an attack of the natives on Apia.

March 24.—In a dispute between the Argentine Republic and Chile an award of territory is made to the latter government by the United States minister to the Argentine Republic, acting as arbitrator.

March 31.—It is announced that Great Britain has completed the purchase of the Tongo group of islands.

April 1.—A force of 214 British and Americans and 150 friendly natives is ambushed by a band of Mataafa's warriors on a German plantation near Apia, Samoa; Lieut. Philip V. Lansdale of the United States cruiser *Philadelphia*, Lieut. Angel H. Freeman, of the British cruiser *Tauranga*, and Ensign Monaghan, of the *Phila-*



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THE UNITED STATES CRUISER "RALEIGH," RETURNED FROM MANILA.

(New York City extended a most cordial welcome to Captain Coghlan, his officers, and the crew of the ship that fired the first shot at Manila on the morning of May 1, 1898.)

delphia, besides 2 British and 2 American sailors, are killed and beheaded; the party retreats to the beach.

April 6.—The names of the five American delegates to the conference at The Hague on the reduction of armaments are announced (see page 545).... It is announced that Great Britain, Germany, and the United States have reached absolute agreement on the terms of a Samoan commission.... King Menelik of Abyssinia refuses the request of the French Government that he order all exports to pass through the French port; he also declines to reorganize his army with Russian officers.

April 7.—Gen. Russell Hastings declines the directorship of the Bureau of American Republics.

April 8.—The Norwegian Government refuses permission to the Swedish military authorities to attend

the Norwegian army maneuvers....C. N. E. Eliot, of the British legation at Washington, is appointed to represent Great Britain on the Samoan joint high commission.

April 10.—Bartlett Tripp, formerly United States minister to Austria, is appointed to represent this Government on the Samoan joint high commission.

April 11.—Ratifications of the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain are exchanged at Washington between President McKinley and Ambassador Cambon, and President McKinley issues a proclamation declaring the war at an end.

April 13.—The German Government appoints Baron Speck von Sternberg, first secretary of the German embassy in Washington, as Germany's representative on the Samoan joint high commission.

April 14.—In the German Reichstag Baron von Bülow announces the agreement of the three powers as to the Samoan commission....China assents to the opening of three new ports in the provinces of Kiang-Su, Kiang-Si, and Au-Hui.

April 15.—Lawrence Townsend, now United States minister to Portugal, is appointed minister to Belgium, to succeed Bellamy Storer, who will go to Madrid.

April 18.—It is announced that Arthur Sherburne Hardy, now United States minister to Persia, has been promoted to succeed W. W. Rockhill, resigned, as minister to Greece; ex-Gov. William P. Lord, of Oregon, is appointed minister to Persia; John N. Irwin, of Iowa, is appointed minister to Portugal.

April 20.—The ratifications of a new extradition treaty between the United States and the Orange Free State are exchanged at Washington.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

March 21.—The Smithsonian Institution transmits to Prof. James Dewar, of London, the discoverer of the process for liquifying air, the Hodgkins medal.

March 25.—Cambridge wins the annual boat-race with Oxford by three lengths.

March 30.—The steamer *Stella* is wrecked in a fog on the Casquet rocks in the English Channel; about 80 lives are lost.

April 4.—The Belgian antarctic expedition which sailed from Terra del Fuego on December 30, 1897, arrives at Montevideo and reports the discovery of new land in Weddell Sea and open water to the far south; the extreme latitude reached was 71 degrees and 36 minutes south.

April 6.—Services over the bodies of 336 American soldiers brought from Cuba and Porto Rico, with full military honors, are held in Arlington National Cemetery, near Washington, D. C.

April 7.—Marconi's system of wireless telegraphy is successfully tested across the English Channel during a storm....Twelve lives are lost in the burning of a private residence in New York City.

April 8.—Twelve persons are drowned by an ice-gorge and flood in the Yellowstone River near Glendive, Mont.

April 9.—The Greek coaster *Marta* is sunk by the British steamer *Kingswell* off the coast of Tripoli and 45 persons go down with her.

April 10.—In a fight between black and white miners at Pana, Ill., 6 men are killed and 9 wounded.

April 16.—The cruiser *Raleigh* is welcomed at New York on her return from Manila.

April 20.—Members of an important gang of counterfeiters are arrested in Philadelphia.

OBITUARY.

March 21.—Ex-Mayor Samuel G. King, of Philadelphia, 83....Arthur S. Campbell Wurtele, a well-known civil engineer, 68.

March 24.—Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner, the linguist, 39.

March 25.—Calvin T. Wheeler, Chicago capitalist, 82....Ex-Gov. Thomas Clement Fletcher, of Missouri, 72.

March 26.—Comte Chandordy, the celebrated French diplomat, 73....Col. Harry C. Egbert, Twenty-second United States Infantry, 60.

March 27.—Rev. Dr. James Ormsbee Murray, dean of Princeton University, 71.

March 28.—Birket Foster, the English artist, 74.

March 29.—Brig.-Gen. Daniel W. Flagler, Chief of Ordnance, U. S. A., 64.

March 31.—Prof. Bradbury L. Cilley, for forty years professor of Greek at Phillips Exeter Academy, 61.

April 1.—Baroness Hirsch, widow of the Hebrew philanthropist....Rear Admiral Charles C. Carpenter, U. S. N., retired, 65.

April 2.—Marquis Chennevières, prominently connected with the Paris Exposition of 1878, 79.

April 3.—Daniel A. Waterman, treasurer of the Michigan Central Railroad, 65....Madame Adèle M. Michelet, widow of the French historian, 71.

April 5.—George Rogers Howell, New York State archivist, 66....Thomas Edward Ellis, prominent Liberal member of the British Parliament, 40.

April 7.—J. Walker Fearn, formerly United States minister to Greece.

April 8.—Moses W. Dodd, the publisher, 85....Gen. John W. Turner, a veteran of the Civil War, 66.

April 9.—Justice Stephen Johnson Field, of the United States Supreme Court, retired, 82.

April 10.—Ex-Senator H. A. W. Tabor, of Colorado, 60.

April 11.—Professor Monier-Williams, of Oxford, 80....Robert Gibbs Barnwell, of Georgia, formerly a famous pro-slavery advocate, 81.

April 15.—Eli Thayer, originator of the Kansas crusade, 80....Former Civil Service Commissioner John H. Oberly, 63....Cardinal Archbishop Bausa, of Florence, Italy, 78....William S. Pearson, who brought the first overland mail by stage to San Francisco, 77.

April 16.—Rufus King, a prominent Chicago lawyer, 76.

April 17.—Rt. Rev. John Ambrose Watterson, Roman Catholic Bishop of Columbus, 54....Maj. Sir Rose Lambart Price, British author and soldier, 62.

April 19.—Gen. Don Manuel Bulnes, of Chile....Ex-Congressman Samuel Greeley Hilborn, of California, 65.

April 20.—Edouard Jules Henri Pailleron, member of the French Academy, 64.

A FEW CARTOON COMMENTS.



BE IT PEACE OR WAR, UNCLE SAM WILL BE WELL REPRESENTED AT THE HAGUE.—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

OUR cartoon department has had to yield space this month. The seven drawings on this page and the next need no interpretation. Four of them relate to the Jefferson dinners and Mr. Bryan's invasion of Mr. Croker's domains. All, excepting one by Mr. Bush, of New York, come from Minneapolis, where "Bart" and Bowman are continuing to do work that is sagacious as well as clever.



WONDER IF HE CAN SEE THE POINT?
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



THOMAS JEFFERSON UP TO DATE.

As presented to the public by leading Democratic artists who claim to know all about him.
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



SOMETHING HAS GOT TO GIVE WAY.

What will it be—the tail, the rope, or the platform?—From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).



HARMONY. — From the *World* (New York).



POOR FISHING. — From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).



HE'S ONTO 'EM.

Perhaps this is the reason why Admiral Dewey does not come home.—From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

OUR DELEGATION TO THE HAGUE.

AMERICA is to have a representation at the Czar's peace conference that will place the United States in a very favorable light before the distinguished delegates of other nations who will be in assemblage at The Hague before the end of May. The delegation from this country will consist of the Hon. Andrew D. White, now ambassador at Berlin; Hon. Stanford Newel, United States minister to Holland, and therefore already in residence at The Hague; President Seth Low, of Columbia University; Capt. A. T. Mahan, of the navy (retired); and Capt. William Crozier, of the army, with the Hon. Frederick William Holls, of New York, as secretary and counsel. These six men possess qualifications of an eminent and a distinct character, and as a group they will represent the United States in a strong and worthy way. All of them have much knowledge of history and international affairs, while all of them also are firmly grounded in the principles of American politics and policy.

Captain Crozier may not be a Doctor of Laws; if not, that distinction will come in due time. But all the rest of the delegation is well supplied with titles and degrees. Mr. White and Captain Mahan have been honored by many universities at home and abroad. Mr. Low's latest diploma was bestowed on the occasion of Princeton's sesqui-centennial, when with others he received

from President Patton the degree of LL.D. Mr. Newel, if we mistake not, holds the same degree by the equally valuable favor of one of the best Western universities. Mr. Holls has earned a doctorate in law at a German university. Two of the six men (White and Newel) spent their college days at Yale, two (Low and Holls) at Columbia, and the other two were educated by the United States at Annapolis and West Point.

Two of the group, Messrs. White and Mahan, have a world-wide reputation as historical scholars and authors. Mahan is the foremost authority upon naval warfare and its influence upon international history. White is at least one of the first authorities upon the history of ethics, science, and modern civilization. Holls has a broad historical scholarship surpassed by few Americans of his age. Low is particularly well versed in administrative history and law. Newel is well supplied with legal lore, is thoroughly grounded in American political and economic history, and interprets the world's history from the American view-point. Crozier has gained rank among those who understand military history, with particular reference to the munitions and enginery of warfare. Thus President McKinley has selected men who cannot fail to win respect abroad and to reflect honor upon their own country.

I.—ANDREW D. WHITE, EDUCATOR, HISTORIAN, AND DIPLOMAT.

President White's career, though a long one, is by no means to be discussed as that of a man at the point of retirement from active affairs. It merely happened that he began at an earlier age than most of his contemporaries to fill public positions in a conspicuously able manner. Andrew Dickson White, who was born in the State of New York and grew up at Syracuse, is now sixty-seven years of age. He graduated at Yale at the age of twenty-one with marked promise, and the next year, after several months of study in France, began his diplomatic career by joining our legation at St. Petersburg as an *attaché*. It was the period of the Crimean War and of stirring events at the Russian capital. Mr. White's excellent knowledge of French was of great practical service to the legation. He was abroad two or three years, and during half of the time

studied history, philosophy, and kindred subjects in the University of Berlin. At the age of twenty-five he was serving as full professor of history and English literature in the University of Michigan, with a reputation already established for brilliancy and scholarship.

After some five years of university work in Michigan he returned to his home in New York and was elected to the State Senate, where he interested himself at once in serious legislation, with the result of making a prominent impress upon the institutions of the State. Bills introduced and carried through by Mr. White established a series of State normal schools, codified the educational laws of the State, and in other ways improved the system of public instruction.

It was at that time that Ezra Cornell was preparing to establish the great university which

bears his name; and Mr. White was his right-hand man in all the work of preliminary planning. Mr. Cornell, as it happened, was a member of the Legislature at the same time with Mr.



From a new
photo by
Bell, Washington.

DR. ANDREW D. WHITE.

(United States ambassador to Germany and head of the American delegation to the Hague conference.)

White, and Mr. Cornell having become greatly interested in educational matters, the two men were attracted to one another by common interests and convictions. The great measure for which the late Justin Morrill will be remembered—namely, the grants of land to the several States for the endowment of agricultural education—had been carried through in 1862. New York's grant under that law amounted to 990,000 acres. Mr. Cornell and Mr. White were strongly of the opinion that the land "scrip" ought not to be distributed among various institutions, but ought to be concentrated where it would aid in the endowment of one strong institution.

Finally, Mr. Cornell agreed to give \$500,000 of his own fortune if the Legislature would turn the land grant over to an institution which should be especially established upon that foundation. Mr. White was the chief advocate of the proposition, and it prevailed.

No other State made as fortunate a use as did the State of New York, under the guidance of Mr. Cornell and Mr. White, in the selection of public lands upon which, in the technical language of the Land Office, to "locate the scrip." Mr. Cornell especially appreciated the value of northwestern white pine lands, and a great endowment ultimately accrued to the university from the wise selection of the 990,000 acres.

The university was opened to students in 1868. Mr. White had in the meantime traveled extensively in Europe, purchasing scientific supplies and in other ways making preparation for the establishment of a great seat of learning. He assembled distinguished professors, and the university was born famous and prosperous. He retained the presidency of the university through the following period of nearly twenty years, retiring because of ill-health in 1885. During all this time he held the university professorship of history, and his work in that department, as at the University of Michigan in earlier years, was a source of inspiration to many of our most brilliant historical students.

He had in the meantime been active in public affairs, and had served upon important boards in



DR. WHITE'S ITHACA HOME.

various advisory capacities. He was one of the commissioners sent by President Grant in 1871 to study and report upon the question of the proposed annexation of San Domingo. It is understood that he had a large part in the preparation of the very interesting document in which the commission set forth the advantages of annexation.



PRESIDENT WHITE IN 1874.

President Hayes, in 1879, appointed President White United States minister to Germany. The university gave him leave of absence, and he returned to his post at Ithaca in 1881. Having the good fortune to possess ample inherited means, he had early begun the collection of an historical library, which in due time grew to be one of the most important private collections in America, numbering something like 30,000 volumes. Upon resigning the presidency in 1885 he made over this magnificent collection of books to the university, and its acceptance was associated with the reorganization of the historical, political, and economic instruction in the form of a special department known as the "President White School of History and Political Science." Since the transfer of the library to the university Mr. White has made other valuable gifts to the institution, including the financial proceeds of his "Warfare of Science."

After 1888 President White spent a very large part of his time in traveling in various parts of

the world, not neglecting literary work and public affairs. The following year found him at Paris with certain duties in connection with the great exposition. He had been officially connected also with the Centennial at Philadelphia. In July, 1892, President Harrison appointed him minister to Russia. Almost forty years earlier he had obtained his first diplomatic experience at the same court in the capacity of an *attaché* of the American legation.

Mr. White was in the United States again in 1895, occupying his charming home on the campus at Ithaca, putting the final revisory touches on his great work, which appeared at the end of that year, entitled "The History of the Warfare of Science with Theology." The two volumes, clearly and attractively written, which make up this memorable undertaking are the fruitage of more than forty years of wide reading and profound historical study. The long struggle of the Middle Ages, continued also down to our own day, which science has been compelled to wage for the mere liberty to seek, find, and make use of the truth, is set forth in these chap-



MR. WHITE AS MINISTER TO GERMANY IN 1881.

ters by Dr. White more completely and comprehensively than anywhere else. It would perhaps have been more easy for him to have embodied his studies on this subject in twenty volumes than in two.

On January 1, 1896, President White was appointed by President Cleveland as one of the commissioners charged with investigating the disputed question of the true line of division between Venezuela and British Guiana. It was the profound and impartial study devoted by this able commission to the Venezuelan question that prepared the way for its satisfactory solution by arbitration. A more scholarly and high-minded group never dealt with the solution of a knotty international problem.

In making his selections for the principal foreign posts, President McKinley, in 1897, chose Mr. White to be ambassador to Germany. He had been much spoken of as a possible Secretary of State. He had studied in the University of Berlin about forty-two years before, had gone back to the German capital as minister eighteen



PRESIDENT WHITE IN 1878.



A PORTRAIT TAKEN WHILE MR. WHITE WAS ABROAD IN 1888.

years before, and now found himself in the new and magnificent Berlin of the present day as ambassador.

His presence at Berlin through the period of our war with Spain, and at a time when our gen-

eral international situation on many accounts required delicate and careful treatment by men of tact and experience, has been highly valuable. He has been a firm believer in the especial advantages all round that must accrue from a thoroughly good understanding between the government of Germany and the governments of the two great English-speaking nations. On the other hand, his experience at St. Petersburg has taught him to estimate justly the Russian situation, while his frequent and protracted sojourns at Paris—and certain qualities in his own mind and temperament—have given him a sympathetic understanding of what is distinctive and valuable in the make-up of the French nation.

Upon the whole, therefore, it is quite clear that the United States has no other citizen so eminently qualified by training and experience as the Hon. Andrew D. White to be the head of our representation at the great peace conference of 1899. As educator, philosopher, man of letters, historical scholar, and diplomat, all his predilections are for modern progress and the arts of peace, and wholly away from the military ideals that properly belong to an earlier period.

II.—STANFORD NEWEL—A TYPICAL WESTERN CITIZEN.

The Hon. Stanford Newel, now our representative at The Hague, is a gentleman who has never courted publicity. It is pleasant, therefore, to be able to assure inquiring readers that although Mr. Newel's selection as a member of the American group at the peace conference was naturally influenced by the fact that he was already located at The Hague as our minister, he is thoroughly well qualified—quite independent of that consideration—to render admirable service. He understands American public opinion through and through, and his colleagues will find him a wise and valuable counselor.

Mr. Newel will attain his sixtieth year while the conference is in session. He was born on June 7, 1839, at Providence, R. I. When a boy of sixteen he went with his family to Minnesota and made his home at St. Anthony, which lay between Minneapolis and St. Paul and which has now for many years been an annexed part of Minneapolis. Two years after the Newel family had located at St. Anthony, young Stanford was sent east to take the college course at Yale, where he graduated four years later, in 1861. Subsequently he went to Harvard to study law, and he graduated there in 1864, in which year he returned to Minnesota and opened a law office at St. Paul.

This St. Paul office was maintained continuously by him until he accepted from Mr. McKinley the appointment to The Hague, just two years ago. Mr. Newel did not aspire to great eminence at the bar, nor yet to judicial or political preferment. He readily acquired the reputation of one of the ablest and best of north-western lawyers. But his practice consisted in large part of that of a counselor who gave good advice in his office and kept people out of quarrels and litigation. Being possessed of ample means, it was not necessary for him to practice his profession assiduously for income-yielding purposes. This has been particularly true of his career during the past twenty-five years. While not abandoning all practice, his time for a great many years has been devoted to the most quiet and unostentatious way to efforts on behalf of those who were unfortunate or were for some reason not able to pay for legal advice.

It is the universal opinion of those who have known Mr. Newel well that he is one of the most unselfish and disinterested of men—a gentleman by nature, cultivation, and instinct. He has retained through the four decades since his college days the friendship of many of his classmates

who have risen to distinction in various parts of the country.

The growth of the great Northwest has been one of the most stupendous facts of the last half of the nineteenth century. Minnesota was a Territory when Mr. Newel made his home there,



HON. STANFORD NEWEL.

(United States minister at The Hague and one of the American commissioners at the coming conference.)

and did not become a State until three years later—namely, in May, 1858. Iowa and Wisconsin had been admitted a few years earlier. Nebraska entered the Union in 1867. Oregon had “arrived” in 1859 and Kansas in 1861. Millions of people from the States further east, as well as from Europe, have flocked to the great Northwest during the active lifetime of early settlers like Mr. Newel. The whole State of Minnesota had only 6,000 people in 1850. It has now certainly more than 1,500,000. Where there were only a few hundred people anywhere near the Falls of St. Anthony when the Newel family went west, there are now within a radius of ten or a dozen miles not far from 500,000 people, constituting one of the most enlightened and progressive communities in the whole civilized world.

It is certainly well that a typical northwestern

man—qualified in his own character and personality as well as in his mere attainments and information to represent the point of view of the upper half of the Mississippi Valley—should participate in the splendid historical meeting this month that signalizes the best aspirations of the world in our own generation.

We began as a federal republic of thirteen States. We have erected and annexed additional commonwealths until now we have a system of forty-five States. We have found a way to establish a general *régime* of peace and prosperity throughout these forty-five States, while leaving the ordering of most matters of every-day concern to the free determination of each individual commonwealth. The states of Europe are not likely for many a day to come to be welded together into any such harmonious federation as the United States of America. Nevertheless, our experience has had a profound influence; and there perhaps are no men who comprehend so well the nature of our experience as the thoughtful and studious men of the West, who have lived in the very presence of the creation and development of one State after another. They have witnessed the unfolding of political institutions, as frontier squatters and miners have laid foundations upon which in a single generation there has arisen the superstructure of mature political and governmental organizations. All the instincts of men of that type are for the orderly arrangement of international affairs. This is because they have grown accustomed to the solution of difficult new tasks as fast as such tasks have arisen.

The men of the Northwest have formed the habit of believing that things can be done because, as a matter of fact, they have seen things done every day. They have seen a modern city like Minneapolis, for instance, rise on what was an Indian reservation. Mr. Stanford Newel has beheld a magnificent State university, with now perhaps 2,000 students and with many departments and with magnificent facilities, created at that very village of St. Anthony where he took up his abode as a boy.

Such men believe in international arbitration, and see nothing Utopian or visionary in attempts to deal with international peace as a thoroughly practical consideration. At the end of our great Civil War the disbanded soldiers spread along the river valleys of the West and across the prairies, building railroads, making farms, establishing towns, and creating the new America that has arisen in the peaceful period since the North and South settled the old feud. In 1865 this country had the hugest armaments that the

world has ever seen. With magical swiftness we disarmed the hosts. We reduced our permanent force to a mere handful.

We gave the world a great practical demonstration of our belief in peace. We proceeded to settle our troubles with England by arbitration. Western men like Mr. Newel, who have lived through all this experience calmly and thoughtfully, are prepared to go into such a conference as the one that will assemble at The Hague with very much more than merely diplomatic or academic attainments; for such men are bound to carry with them the marvelous optimism and faith in human progress that has been the key to the development of the Mississippi Valley in the nineteenth century.

In the Northwest Mr. Newel's appointment has been highly commended, precisely as was his appointment to be minister to The Hague two years ago. That appointment was not sought by him, and it came to him without any sacrifice of his personal dignity. He has always been deeply interested in politics, but never with a view to his own advancement. The Republican party of Minnesota has found him one of its most valuable members. For decades past he has always been found serving in some way in connection with the party organization—as a delegate to State and national conventions, as a member of the State committee and part of the time its chairman, and as a member of city and county committees. But he had never held a public office prior to his appointment to The Hague, excepting for a few years an unpaid membership in the St. Paul park board, where as a good citizen he rendered such services as he could on behalf of the establishment of parks and pleasure grounds.

Among the best men of the Northwest Mr. Newel has an enviable reputation on the score of his rare personal qualities of good-fellowship, charm as a host, mental cultivation, and excellent conversational gifts. His talent for concise and tactful expression has on very many occasions been employed by the Republicans of St. Paul and of the State of Minnesota in the drafting of their party platforms. Although Mr. Newel is not the sort of man who seeks or receives personal favors in politics, it is none the less an interesting fact that he happened to be one of the members of the great national convention that met in Minneapolis in 1892 who then cast a vote for William McKinley, the presiding officer of the convention, and who thus set in motion a movement which resulted in Mr. McKinley's nomination and election four years later. Mr. Newel's life and experiences at The Hague are shared by Mrs. Newel.

III.—SETH LOW, ADMINISTRATOR.

This magazine published an excellent character sketch of Seth Low in the issue for July, 1897, from the pen of Mr. Edward Cary. Mr. Low was then forty-seven years of age; and although he has somehow always been accounted a young man, and still has the look, step, and air of youth, he will have to admit to himself on the 18th day of next July that he is entering upon the second half of his fiftieth year. Mr. Cary remarked of Mr. Low that he looked ten years younger than forty-seven. Accepting Mr. Cary as accurate in such estimates, it may now merely be added that Mr. Low looks twelve and a half years younger than his present age.

The thing about President Low that men who belong west of the Alleghany Mountains would notice first—although Eastern men would hardly think of it until they were reminded—is the fact that while he is an Eastern man, a city man, and above all a New York City man, he is free from those limitations of view and sympathy and comprehension that the Mississippi Valley man believes belong in a general way to the Eastern man of city birth and breeding who has never lived in the West. President Low has national sympathies and believes in the country. He has very much more the type of mind of such a man as President Angell, of the University of Michigan, than of certain Eastern college presidents who, after all, it is not necessary to mention by name.

Mr. Low comes of a family accustomed to a wide outlook; for the Lows for two or three generations back were merchants whose operations were of great scope and who were men of education and influence. American ships brought their cargoes of tea and Oriental goods from the ports of far Cathay and elsewhere to our north Atlantic seaports. The men who in the earlier

times made our merchant marine famous the world over were the commercial progenitors of the enterprising men who afterward created our Western railroad systems and opened up the Mississippi Valley. Mr. Low would not have been true to his family traditions if he had been anything else than a broad-visioned American,

with faith in the country as a whole and with a willingness to have his country do its share of the world's work and take up its part of the "white man's burden."

When Mr. Low was written about in 1897, he had accepted an independent nomination for the position of mayor of New York. He was not elected, although he stood second in the race and demonstrated a remarkable strength with the voters of the great metropolis. He was perfectly content to go on with his work as president of Columbia University. That institution has become duly domesticated in its magnificent new quarters on the high ground north of Central Park, and its work in behalf of the higher education has been rapidly deepening

and no less rapidly ramifying and broadening.

The real history of a man is not, in the main, made up of the offices he holds or of any series of external acts or achievements that lend themselves to a ready listing in a brief biographical sketch. His real history, on the contrary, is in the main the story of his convictions, his opinions, and his influence. Mr. Low has added something to his history since Mr. Cary wrote the article of two years ago for this magazine.

He did not, it is true, respond to the President's call for volunteers by enlisting as a private and shouldering a musket. That was altogether out of the question. But Mr. Low was one of the leading educators of the country who had a sufficient respect for the people of the United States to be able to do justice both to their intel-



Photo by Pach Bros.

PRESIDENT SETH LOW.

(One of the American commissioners at the Hague conference.)

ligence and to their motives in the matter of that unpleasant but necessary piece of international police work that the United States performed so magnificently last year—when it rescued Cuba from Spanish misrule and at the same time did Spain a signal service by providing the Spanish people with a forcible relief from an impossible position. That some distinguished educators did not understand the nature of the issue does not reflect in the least upon the American people, who, fortunately, understood themselves exceedingly well, and who acted with a finer spirit and at the same time with a greater unanimity than they had ever acted before in their entire history.

If Mr. Low had not been with the country in its momentous determinations and actions last year, the country would have proceeded nevertheless. No one citizen, not even the President of the United States, could have blocked the path of the nation when its conscience was so fully aroused, its mind so sanely and clearly made up, and its duty so imperative. It was a time that tried men's higher intelligence, as well as their good sense and their essential patriotism and truth of character. Unhappily, we had some men in this country, of high reputation for what is called "culture," who fed their own discontented spirits upon quibbling dialectics until they had deluded themselves into the belief that they really represented a lofty point of view, whereas their point of view was foolish, ignorant, and essentially immoral.

As a mere matter of personal record and of straight biography that needs no apologizing paragraphs in after-days, it is a fortunate thing for a man to be right when these great occasions come that test men's ability to judge, to discern, to forget self-conceit, to abandon the superior mood, and to act righteously with the clear-seeing mass of their fellow-men. This is the kind of record President Seth Low was able to make, thanks to a normal and healthy temperament and an habitual soundness of motive and judgment. He has stood with the country, and has had no apologies to make for its purpose to establish the principles of American liberty in the West Indies. He has also understood the reasons why we have found ourselves charged with the grave and difficult responsibilities that we have assumed in the Philippine Islands. He is American enough to understand that those men are

mere slanderers who say that the people of the United States have been actuated by the greed of empire or by foolish ideas of adventurous conquest and territorial expansion. He is one of the men who find it possible to conceive that the protection and oversight of the United States might well be the best thing that could happen to the people of the Philippine Islands; and he is not the kind of man to make an unfortunate situation more confused and difficult by torrents of invective and criticism against his own government at the very moment when somebody must of necessity be trusted, and when the men charged with responsibility are entitled to a little time for their work.

A more detailed story of Mr. Low's career, including an account of his able and really epoch-making service as mayor of Brooklyn, may be read in the article by Mr. Cary, to which we have already referred. Mr. Low has been one of the foremost advocates of a close relationship between England and the United States, and has promoted by all means in his power the idea of a permanent arbitration tribunal for the settlement of differences between the two great English-speaking countries. He is not merely a friend of international arbitration, but he is a very practical believer in the arbitration of disputes between labor and capital. He has been called upon a number of times to act as arbitrator in such disputes, and his fairness and good judgment have appealed strongly to both sides. He will doubtless be found at The Hague one of the men most firmly convinced that the time is ripe for a great extension of the principle of arbitration in the settlement of differences between governments. He is not only a practical arbitrator, but also a practical federator. He was a member of the charter commission which carried out the plan of bringing together New York, Brooklyn, and the adjacent jurisdictions to form the existing metropolis. In his administration of Columbia he has shown a striking talent for federation in the banding together of various educational plants and establishments under the general auspices of the university. In mind, temperament, and experience, therefore, President Low is well fitted to take counsel with representatives of his own country and of other nations for the discussion of the best way to remove the obstacles that lie in the path of the world's peace.

IV.—ALFRED T. MAHAN, INTERPRETER OF NAVAL HISTORY.

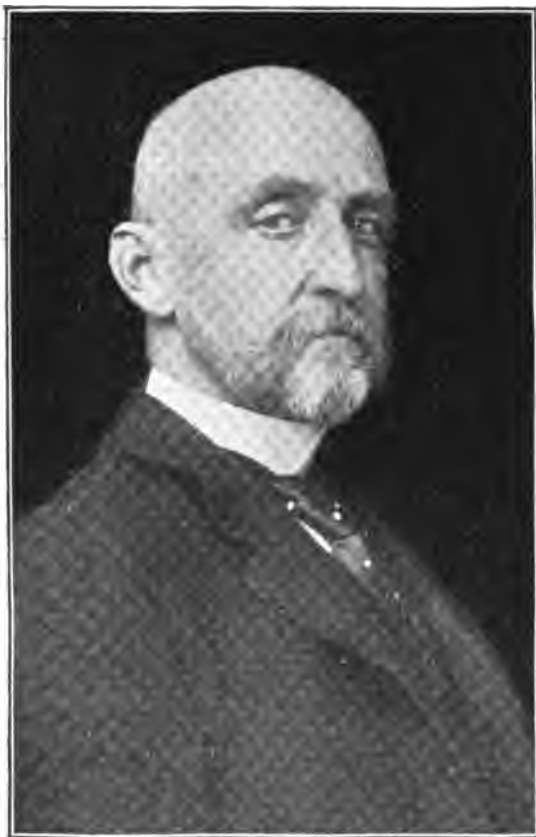


Photo by Hollinger.

CAPT. ALFRED T. MAHAN.

(One of the American commissioners at the Hague conference.)

There are several distinct reasons why the people of the United States must congratulate themselves on the presence of Captain Mahan, the naval strategist and scholar, in the commission to the peace congress. In the first place, it is very necessary that there should be members of this congress who have, in a broad sense, actual technical knowledge, and it is needless to say that Captain Mahan is probably the most eminent living expert in naval strategy. Then Captain Mahan has consistently advocated strong navies and preparedness for war with a special reference to their influence in making for peace. The temperamental rhythm and the scope of Captain Mahan's intellect, his unusual ability to grasp quickly and accurately a broad problem, complete the qualities which make him an ideal representative at The Hague.

To this summing up of Captain Mahan's equipment as a diplomat in the delicate and complex task before the peace commission might be added his experience as a public man during the past few years, when he has been *fêted* by the world as the first great exponent of the philosophy of sea power. We say few years, because it was in 1890, after thirty years of service in our navy, that his first book of international importance, "The Influence of Sea Power Upon History," was published in Boston and made the author known all over the globe.

Captain Mahan had worked steadily and patiently through the necessarily slow stages of a United States naval officer's career. He was born in New York City, and graduated from the Naval Academy in 1859 when he was twenty-nine years of age. He came from duty in Brazilian waters when the Civil War broke out, and served on the *Congress* and the *Pocahontas*, gaining his lieutenantancy in 1861, acting as instructor at the Naval Academy for a year, and then continuing his sea duty on the *Seminole* and the *James Adger* until the close of the war, which brought him promotion to the grade of lieutenant commander. In the years succeeding the war Captain Mahan saw a vast amount of routine service in varied fields; in the Gulf squadron, the Asiatic fleet, the south Atlantic fleet, the vessels of the Pacific station, shore duty at the New York Navy Yard, the Boston Navy Yard, and the Naval Academy at Annapolis. In 1885 he was appointed captain, and next year was made president of the Naval War College. After acting as president of the commission for selecting the site for a navy yard on the northwest coast, doing special duty for the Bureau of Navigation from 1889 to 1892, and presiding for another year over the Naval War College at Newport, Captain Mahan was in 1893 placed in command of the *Chicago*, of the European squadron. After forty years of service he was retired in 1896 at his own request, in order that he might devote himself to the literary productions which, it was then clear, would constitute his great life-work. In May last he returned to the naval board of strategy at his country's call until peace was made with Spain.

These detailed items in the long road to a naval captaincy are very interesting in a consideration of Captain Mahan's final significant work for his profession. It may seem somewhat strange that over thirty years of assiduous attention to such duties as those of a ship officer in time of peace

should leave a mind so fresh to evolve a new philosophy of naval history. The long training seems to have merely added a calm and orderly method and a valuable technical experience to Captain Mahan's equipment, without dulling in the least his strong initiative faculties.

"The Influence of Sea Power Upon History" was not the beginning of Captain Mahan's literary career. He had written, at the suggestion of a publishing firm, a volume on the navy in the Civil War and a "Life of Admiral Farragut," both comparatively perfunctory tasks. He himself has told the world how it was that he came into the greater work; how, when reading Mommsen in the English club at Lima, he was struck with the historian's failure to recognize the all-important influence of sea power on Hannibal's career. He wrote out the whole outline of "The Influence of Sea Power," discussed it with Admiral Luce, and then set to work with the most painstaking method. He selected the term "sea power" with the deliberate purpose of challenging attention. "Purists, I said to myself, may criticise me for marrying a Teutonic word to one of Latin origin, but I deliberately discarded the adjective 'maritime,' being too smooth to arrest men's attention or stick in their minds. I do not know how far this is usually the case with phrases that obtain currency; my impression is that the originator is himself generally surprised at their taking hold. I was not surprised in that sense. The effect produced was that which I fully purposed; but I was surprised at the extent of my success. 'Sea power,' in English at least, seems to have come to stay, in the sense I used it. 'The sea powers' were often spoken of before, but in an entirely different manner—not to express, as I meant to, at once an abstract conception and a concrete fact." At first there was difficulty in finding a publisher,

but Messrs. Little, Brown & Co. had the acumen to see the force of the work, and "The Influence of Sea Power Upon History" came out in 1890, to an instant success. Two years later appeared "The Influence of Sea Power Upon the French Revolution and Empire;" in the spring of 1897 "The Life of Nelson, the Embodiment of the Sea Power of Great Britain;" and in December of the same year Captain Mahan's latest work to be published in book form, "The Interest of America in Sea Power, Present and Future."

Just after "The Life of Nelson" appeared in London, Harold Frederic cabled that the reviewers of the London dailies sat up all night with the advance copies of the work and rushed into print the next morning long reviews, in every case almost extravagantly eulogistic. As a sample of the commentary, the *Times* said. "Captain Mahan's work will become one of the greatest of English classics"—surely a good deal for the *Times* to say of an American captain writing on the English Nelson and his navy. The English publishers had frequently to cable their American connections for further supplies of the book. The American publishers alone have sold more than 50,000 copies of his books—an extraordinary number for works of that class. The "sea-power" volumes have been translated into French, German, and Japanese. Degrees came to the author from Oxford and Cambridge, and he is an LL.D. of Harvard and Yale. But merely a category of the honors won by the sailor-scholar would be too extensive for a brief sketch. Captain Mahan protests that he does not understand the magnitude of his success. Personally he is a reserved man of polished manners, with a scholarly, almost academic, dignity, which curiously distinguishes him from the traditional character of the bluff and rugged sea-captain.

V.—CAPT. WILLIAM CROZIER, MILITARY INVENTOR AND EXPERT.

Capt. William Crozier, like Captain Mahan, has a valuable equipment of technical knowledge to aid him in representing our army on the peace commission. He, too, has passed through many phases of service in his profession, and he, too, has developed special technical talents by which his profession is now benefiting. Captain Crozier is an Ohioan, forty-four years of age, the son of Judge Robert Crozier, of Kansas. Captain Crozier passed through West Point, graduating in 1876, and at once began to see active

and arduous service, in the Fourth Artillery, with General Crook in his campaigns against the Sioux and Bannocks. After three years in the West he was for five years instructor in mathematics at West Point, and then, in 1884, in a competitive examination entered the ordnance department, with which he has been identified ever since. In 1890 he received his captain's commission.

Captain Crozier's special talents as an expert in ordnance became very important when, in



Photo by Davis & Sanford.

CAPT. WILLIAM CROZIER.

(One of the American commissioners at the Hague conference.)

1888, Congress ended an excited discussion of the state of our coast defenses by making appropriations for the establishment of a gun factory at Watervliet Arsenal and for various efforts to rehabilitate our coast fortifications. Captain, then Lieutenant, Crozier was sent to Europe to find out the latest things that had been done in improving the machinery of coast defense, and to make any purchases he might deem wise. The importance of this task can be

understood when it is remembered that the factories to be begun with the Congressional appropriations were dependent on Captain Crozier's report and his purchases, and that they would start along progressive or retrogressive lines, according as his judgment was good or bad.

Since his return his special work has been the charge of the gun-carriage works in the ordnance department. He found that the guns in our coast forts could not be handled under the hail of fire from the secondary batteries on modern battleships, and that our coast guns were for this reason practically useless. In the security of peace we had not kept up with the march of invention. Captain Crozier at once set to work to remedy this vital defect, and with the help of General Buffington, the present chief of ordnance, perfected the Buffington-Crozier disappearing gun-carriage, which is now universally used in our coast-defense works. Captain Crozier also invented the only wire-wrapped rifle, a ten-inch gun that has been found practicable and effective. General Buffington and Captain Crozier were patriotic enough to hand over all their valuable patent rights in the disappearing carriage to the United States Government, and it is pleasant to think that this Government now has the opportunity of returning the favor by bestowing on Captain Crozier the honor of membership in the commission.

At the outbreak of the war with Spain Captain Crozier was appointed as major and inspector-general of volunteers, and served from May 17 to November 30, when he was honorably discharged at his own request to resume his professional duties. Several of Captain Crozier's works on ordnance are used as text-books in the department, and his mastery of the theoretical branches of his profession makes him eminent even in the ordnance corps, a body which contains the highest grade of talent that exists in the United States army.

VI.—FREDERICK W. HOLLS, LAWYER AND POLITICAL SCIENTIST.

By no means the least active member of the delegation will be its secretary. Excepting Minister Newel, none of the other members belongs to the legal profession, and upon the secretary will devolve the functions of a law adviser as well as those of a secretary in the more usual sense. Mr. Holls will be the executive member of the body, and will bear about the

same relation to it that Prof. John Bassett Moore sustained toward our peace commissioners at Paris. Mr. Holls is a well-known member of the New York Bar and a prominent Republican. He has the advantage of being equally at home in two languages, while having a very fair acquaintance with several others. He is often classed with a group of leading German-Ameri-



MR. FREDERICK W. HOLLS.

(Secretary of the American commission at the Hague conference.)

cans of New York, and he made one of the principal speeches at the recent German dinner in honor of the seventieth birthday of Carl Schurz; but Mr. Holls is of American birth and education. His father, the Rev. Dr. George Charles Holls, came to this country from Darmstadt, in Germany, in 1850, and became greatly distinguished as a Lutheran clergyman and educator and as a practical philanthropist. He was especially active in promoting the establishment of orphanages, hospitals, and houses of refuge throughout America under German Lutheran auspices. His only son, Frederick William Holls, was born in 1857 in Zelenople, Butler County, western Pennsylvania. Subsequently, in 1866, the family removed to Mount Vernon, near New York City. Here the father rapidly rose to prominence in the Church, founding the "Wartburg," a model institution for orphan children, of which he retained active management until 1885, and promoting in every way not only the growth of the Church, but also its Americanization. Dr. Holls personally supervised the early education of his son, teaching him all rudimentary branches in the German language, but using that language at the same

time to imbue the boy with unqualifiedly American ideals. After a brief preparatory course in New York City the son entered Columbia College, where he graduated in 1878. His favorite studies in college were history, literature, and political science, as well as constitutional law, which he studied with Prof. John W. Burgess. In 1880 he took the degree of LL.B. *cum laude* at Columbia Law School, which at that time involved a thorough course in diplomatic history and international law. In May, 1880, he was admitted to the bar, and he has since practiced his profession in New York City.

Mr. Holls' most noteworthy services in the philanthropic direction have been rendered in connection with the Legal Aid Society of New York and the Charity Organization Society. The Legal Aid Society was organized about 1875, chiefly for the benefit of the many scores of thousands of poor Germans in New York who would otherwise have been comparatively helpless in the presence of injustice in such matters as claims for unpaid wages and the like. Few of the almost countless charitable organizations of New York have been more conspicuously successful than this Legal Aid Society. In the twenty-four years of its existence it has had over 115,000 clients, for whom it has collected over \$700,000. Mr. Holls' connection with the society has been as its president in 1890-91 and as one of its vice-presidents ever since.

For about ten years Mr. Holls has been an active member of the council of the Charity Organization Society, serving on its committees on legal questions and on statistics. During the past winter he has served as chairman of a committee on tenement-house reform, his colleagues including Richard Watson Gilder, Felix Adler, J. M. Phelps Stokes, Ernest Flagg, Jacob A. Riis, Constant A. Andrews, and Dr. E. R. L. Gould.

Mr. Holls was married in 1889 to Miss Sayles, daughter of the Hon. F. C. Sayles, of Rhode Island, and since that time has lived in a charming home with ample grounds on North Broadway, Yonkers, overlooking a great sweep of the Hudson River. Yonkers is the principal town of Westchester County, and Mr. Holls has always been interested in the local politics of his city and county.

In 1883 he received the Republican nomination for State Senator for the district including the city of Yonkers; but it was a Democratic season and he was defeated. In 1893 he was elected as one of the delegates-at-large to the great constitutional convention which revised the organic law of the State of New York. Mr. Choate, now ambassador at London, was presi-

dent of that convention, and Mr. Elihu Root was the principal Republican leader on the floor. Mr. Choate and Mr. Root found no man in the entire convention better qualified than Mr. Holls to aid in the important work that had to be accomplished. Without disparagement to any of his colleagues in the convention, it may be said that no other member of the body had gone to Albany with so industrious and specific a previous preparation for the work. Mr. Holls' colleagues found him amazingly well versed, not merely in the political and constitutional history of the State of New York, but in the comparative constitutional law, history, and experience of all the other States.

As a Republican Mr. Holls has always been deeply interested in national politics, and for nearly twenty years has taken an

active part as a public speaker in Presidential campaigns, making addresses both in English and in German. His cogent arguments have been of especial use to the Republican workers in such Western German strongholds as Cincinnati, Milwaukee, and St. Louis. He possesses a remarkably fine library, made up largely of works in the departments of history and political science. He has long been an intimate friend of the Hon. Andrew D. White, with whom he spent a considerable time last year in Berlin. It was a time of great strain in the relations between not so much the governments as the people of the United States and Germany. The great skill and tact of our diplomatic representatives had preserved excellent relations with the govern-

ment, but the great mass of the German population was more or less hostile to the United States, and our people resented this unexpected and unjust feeling. That it was kept within bounds and subsequently allayed was due in a large measure to the strong and persistent efforts of the leaders of public opinion—professors, journal-

ists, and publicists, especially in Berlin, Leipzig, Munich, and other great centers. Mr. Holls' efforts to bring about these results and to second them were constant and indefatigable. His work, though less important, was similar in character to that of Thurlow Weed and Archbishop Hughes during the Civil War, and it was a most excellent preparation for his duties this year.

His extensive travels in Europe and his knowledge of languages have made it easy for

him to acquire an unusual knowledge of international and diplomatic affairs, and he has a very wide acquaintance among European public men. While in Germany last year he received the degree of Doctor of Civil and Canon Law from the University of Leipzig. Besides his perfect mastery of English and German, Mr. Holls is well acquainted with French and is fairly proficient in Spanish. He has written some sketches of travel, as well as numerous lectures, papers, and speeches, most of which have been published. His long and intimate friendship with President White makes it especially felicitous that he should be selected as secretary of a commission of which Dr. White will doubtless be president.



"ALGONAK," THE RESIDENCE OF MR. HOLLS AT YONKERS, N. Y.



THE SCANDINAVIAN CONTENTION.

BY JULIUS MORITZEN.



KING OSCAR OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY.

STUDYING the mutability of the lesser nations during the past twenty years, "diplomacy," that subtle instrument for political surgery, would turn in the direction of the Balkan peninsula when searching for the cause of an effect. To the Slavic peoples were accorded the not too unenviable distinction of furnishing the discordant notes emanating from an orchestra during the tuning process. It was the preliminary "music" to an overture by the powers.

Of late, however, matters have changed somewhat. The spark which may set the world aflame need not necessarily be looked for among the mountain countries of southern Europe. Far toward the north the sturdy frame of the Scandinavian stands forth conspicuously as a factor for war or peace. The brother nations of Sweden and Norway confront each other in a manner that bodes no good. Russia's attitude toward the Finns is causing anxiety in circles which until recently looked on the Czar as the one monarch ready to reduce the armed strength of nations. And in Denmark, that restful land of plenty, the

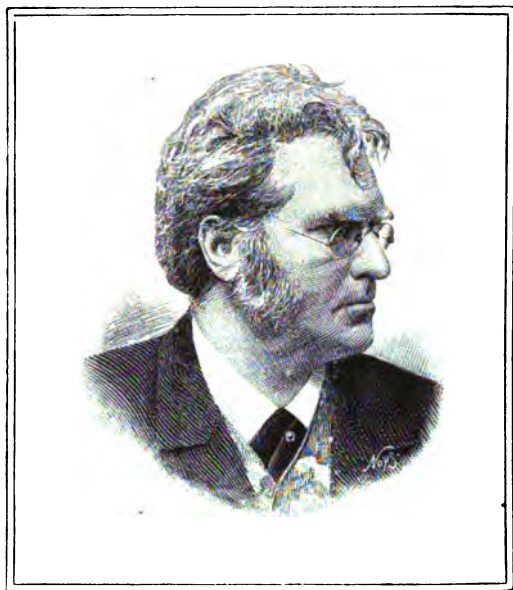
recent expulsion of Danish subjects from Schleswig-Holstein has stirred the inhabitants to a degree unknown since the German-Danish War of more than a quarter of a century ago. The countries bordering on the North Sea and the Baltic may well consider the situation as critical.

But while the contention between the Swedes and Norwegians might be left for them to settle, the reverberant notes of northern discord have reached the continent. That Norway means to continue aggressive the optimistic, even, are bound to confess. And that in case of eventualities issues will have to be taken, those favoring neutrality are beginning to realize. All that remains is the hour for action. But when that hour strikes the subjects of King Oscar who claim Sweden as their home will be prepared to receive the invaders from across the border. With watchful eye Stockholm has followed the transactions at Christiania, where the flag question, the constitutional prerogatives, and kindred features have agitated the Norwegians, who, with Bjornstjerne Bjornson as one of their leaders, have assumed a stand from which there is no retreat.

It is little less than unfortunate that countries which have shown such liberal tendencies should be involved in a matter which at best is based on egotism. The word is not used in a sense of disparagement, it must be understood. The Scandinavian character is too manly to allow of such an application. Fairness in love or war, if a paraphrase be permitted, has characterized the men of the dual kingdom since the days when might took the place of right. And it is because of this very sensitiveness that to-day the world looks expectantly to the unfolding of a Viking drama, the consequences of which may be more far-reaching than appears on the surface.

Leaving the grievances of Finland to be treated in due succession, the claims of the Norwegians are based on the constitution of 1814, when the union with Sweden was effected. No comparison can be made between an open subjection as practiced by Russia toward the Finns and the points of law involved in the Scandinavian imbroglio. In the one case it means depriving an ancient people of language, liberty, and love, almost. The subjects of King Oscar are not antagonistic to their monarch in the sense which antagonism would imply. As the King of Norway, the

Norwegians would consider the descendant of Bernadotte more desirable, beyond a doubt. Far greater is the esteem for King Oscar than that



BJORNSTJERNE BJORNSON.
(Apostle of Norwegian Independence.)

accorded Gustavus Adolphus, Crown Prince of Sweden and Norway.

When the Swedish sovereign with the beginning of the present year surrendered his scepter temporarily to his eldest son, the formal decree which placed Prince Gustavus on the throne came as a warning note to the Norwegians anxious to force an issue. The illness of the King made it imperative that he relinquish for the time being the care of state. But the cooler heads at Christiania prevailed. Even Bjornson, whose writings breathe the spirit of Norwegian independence, cautioned against rashness at a period when composure was the all-essential to possess. King Oscar went away. Gustavus Adolphus at once made it evident that he would not tolerate interference with governmental affairs, and the hostility which he openly fostered increased day by day. Still the Norwegians held in leash their respective dogs of war. King Oscar now once more assumed the reins of government, and the latest advices from Sweden are to the effect that Norway is planning an attack on Gothenburg and that the city is bound to fall in the face of a naval attack. The loan recently negotiated by Norway for 20,000,000 crowns for military purposes looks significant in the face of the latest news.

The demands of Norway and the Norwegians

for political autonomy do not clearly define in what way this autonomy shall be established. From the very beginning of the union the political relations were ambiguous; each nation claims prerogatives which the other is unwilling to sanction. The consular service question is largely a matter of commerce which the Norwegians claim works injurious to them, while the reply comes from Sweden that there must be joint representation to make unity. King Oscar says he cannot send to another country two representatives, one for Norway and one for Sweden. The probability is, he avers, that they would differ in their policy. The reply comes from Norway:

"Look at the constitution of 1814. There is no expressed constitutional warrant for unity or identity of foreign service."

This Sweden does not gainsay. But the Swedes insist that necessity makes law frequently, and in trying to get Norway to adopt it as a provision of the constitution she has offered various concessions in return as an inducement. Similarly, in their demands for a separate foreign minister the Norwegians insisted that the diplomatic service throughout should be one of their own.

It appears from what has been brought to light of late that prior to 1885 it was the King's prerogative to administer foreign affairs as he thought best. Norwegian ministers were quite as likely to be appointed to the Foreign Office as Swedish. In 1885, however, Sweden changed her constitution so that the administration of foreign affairs and the cabinet council in which these affairs are decided were dependent on the Swedish Riksdag, or parliament. Standing up for her right as a sovereign state, Norway insists that the power of the Foreign Office shall be so vested that she gets her share in the administration.

While the flag episode might be considered the most conspicuous feature which has developed of late, it in reality is nothing more than an offshoot from the basic trouble. When the Storting adopted the resolution which altered the design of the flag, this action of the legislators at Christiania aroused the enthusiasm of the Norwegians to a high pitch. The removal of the superimposed crosses, emblematic of the two kingdoms, made the Norwegian standard a purely local one. It was a thorn in the eyes of the other nation from which she has not as yet recovered.

With the Norwegian flag an independent one, Bjornstjerne Bjornson now began to preach his gospel of independence. Around him rallied the younger element, to whom Bjornson has long

stood as the personification of free thought and speech. With that rare fluency of tongue and pen he told his people what should be their model and their motive. The peasantry looks upon him with delight and pride. Bjornson it was who first brought the deliciousness of the mountain life to the notice of the dwellers in the cities.

And then there is Henrik Ibsen. Taciturn as the most psychological of his plays, the Norwegians have discovered that, with all his moroseness, Ibsen is a Norwegian of the Norwegians. His pen has been silent in the controversy, it is true. But by inference he makes it known that he may be reckoned on in the hour of need. Frequently in the past Henrik Ibsen has scoffed at his native land, called it provincial, and preferred residence abroad. But the author of "Ghosts" and "The Pillars of Society" is now in Norway, following the progress of the struggle with an interest which may make his next production a martial one instead of concerning itself with the social problems, as in the past.

History shows that the smaller the nation the greater the influence wielded by the men of letters. The Polish struggle gave free rein to minds fertile and responsive to the stirring episodes of the times. In Hungary the poetry of the country was as strong a weapon against Austrian aggression as the mailed fist. The ancient songs of the Finns are again touching the heart-strings of a people doomed to national extinction at the hands of the Russian Czar. And in the north, likewise, Scandinavian men and women listen rapturously to the martial strains which tell of past glories and those to come.

More prolific than the Swedes in the art of eloquence, the Norwegians hailed the return of Fritjof Nansen as an omen and an ally. When Stockholm did him honor, when King Oscar in person told the intrepid explorer and his comrades what was their due, across the border the Norwegians looked askance at the festivities showered upon their kinsman in whom they held such pride. But when Nansen came to Christiania and in burning language told his fellow countrymen what pride he felt because one of them, all suspicion vanished on the instant and the sailor-scientist established himself firmly on the patriotic soil of Norway.

To Americans in particular it must appeal when informed that in his manifesto to the British nation Fritjof Nansen speaks out for the "apparent sympathy which exists between the British and Norwegian people." The explorer knows the science of handling the multitude, as well as the wastes and silence of the interminable expanse of ice. With Bjornson and Ibsen each standing out strong in their own light, Fritjof

Nansen is a helpmate in the cause of Norway which counts for much and finds appreciation.

Fundamentally considered, a vast difference exists between the Norwegians and the Swedes. Virtually of the same stock, the irony of nations has made the court of Stockholm a seat of etiquette and of learning; the aristocracy is a thing apart, and the descendant of the Frenchman Bernadotte knows how to value appearance for appearance' sake. In Norway all men are born equal. Ducal or baronial castles do not strike root in the mountain soil. Titles are of a perfunctory kind and not coveted beyond the measure of success appended. Brain and brawn are the characteristics of the Norwegians.



FRITJOF NANSEN.
(Norway's modern hero.)

But brain and brawn are also the Swedes' possession. No better-equipped scholar is found in Europe than King Oscar, whose scientific opinions men of science respect. Born on January 21, 1829, the great-grandson of Napoleon's famous general succeeded to the throne on April 18, 1872. Previously graduated a doctor of philosophy from the University of Upsala, his people claim him as the best-educated monarch of his day. It was to him that Nansen owed his first encouragement in regard to arctic research. King Oscar's ability as a diplomat and authority

on international law was attested by the choice of him as the judge of the Venezuelan boundary dispute. Again, in the domain of literature the Swedish King has won renown. For some of his romances and ballads sent to the Swedish Academy anonymously he received a prize. He has translated "The Cid" of Herder, the works of Tasso and of Goethe, has edited the memoirs of Charles XII., and has written a drama, "The Castle of Kronborg." His monograph on Charles XII. is considered a masterful conception of a character both unique and influential. King Oscar is an orator, a student, and a man of action.

Perhaps because of these very qualities the Norwegians feel aggrieved and resentful. Is he not their king as well as the King of Sweden? they ask. Why not accord them the equal privileges as accorded the other nation? they ask again. In his heart of hearts King Oscar feels the situation more keenly, perhaps, than does the most ardent of his subjects, be he Swedish or Norwegian by birth and sentiment.

The reception tendered Crown Prince Gustav on his recent visit to Norway was in keeping with that hostile feeling for which he is himself responsible. The pranks of students might have been omitted, however, without the dignity of the nation suffering in consequence. But all in all the king *pro tempore* had earned no better than he received. To flaunt open defiance in the face of liberalism is not palatable to the people so treated. Unquestionably King Oscar's return postponed what for a time seemed the inevitable conflict looked forward to.

Prince Gustavus is an admirer of Emperor William II. To him no greater ruler ever graced the throne of a monarchy. Like William, the Swedish Crown Prince believes the mailed fist preferable to the velvet glove in dealing with subjects, whether disloyal or otherwise. He has asked for nothing better than being intrusted with the command of the Swedish army for the task of reducing his father's rebellious subjects, as he terms them, to entire submission. He so expressed himself in a public speech in Stockholm, and when his sentiments became known to the Norwegian Storting the national legislature immediately passed by an almost unanimous vote a measure suspending the payment of the Norwegian moiety of the civil list of the Crown Prince, on the ground that it was ridiculous to subscribe to the maintenance of a prince who publicly expressed the wish to lead a Swedish army of invasion into Norway.

Repeatedly King Oscar asked his son to retract his words, or at any rate make some amends for

his utterances. Prince Gustavus refused, and while he is wealthy in his own right, the question of money is not the only one involved.



CROWN PRINCE GUSTAVUS OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY.

Sweden is pro-German, and the King is known to be bound by a secret military convention to coöperate with the triple alliance in the event of a European war by closing the Baltic Sea to French and Russian ships. The sympathies of the Norwegians, on the other hand, lie with the French. With Norway a republic, Sweden would find it impossible to fulfill her share of the agreement with the alliance.

Differing in language, in laws, and in customs, the treaty which binds the two countries together was more a pact for mutual defense against Russia than anything else. Great Britain and France, as the signatory powers to the treaty of 1855, are bound by it to protect the Scandinavian peninsula from Russian aggression. It would be interesting to know what effect the much-talked of Franco-Russian alliance would have in case Russia should decide it important to gain a port in Scandinavian territory.

As for Denmark, neutral as has been this nation's course in the Sweden-Norway controversy, the fact is established that the Danes feel highly aggrieved because of the expulsion of Danish subjects from German territory. The policy of Dr. von Miquel proves especially exasperating to the Danes, because Schleswig was formerly a

Danish province, forcibly wrested from Denmark by Prussia in 1864. Germanizing the conquered provinces has proved as difficult a task, as it pertains to the North, as when applied to the territory formerly that of France. The Danes are fond of the Norwegians. Language and literature are identical. When Henrik Ibsen gives to the world a new play, it is the Royal Danish Theater at Copenhagen which becomes the scene of its initial production. While ties of marriage bind the royal houses of Denmark and Sweden, no great motive brings the people of these two countries in close touch. As for England, and perhaps Russia, here the matrimonial bonds have a stronger effect, for as a daughter of the King of Denmark the future Queen of Great Britain is highly beloved across the English Channel. And the late Czar Alexander's pleasure in spending his time on Danish soil found response in the people of both lands.

The prophecy of diplomats may be largely an exaggerated form of guessing. But as near as can be measured at this day, the armed situation in case of Scandinavian hostilities will stand as follows: Sweden—Germany, Austria, Italy; Norway—Great Britain, Russia (?), France, Denmark. The rest of the continent will remain neutral except circumstances should force them into the conflict.

As for Finland, that unhappy nation which glories in a superlative past, the recent ukase of the Czar has sealed her fate forever. The Russifying process is doing its work. The Finns may protest; delegation after delegation may plead with the courtiers at St. Petersburg for an audience with the ruler. From an historic past she will take her place with Alsace-Lorraine, Schleswig-Holstein, and Hungary, to some extent. The fate of Poland need hardly be touched upon; historians have told her story of blood and submission.

The distinctive flag, currency, and postage of Finland have been abolished, and Russian takes the place of the Finnish tongue. But what is hardest of all, the state religion of Russia is imposed upon the Finns, inasmuch as all public officers must be sworn according to the rites of the Russian Church.

And then the peace conference at The Hague! Of all the subjects to be discussed, but one appeals to the average man of blood and sinews. Arbitration did not need this conference for its promulgation; the nations know its value to the full. Is it any wonder that Europe shows reluctance and asks for an explanation? The Czar may be sincere, his idealism something akin to a

millennium prophet's vision, but when the Scandinavians stand brother against brother in that struggle which is bound to come it would be a miracle, almost; if with his desire for expansion the Czar of all the Russias could seize some Swedish territory without resorting to arms of his own. And while the fate of the lesser nations may be hanging by a thread; while Norway is arming and calling upon its citizens to show their patriotism; while the sister nation looks wistfully across the border, getting ready



HENRIK IBSEN.

the meanwhile for the attack; while Denmark is wishing for its lost provinces, which she continues to believe may some time again be hers, France would welcome an opportunity, such as rarely would come again, should the blaze burst out in the north and the torch of battle be flung across the English Channel and the Baltic. Not pleasant predictions these; but history, after all, but seldom contradicts its mission. The disarmament question of the powers would play an inconsequential part in the Scandinavian situation, as it concerns those immediately interested.

INTERNATIONAL LAW IN THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

BY JOHN BASSETT MOORE.

(Secretary and counsel of the American peace commission.)

IT is one of the evidences of the growth of an influential public opinion that nations have in modern times felt it incumbent upon them to justify their conduct in war by certain legal standards, the observance of which is regarded as a test of civilization. Since the war between China and Japan two works have appeared in which the events of that conflict are discussed with a view to show that the principles of international law were observed by the latter power. One of these works, which was published in French at Paris, was written by Mr. Nagao Ariga, professor of international law in the superior school of war at Tokio. The other, which was published in English at London, was written by Mr. Sakuyé Takahashi, professor of law in the imperial naval staff college of Japan, legal adviser to the Japanese squadron during the Chinese-Japanese War, and compiler of the legal portion of the history of the war. It is possible that these loyal sons of Japan may have had a special motive for their works in the desire to demonstrate the justice of the claim of their country to the place to which it has aspired in the family of nations. But as all war, no matter by what peoples it is carried on, means the killing and wounding of men, the destruction of property, and the consequent loosening for the time of the restraints by which man's propensity to violence is in time of peace controlled, there is always room, especially as a common agreement has not been reached on various points, for an exposition and justification of the rules to which the combatants sought to adhere.

PRIVATE PROPERTY AT SEA.

One of the first questions that necessarily arise in a war between maritime powers is that of the treatment of merchant ships and other private property on the high seas. This question embraces not only the treatment of enemy ships and the cargo on board of them, but also the treatment of neutral ships and their cargoes. According to international law up to the present time, the ships of an enemy are lawful prize, but the cargo on board of them may or may not be subject to condemnation. On the other hand, ships of a neutral are not in themselves good prize, but may become so as the result of un-

neutral conduct—such as the attempt to break a blockade—and their cargoes, like the cargoes of enemy ships, may or may not be subject to confiscation, according to circumstances. For the purpose of elucidating the subject, let us briefly examine its history.

To the treatment of private property on the high seas in time of war three rules have been applied:

1. That the goods of an enemy may be seized and confiscated without regard to the belligerent or neutral character of the ship on which they are found.

2. That the goods of an enemy, contraband of war excepted, are free from seizure and confiscation when on board of a neutral ship. This rule is commonly summed up in the phrase "Free ships free goods."

3. That the goods partake of the character of the ship and are to be confiscated if the ship belongs to an enemy, but free if the ship belongs to a neutral. This rule may be summed up in the phrase "Free ships free goods, enemy ship enemy goods."

This last rule does not at the moment require our attention, since it is not enforced by any nation apart from special treaty stipulations. The great contest has been waged between the first two rules—namely, the rule that the fate of the goods is determined by the belligerent or neutral character of the owner, whichever it may be, and the rule that free ships make free goods.

The first of these rules was at one time the common law of Europe. It was laid down in the "*Consolato del Mare*" and was universally accepted. But about the middle of the seventeenth century a new rule began to be introduced, and it was stipulated in various treaties that freedom of the ship should give freedom to the cargo: in other words, that the goods of an enemy should be exempt from seizure and confiscation when on board of a neutral ship. This rule was subsequently embodied in the marine ordinances of France. It was strenuously advocated by the Dutch. It formed a part of the declaration issued by the Empress of Russia in 1780, a declaration which afterward formed the basis of what was known as the armed neutrality. Indeed, though it was often departed from in practice, especially for purposes of retaliation.

tion in wars in which Great Britain was involved, it was so generally accepted in principle on the continent of Europe that the ancient rule came to be known as the English rule. In time, however, even Great Britain came to accept the new rule. When the Crimean War broke out she joined with France in proclaiming that enemy property on board a neutral ship would be respected. Then, at the close of the war, came the famous Declaration of Paris of April 16, 1856, by which the signatory powers—France, Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Sardinia, and the Porte—with a view “to establish a uniform doctrine on a point so important,” announced their adherence to the rule and engaged to invite other powers to adhere to it.

THE DECLARATION OF PARIS.

The rules of the Declaration of Paris were as follows :

1. Privateering is and remains abolished.
2. The neutral flag covers an enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.
3. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under the enemy's flag.
4. Blockades in order to be binding must be effective—that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.

These rules were brought as a whole to the attention of the powers and were accepted by all the German states, by the Two Sicilies and the Papal States, and indeed by all the powers except the United States, Mexico, Spain, and Venezuela. The United States declined to adhere to the declaration because, while it undertook to abolish privateering, it still permitted the capture and confiscation of enemies' ships and of enemies' goods on board such ships. The United States offered to adhere on condition that private property at sea be exempt from capture and confiscation, except in the cases of violation of the law of contraband and of blockade. It is not improbable that this condition would have been accepted if President Buchanan had not withdrawn the proposition. On the outbreak of the Civil War the United States offered to adhere to the declaration as a whole, but the offer came to naught, since its acceptance was found to involve the question of the power of the United States to control the belligerent action of the Confederacy, which had authorized the issuance of privateering commissions.

TREATY PROVISIONS.

Now, as the United States had not become a party to the Declaration of Paris, what was its actual position in respect of the principle of free ships free goods when the war with Spain be-

gan? Mr. Seward, in an instruction to Mr. Dayton, our minister to France, of September 10, 1861, said : “ We have always practiced on the principles of the declaration.” Similar statements may be found in the works of our publicists ; but they are in fact inaccurate. Our courts, except where a treaty prescribed a different rule, had uniformly confiscated enemy property, even where it was seized under the neutral flag. And what did our treaties say ? In only ten of them, made with seven powers—Algiers 1816, Morocco 1787 and 1836, Prussia 1785 and 1828, Spain 1795, Tripoli 1796 and 1805, Tunis 1797, and Venezuela 1860—had the rule of free ships free goods been stipulated for unconditionally, contraband apart. Of these the treaties with Algiers and Venezuela had come to an end and the treaty with Spain had been modified.

In six treaties, first with Russia in 1854 and then with the Two Sicilies in 1855, Peru 1856, Bolivia 1858, Haiti 1864, and the Dominion Republic 1867, the principle of free ships free goods was recognized as “ permanent and immutable,” but at the same time the contracting parties engaged to apply it only to the commerce and navigation of such powers as should “ consent to adopt ” it as “ permanent and immutable.” Of these treaties, those with the Dominion Republic and the Two Sicilies had ceased to be in force and that with Peru had been superseded.

In our treaty with Spain of 1819 the principle of free ships free goods was acknowledged, but it was provided that it should apply only to the property of enemies whose governments recognized the principle. Similar stipulations may be found in our treaties with Italy of 1871 and Peru of 1887.

The precedent for these last stipulations was set in the first treaty ever concluded by us—the treaty of amity and commerce with France of February 6, 1778. But in this treaty they were coupled with yet another rule, which was restrictive of the rights of neutrals—namely, the rule that the goods of the citizens of the contracting parties should be confiscated if laden on the ship of an enemy, unless they were shipped before the declaration of war or within a certain time afterward in ignorance of the declaration. These associated stipulations are found more generally than any others in our treaties relating to neutral rights, as may be seen by the following list : Brazil 1828, Central America 1825, Chile 1832, Colombia 1824 and 1846, Ecuador 1839, France 1800, Guatemala 1849, Mexico 1831, the Netherlands 1782, Peru 1851, Peru-Bolivia 1836, Salvador 1850 and 1870, Sweden and Norway 1783, 1816, and 1827, and Venezuela 1836. But at

the outbreak of our war with Spain all these treaties except those with Colombia (1846), Salvador (1870), and Sweden and Norway (1827) had ceased to be in force.

With Great Britain we had had no stipulation on the subject we are now discussing except that embodied in the treaty of 1794, known as the Jay treaty, which acknowledged the rule of the common law.

Such was the actual situation on the eve of the war.

WE DECLARE AGAINST PRIVATEERING.

On April 22, 1898, the Department of State, in a telegraphic instruction to the diplomatic representatives of the United States, said: "In the event of hostilities between the United States and Spain, the policy of this Government will be not to resort to privateering, but to adhere to the following recognized rules of international law." The telegram then recited the second, third, and fourth rules of the Declaration of Paris.

On April 25, 1898, war was by act of Congress declared to have existed since the 21st, and on April 26 the President issued a proclamation defining the position of the Government on questions of maritime law. By this proclamation the announcement that it would not be the policy of the United States to resort to privateering was repeated, and the second, third, and fourth rules of the Declaration of Paris were promulgated for the observance of officers of the United States during the conflict.

The proclamation contained three other notable provisions: 1. It allowed Spanish merchant vessels, in any ports or places within the United States, till May 21, 1898, for loading their cargoes and departing, and exempted them from seizure during the voyage. 2. It allowed Spanish merchant vessels which had sailed for the United States prior to April 21, 1898, to enter and discharge their cargoes and afterward forthwith to depart without molestation. 3. It directed that the right of search should be exercised with strict regard for the rights of neutrals, and that the voyages of mail steamers should not be interfered with except on the clearest grounds of suspicion of a violation of law in respect of contraband or blockade.

RULES FOLLOWED BY THE UNITED STATES.

On April 27, 1898, the Treasury Department issued to collectors of customs certain instructions, which were prepared in consultation with the Department of State. To one feature of these instructions it is proper to call attention. While they forbade the clearance of an Ameri-

can vessel for a Spanish port, the only restriction they placed upon the clearance of any other vessel for such a port was that the vessel should not carry contraband of war or coal. By the strict laws of war all trading between enemies is prohibited, but these instructions permitted the clearance of a neutral ship with an American-owned cargo for Spain, and to this extent permitted trading between enemies.

The various rules to which we have referred served to regulate the conduct of the United States in accordance with the most enlightened modern practice. They went as far as nations have actually gone in the direction of ameliorating the inconveniences which commerce suffers from war. But in respect of the exemption of private property of the enemy from capture they did not go as far as various nations (and among them the United States) have at times expressed a desire to go. This exemption was a favorite principle of Franklin's. It was strenuously advocated by John Quincy Adams, both as Secretary of State and as President. As Secretary of State, in 1823, he proposed it to France, Great Britain, and Russia, and caused it to be advocated in a message of President Monroe to Congress. In 1825 he presented it in one of his own messages as President. In 1826 he took care that it occupied a leading place in the instructions given by Mr. Clay to our delegates to the Panama congress. In 1854 the United States proposed it, as we have seen, as the condition of its acceptance of the Declaration of Paris. In 1866, on the outbreak of the war between Austria and Prussia, each of those powers issued a decree exempting the ships and cargoes of the other from seizure and condemnation as enemy property on condition of reciprocity. In 1870, on the outbreak of the Franco-German War, Prussia decreed the exemption of French ships and cargoes without exacting reciprocity; but on January 12, 1871, Prince Bismarck revoked the decree as an act of retaliation. By Article XII. of the treaty of February 26, 1871, the United States and Italy agreed that in the event of war between them the private property of their respective citizens and subjects should be exempt from capture except for violation of the law of contraband or of blockade. On April 25, 1898, Mr. Gillett, of Massachusetts, introduced in the House a joint resolution declaring that merchant ships should be exempt from capture. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, but it failed to pass. One of the grounds on which it was opposed—indeed, the principal ground disclosed in what was said in debate—was the lack of reciprocity on the part of Spain in respect of the concessions already made.

In connection with the subject of prize law, it is proper to refer to a report that got abroad during the continuance of hostilities, to the effect that the crews of ships captured by United States men-of-war as prizes were detained as prisoners of war. This report was erroneous. It probably originated in the circumstance that in certain cases the persons in question, being detained as witnesses, were, for lack of other provision, turned over to the military authorities for subsistence. It was merely for the purpose of feeding them that they were temporarily placed in the custody of those authorities.

PRINCIPLES FOLLOWED BY SPAIN.

The principles of conduct of the Spanish Government were embodied in a royal decree of April 23, 1898. By this decree it was declared, in the first place, that as the result of the state of war all treaties and conventions between the two countries were terminated. As a general principle this declaration was defensible; but among the treaty stipulations in existence between the two countries at the beginning of the war there were some that expressly referred to a state of war, as, for example, the provision that there should, in case of war, be allowed to the merchants of the one country in the territory of the other a year within which to close up their business and depart. The Spanish Government, in response to an inquiry made on behalf of the United States by the British ambassador at Madrid, declared that all the stipulations of the treaties were intended to be terminated, but offered, if the United States would propose it, to consider the question of adopting provisionally, for the purposes of the war, the stipulations specifically referring to a state of war. The United States declined to make such a proposal, on the ground that it considered the stipulations in question as still in force. This position seems to have been obviously correct. If it be true that treaty provisions made solely with reference to a state of war are terminated by war, it follows that they can never operate at all, and that the contracting parties have merely stultified themselves in agreeing to them.

In the second place, the royal decree allowed only five days from the date of its publication for the departure of American ships from Spanish ports. It did not prohibit the capture of such ships after their departure, nor did it provide for the entrance and discharge of American ships sailing for Spanish ports before the war.

In the third place, while it declared the adhesion of Spain to the second, third, and fourth rules of the Declaration of Paris, it reserved the right to issue letters of marque to privateers.

Of this reservation Spain in the end took no advantage. Early in July it was reported that a vessel was fitting out in British Columbia as a Spanish privateer, and disquieting rumors as to its designs appeared from day to day. Inquiries in the proper quarter, however, showed that the report was unfounded.

In one instance the United States and Spain agreed to the adoption, for the purposes of the war, of certain stipulations not previously in force between them. Both governments were parties to the Geneva convention of 1864, commonly called the Red Cross convention, for the amelioration of the condition of the wounded in the armies in the field; and as many other governments were also parties to it, it was not included in the denunciation, by royal decree, of the treaties between the two countries. In 1868 an international conference was held at Geneva, by which certain articles, known as "the additional articles of 1868," some of which relate exclusively to war at sea, were formulated. These articles were approved by various powers, including the United States, and were adopted in the Franco-German War as a *modus vivendi*, but they had never acquired the force of an international convention by exchange of ratifications. On the proposal of the Swiss Government, as the organ of the signatories of the Geneva convention, they were adopted both by the United States and by Spain as a *modus vivendi* during the continuance of the war. Before this was effected the United States had, in fact, on the breaking out of hostilities, fitted out and commissioned the ambulance ship *Solace* to accompany the Atlantic fleet and render aid to the sick, wounded, and dying, in substantial conformity with the additional articles. Other ships were afterward similarly commissioned.

THE LAW OF BLOCKADE.

In the course of the war it became necessary to deal with the important subjects of blockade and contraband. Spain was not so fortunate as to reach the point of blockading any American port. But the first hostile act on the part of the United States was the blockade of the ports of the north coast of Cuba from Cardenas to Bahia Honda, inclusive, and of the port of Cienfuegos, on the south coast. Subsequently the United States blockaded all the ports on the south coast from Cape Frances to Cape Cruz, inclusive, and the port of San Juan, in Porto Rico. Admiral Dewey, after destroying the Spanish fleet at Manila, maintained a blockade of that port. The object of a blockade being to cut off all intercourse between the inhabitants of the blockaded place and the world outside, it is

a general rule that while a period is allowed—usually of fifteen days—during which vessels may depart either in ballast or with cargo bought and shipped before the commencement of the blockade, no cargo is permitted to be shipped after the blockade is instituted. In the first proclamation of blockade by the United States, which was issued on April 22, a period of thirty days was allowed for the departure of neutral vessels from the blockaded ports, but nothing was said as to cargo. The natural inference would therefore have been that no cargo could be taken on board after the blockade was instituted. But in applying the proclamation to the cases which arose under it, the United States construed it as permitting the taking of cargo during the thirty days; and when the next proclamation was issued, this point was expressly covered by a clause in which it was stated that neutral vessels lying in any of the ports to which the blockade was then extended would be allowed “thirty days to issue therefrom, with cargo.”

This feature and other features of the law of blockade were included in General Order No. 492, issued by the Navy Department on June 20, 1898. This order, which bears the title of “Instructions to Blockading Vessels and Cruisers,” was published for the information and guidance of the naval service. From the point of view of international law it is an interesting document, since it definitely formulates for the first time the policy of the United States on various important questions.

“CONTRABAND” AND OTHER PROBLEMS.

Among the subjects of which it treats is that of contraband. No subject has given rise to a greater contrariety of views than this, and its importance can hardly be overestimated. We have seen that the rule of free ships free goods is subject to the exception of contraband of war; and it is obvious that by extending the exception the effect of the rule may be practically nullified.

According to the classification of Grotius, commodities are to be placed, with reference to the question of contraband, under three heads: 1. Articles “which are of use in war alone, as arms.” 2. Articles “which are useless in war and which serve only for purposes of luxury.” 3. Articles “which can be used both in war and in peace, as money, provisions, ships, and articles of naval equipment.” Concerning Classes 1 and 3 there is no controversy, except possibly as to the inclusion or exclusion of some particular article; but in regard to Class 3 there has always been a fierce dispute. By General Order 492 the position of the United States on the subject is clearly defined. Premising its definition

with the explanation that “contraband of war comprehends only articles having a belligerent destination, as to an enemy’s port or fleet,” it specifies certain articles as “absolutely contraband” and others as “conditionally contraband.” The former are:

Ordnance; machine guns and their appliances and the parts thereof; armor plate and whatever pertains to the offensive and defensive armament of naval vessels; arms and instruments of iron, steel, brass, or copper, or of any other material, such arms and instruments being specially adapted for use in war by land or sea; torpedoes and their appurtenances; cases for mines, of whatever material; engineering and transport materials, such as gun-carriages, caissons, cartridge-boxes, campaigning forges, canteens, pontoons; ordnance stores; portable range-finders; signal flags destined for naval use; ammunition and explosives of all kinds; machinery for the manufacture of arms and munitions of war; saltpeter; military accouterments and equipments of all sorts; horses.

The “conditionally contraband” are as follows:

Coal when destined for a naval station, a port of call, or a ship or ships of the enemy; materials for the construction of railroads and telegraphs, and money, when such materials or money are destined for the enemy’s forces; provisions when destined for an enemy’s ship or ships or for a place that is besieged.

Some reference should be made to another point covered by General Order 492. In the year 1861 the United States and Great Britain came to the verge of war over the incident commonly known as the *Trent* case. This case derives its name from the steamer *Trent*, a British packet which plied between Vera Cruz and St. Thomas, by way of Havana, carrying the mails under a contract with the British Government and making connection at St. Thomas with mail steamers running direct to Southampton. On November 8, 1861, Captain Wilkes, of the United States man-of-war *San Jacinto*, overhauled the *Trent* while on her way from Havana to St. Thomas, and took out of her Messrs. Mason and Slidell, Confederate commissioners to Great Britain and France, and certain persons of their suit, and brought them to the United States. The ground on which Captain Wilkes justified his action was that they were, as “live dispatches,” subject to seizure as analogues of contraband. The Government of the United States did not repudiate this justification, but released the prisoners on the ground that under the law of prize an irregularity was committed in not bringing the vessel in for the purpose of subjecting her to legal proceedings along with the prisoners.

Under General Order 492 the case of the *Trent* could not have arisen. By this order a neutral vessel is liable to seizure for carrying “hostile

dispatches" only "when sailing as a dispatch vessel practically in the service of the enemy," and it is expressly declared that she is not liable to seizure "when she is a mail packet and carries them [the hostile dispatches] in the regular and customary manner, either as a part of the mail in her mail-bags or separately, as a matter of accommodation and without special arrangement or remuneration;" and it is further declared that "the voyages of mail steamers are not to be interfered with except on the clearest grounds of suspicion of a violation of law in respect of contraband or blockade."

In the Spanish royal decree of April 23, 1898, the definition of contraband was as follows:

Cannon, machine guns, mortars, guns, all kinds of guns and firearms, bullets, bombs, grenades, fuses, cartridges, matches, powder, sulphur, saltpeter, dynamite and every kind of explosive, articles of equipment like uniforms, straps, saddles and artillery and cavalry harness, engines for ships and their accessories, shafts, screws, boilers, and other articles used in the construction, repair, and arming of warships, and in general all warlike instruments, utensils, tools, and other articles, and whatever may hereafter be determined to be contraband.

But for the last clause, which seems to be capable of rendering nugatory the preceding specific enumeration, the decree would in respect of contraband be open to little objection. Soon after its promulgation its operation was restricted by a special dispensation in favor of sulphur, which is very largely used in the United States in the manufacture of paper from wood-pulp. As the supply of sulphur is chiefly obtained from Sicily, the Spanish Government would have had a rare opportunity to seize and confiscate it as it passed through the Straits of Gibraltar. But upon the request of the Italian Government it agreed to forego this advantage and refrained from treating sulphur as contraband.

A question more or less discussed during the recent hostilities, though it did not become the subject of international controversy, was that of the right of a belligerent to cut submarine cables owned by neutrals in order to prevent his adversary from making an unneutral use of them. The protection of submarine cables outside territorial waters is regulated by an international convention signed at Paris on March 14, 1884. The United States is a party to this convention and has adopted legislation for its enforcement. The convention, however, expressly provides that its stipulations "shall in no wise affect the liberty of action of belligerents." The precedents as to such action were not numerous, owing to the fact that communication by cables is a recent thing. The United States limited its interruption of such communication to its mili-

tary needs, preferring to keep it open where this could be done on fair and equal terms.

The rules observed by the United States in its conduct of the war on land were, in certain important particulars, set forth in the order issued by the President on July 18, 1898, on the occupation of Santiago de Cuba by the American forces. In this order it was declared that our occupation should be as free as possible from severity; that the municipal laws of the conquered territory should be considered as continuing in force so far as they were compatible with the new order of things; that the judges and other officials connected with the administration of justice should, if they paid due obedience to the authority of the United States, be permitted to continue to administer the law as between man and man; that the native constabulary should, so far as practicable, be preserved; and that the freedom of the people to pursue their accustomed occupations should be abridged only when it might be necessary to do so.

As to the treatment of property, the order declared that while public funds and securities belonging to the government of the country in its own right, and all arms and supplies and other movable property of such government, might be seized by the military occupant and converted to his own use, the real property of the state should not be destroyed save in case of military necessity; that public means of transportation, though they might be appropriated by the military occupant to his use, should not, except in the same case, be destroyed, nor, unless destroyed under military necessity, be retained; that all churches and buildings devoted to religious worship and to the arts and sciences, and all school-houses, should, so far as possible, be protected, and all destruction or intentional defacement of such places, of historical monuments or archives, or of works of science or art, be prohibited, save when required by urgent military necessity; that private property, individual or corporate, should be confiscated only for cause; that property taken for the use of the army should be paid for when possible at a fair valuation; and that when payment in cash was not possible receipts should be given.

The promulgation and enforcement of this order may be considered as a contribution to the establishment of principles of justice and humanity which, although not new, have not always been observed in war even in recent times. The United States, however, owes it to its past as well as to its future to maintain the highest standards of international conduct, and it was in the discharge of this obligation that the Government promulgated the principles by which it was guided in the conflict with Spain.

THE NEW SAN FRANCISCO CHARTER.

BY ALBERT SHAW.

AFTER many years of effort to accomplish a radical reform in the framework of its municipal government, the city of San Francisco has now at length adopted a new charter. The provisions of this comprehensive document are in many ways interesting and in several ways novel and striking.

What is entitled "the legislative power" is vested in a body called the board of supervisors, consisting of eighteen members, who hold office for two years and all of whom are elected from the city at large rather than from wards or districts. Each supervisor receives an annual salary of \$1,200. Every ex-mayor of San Francisco is entitled to a seat in the board of supervisors and may participate in the debates, but has no vote and draws no pay. The mayor is the presiding officer of the board of supervisors, and in his absence the chair is taken by a member of the board, who is designated as president *pro tem*. The meetings of the board occur every Monday and are public. The matters voted upon by the board of supervisors must go to the mayor for approval, and his veto is final, unless upon reconsideration fourteen members of the board vote contrary to the mayor's decision.

But passage through the board is not the only way in which an ordinance may be adopted under this new San Francisco charter. There is a highly noteworthy provision in the nature of what is known as direct legislation. If as many as 15 per cent. of the number of voters who voted at the last preceding election sign a petition asking to have a particular ordinance submitted to the popular vote, the election commissioners must see that opportunity is duly given at the next election. If the majority of the votes that are cast upon the proposition are favorable, the ordinance goes into force without any assistance from the mayor or supervisors; nor can the supervisors with the mayor's approval repeal an ordinance thus enacted by direct vote of the people. It should be said, however, that if it proposed to repeal or amend such an ordinance, the supervisors have a right to submit to the people at a regular election any proposition they may themselves agree upon, either for complete or partial repeal or for amendment.

In general it is provided that "every ordinance involving the granting by the city and county of any franchise for the supply of light or water, or

for the lease or sale of any public utility, or for the purchase of land of more than \$50,000 in value, must be submitted to the vote of the electors by the city and county at the election next ensuing after the adoption of such ordinance." That is to say, in San Francisco henceforth it will not be sufficient for any private company wishing to obtain a new franchise or a modification or extension of an old one to obtain control of the board of supervisors; for all such questions will be submitted to the voters for ratification. The charter itself is amendable by the process of a petition for a desired amendment signed by 15 per cent. of the number of voters who participated in the preceding election, and then submitted to a direct vote of the people.

The range of powers conferred upon the board of supervisors is very extensive, and has reference at many points to existing municipal problems in San Francisco. Among its other powers it has the right to grant street-railroad franchises, but for a term not exceeding twenty-five years. When a franchise is to be granted the fact must be advertised and sealed bids must be called for. These bids must take the form of an offer of a stated percentage of the gross annual receipts, and the franchise must be awarded to the highest bidder. No bid shall be considered, however, unless the percentage offered amounts to at least 3 per cent. of the gross receipts for the first five years, 4 per cent. during the next succeeding ten years, and 5 per cent. during the final ten years of the franchise period. Such ordinances require the concurrence of at least three-fourths of the supervisors and the approval of the mayor; and it is also necessary that a period of ninety days should elapse between the introduction and the final passage of any such ordinance. The vote of five-sixths of the supervisors—that is to say, fifteen out of eighteen members—is required to pass the franchise ordinance over the mayor's veto.

There are various other provisions guarding the public rights in the matter of franchise grants, and forfeiture is a penalty for failure to comply. The board of supervisors retains the power to regulate rates of fare, and its finance committee is at all times authorized to have its experts examine the books to make sure that the city is getting its full share of the gross receipts. It is expressly provided that franchises shall not be renewed or regranted.

After the granting of a franchise by the board and its approval by the mayor, a period of thirty days is given in which a petition may be circulated among the voters calling for the submission of the franchise ordinance to the ordeal of a popular vote. The usual 15 per cent. of signatures will secure such submission, and the majority of those voting on the proposition will determine its fate one way or the other.

In the month of May of each year the board of supervisors acts as a budgetary body. Earlier in the year all the heads of departments submit estimates of the pecuniary needs of their parts of the administrative work, and the auditor makes up in a convenient form his estimates of requisite total outlay and of income from other sources than the direct taxation of property. With those estimates as a starting-point the board of supervisors works out its budget and fixes the tax-rate that it is necessary to levy. The mayor has a right to veto any item in the budget, and fifteen out of eighteen supervisors must stand by the item in order to overcome the mayor's disapproval. The detailed financial provisions are exceedingly elaborate and worked out with a remarkable amount of care, and show regard not so much for general theories as for the particular needs and experiences of San Francisco.

The mayor is elected directly by the people, holds office for two years, receives an annual salary of \$6,000, and prepares for his work by selecting a secretary, an usher, and a stenographer, who are regarded as his personal assistants. The first duty assigned to him in the charter is that of the vigilant observance of the official conduct of all public officers; and if he finds anything going wrong he may suspend the delinquent promptly as preliminary to an official investigation. He has to recommend beneficial measures to officials of all departments, look after the enforcement of laws and ordinances, have a regard for the efficiency of public institutions, exercise the right to attend the meetings of all municipal boards and bodies, take measures for the maintenance of public order, see that contracts and agreements are kept and performed, institute actions, when necessary, for the annulling of franchises, and in general act as the responsible head of the municipality. The mayor is *ex-officio* president of the board of supervisors and may call extra sessions of that board, and in general may exercise the power of appointing city officials, excepting those whose selection is otherwise provided for.

The auditor, for example, who is the head of the finance department, is an elective officer chosen for two years, and draws an annual salary

of \$4,000. The treasurer is also elected by the people, and he has the same salary and term of office as the auditor. The assessor has a like salary, but holds office for four years. The tax collector is another four-thousand-dollar man with a two-year term, elected by popular vote, and so is the coroner. The recorder is an elective officer, holding office for two years and receiving \$3,600. The city attorney, elected for a term of two years, draws a salary of \$5,000, while the district attorney is also popularly elected and has a like term and salary. These two attorneys exercise the duties that usually pertain to their offices, the one being the city's counselor and the other the public prosecutor. The county clerk is elected for a two-year term at a salary of \$4,000 a year, and the sheriff, who is also elected for two years, has an eight thousand-dollar salary. The police court consists of four judges elected by the people, holding office for four years, each of them receiving a salary of \$3,600.

The department of public works is under the management of four commissioners, who form a board, and are appointed by the mayor. They hold office for three years, and one retires each year. A tri-partisan experiment is tried in this department, for it is provided that no two members shall belong to the same political party. The commissioners receive salaries of \$4,000. This board replaces in San Francisco an official who was called superintendent of streets, highways, and squares, succeeds to the duties of a board that was known as the new city hall commissioners, and takes the place of various other commissions which were looking after particular projects of street-opening, grade-changing, and other like matters. This board (1) takes charge of all public ways, and its duties with respect to the streets are set forth with a detail that shows how important and complicated such public duties have become with the growth of modern cities; (2) controls everything that relates to sewers and drains; (3) attends to street cleaning and sprinkling, to the lighting of streets, parks, squares, and public buildings; (4) is charged with the cleansing and care of all of the public buildings of the city and county, and the employment of such janitors as are needed for that purpose; (5) has supervision over all buildings belonging to the city and county; (6) constructs all public buildings that may be required—school-houses, fire-department buildings, etc.; (7) provides for the collection and disposal of garbage, as well as sewage; (8) has the management of all such matters as conduits for wires and the designing and construction, as well as the maintenance, of sewers and all similar appliances of the public service.

A very interesting provision that relates to this board of public works has to do with tearing up the roadway of streets or other public places for the purpose of making sewer connection, repairing or altering wires, pipes, or conduits, or other purposes. When any person, company, or corporation has occasion to disturb the street in any manner, application must be made to this board, whereupon an estimate will be made of the cost of opening the street and restoring it again. The board will collect the amount of the estimate from the party desiring the work done and will then proceed itself to do the work. If it happens to cost more than the estimate, provision is made for collecting from the private person or corporation the additional amount. This board appoints a duly qualified engineer and retains his services at its own pleasure. It appoints all the other members of the various departments into which its manifold duties are subdivided.

Very careful provisions are made for the safeguarding of the public interest in the letting of contracts by this board for public works. Many pages of the charter are taken up with the details of the method by which street improvements shall be made in cases where the expense, or portions of it, is to be specially charged to private owners.

The whole business of the control and management of schools is assigned to a board of education composed of four school directors, appointed by the mayor, giving their entire time to the duties of their office, each receiving an annual salary of \$3,000, none of them under thirty years of age, all of them residents of the city for at least five years prior to their appointment, and not more than two of them belonging to the same political party. These directors are appointed for four years, and one retires each year. Our friends in San Francisco are likely to find out for themselves after a brief experience how little feasible this arrangement is. The board establishes and maintains schools, employs teachers and other school officials, and is assigned a great many of the duties that would be better intrusted to the superintendent of schools. It provides an arrangement very much like the bipartisan board of four police commissioners in New York City, whose duties at many points are those that in a properly organized police department belong to a chief of police.

The superintendent of schools, who is to be appointed by the board, draws a salary of \$4,000, and he himself appoints four deputy superintendents, this power of appointment apparently being inconsistent with the appointive power conferred upon the board of education. These deputies

must have had at least ten years' successful experience as teachers, and must have been living in San Francisco at least five years previous to their appointment. This last provision is an unwise handicap. The superintendent and his deputies constitute a city board of examination, which grants teachers' certificates.

The board of education makes up its own estimate of moneys needed for all purposes, and this estimate is turned over to the board of supervisors, who must add it to the amount to be levied and collected for other city purposes, provided, however, that the school taxes shall not amount to more than \$32.50 for each pupil enrolled in the preceding fiscal year.

The mayor is an *ex-officio* member of the public library board of twelve members, already in existence, and when any vacancies occur in that board they are to be filled by the board itself. The board of supervisors, as the general tax authority of the city, is obliged by the charter to levy a tax each year for the support of the library and reading-rooms, which, for every \$100 of assessed valuation, shall not be less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents and not more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents. The average would be 2 cents. The assessed value of San Francisco is in excess of \$352,000,000. A tax of 2 cents on \$100 of assessment would amount, therefore, to something more than \$70,000 a year, which ought certainly to result in a rapid development of the public library facilities of the city.

The San Francisco police department, under the new charter, is to be managed by a board of four police commissioners, appointed by the mayor, each of whom receives an annual salary of \$1,000. "The board shall never be so constituted as to consist of more than two members of the same political party." The term of office is four years; one member retires annually. The commissioners themselves elect one of their number as president of the board. Thus the organization is essentially the same as that of New York, which Governor Roosevelt and the Republican majority in the Legislature at Albany are at this very moment trying to abolish in favor of a single-headed management. If there is one arrangement conspicuously worse than another that could be proposed, it is the farcical attempt at an evenly balanced bi-partisan police board. In practice it is often more objectionable than the most pronounced partisanship.

The chief of police is appointed by the board of commissioners and holds office for four years, receiving a salary of \$4,000. It is not the chief who appoints, promotes, suspends, or dismisses the members of the police force, but the board of commissioners. The board also prescribes the rules and regulations for the police force, and ex-

ercises, as a special function, the granting of liquor-selling licenses, or "permits," as they are called in this charter. A curious feature of these liquor-selling permits is that they shall not be granted for more than three months at one time. One of the incidental functions of the chief of police is to exercise control over all the prisons of the city and county that are not by general law placed under the control of the sheriff. It is not necessary to summarize the provisions respecting the organization and detail of the police force, though it is perhaps worth while to note the fact that the force must never numerically exceed one for each five hundred inhabitants of the city. It is the purpose of the charter to secure a permanent and non-political police force, based upon considerations of absolute merit. All members of the existing police force who are in good standing at the time the new charter goes into effect will be retained; but it is provided in the charter that all new appointments and all promotions made after the charter becomes operative shall be subject to the civil-service rules provided for all departments of the civil government, of which we shall have something to say in a subsequent paragraph.

It is interesting to note the fact that the charter makes due provision for pensioning the police force. The board of police commissioners are made a board of trustees of a fund to be known as the "Relief and Pension Fund." A unanimous vote of the board retires and relieves from service old members of the department when they reach the age of sixty-five; and such retired members receive from the fund a monthly pension equal to one-half the amount of salary they were drawing at a period three years before their retirement. Such a pensioner, however, must have been an active member of the department for at least twenty years continuously. The pension ceases with the death of the pensioner. Any member of the police force disabled by any injury received in the performance of his duty may be retired on half pay (based on the salary he was receiving three years prior to his retirement), and this pension will be paid to him during his life. In case of his recovering from the injury, however, he is entitled to be taken back on the force, when, of course, his pension ceases.

In the case of a police officer killed in the performance of his duty, his widow will receive a pension equal to one-half the amount of his salary, and this will continue as long as she lives, unless she remarries. If the policeman thus killed in the performance of his duty should leave no widow, but should leave orphan children under the age of sixteen, such children shall receive collectively a pension equal to one-half his salary

until the youngest of them attains the age of sixteen. The commissioners, by a unanimous vote, at their own discretion may, in the case of the killing of an unmarried policeman whose parents were dependent upon him for support, pay a pension to such parents during the time they may deem it necessary. When any member of the police force, after ten years' service, dies from natural causes, his surviving dependents are entitled to receive from the Relief and Pension Fund the amount of money that had been retained for such fund out of his salary.

The fund derives its supplies from various sources. First, \$2 a month is retained for it from the pay of each member of the police force. Second, not less than 5 per cent. and not more than 10 per cent. of the money collected for liquor licenses must be turned over by the supervisors to the police pension fund. One-half of the dog-tax money goes the same way. All fines imposed upon members of the police force for violation of rules or other reasons go into the fund, as do all proceeds of sales of unclaimed property. Not less than one-quarter and not more than one-half of the money received for the licenses of pawnbrokers, billiard-hall keepers, and second-hand and junk dealers goes to the fund, together with all money received from fines for carrying concealed weapons and 25 per cent. of all fines collected in money for the violation of any city ordinance. Rewards paid to members of the police department are to be turned over to the fund; and all requests for the services of a policeman in connection with any place of amusement, entertainment, ball, party, or picnic must be accompanied by \$2.50 for the fund. It is reasonable to think that from all these sources enough money might be collected to make the fund do all that is expected of it.

The fire department is under the management of another of the boards of four commissioners "so constituted as never to consist of more than two members of the same political party." The members are appointed by the mayor. It will not be necessary to go into the detail of the organization of the fire department, but it should be explained that there is careful provision made for a firemen's relief fund, under the control of the board of fire commissioners, analogous to the police Relief and Pension Fund. The half-pay principle, in all its applications, is just the same in both funds. The supplies for the firemen's fund, however, are derived from an annual tax levy that must be sufficient to meet and pay all demands made upon the fund.

An interesting and new development in this San Francisco charter is a department of electricity which is to have charge of the construc-

tion and maintenance of the fire alarm and police telegraph and telephone systems, and which is under the joint control of the fire and police commissioners, whose principal duty in the matter is to appoint a practical and skilled electrician as the chief of the department.

The public health is to be guarded by a board consisting of seven members, five of whom are to be appointed by the mayor, while the sixth and seventh are the chief of police and the board of public works, *ex-officio*. The members of this health board are not paid. It is their duty to control and direct the management of the hospitals, almshouses, ambulance services, and all matters relating to the health administration. The charter is rather weak and vague in its provisions for the public health; but a great deal of discretion is left to the board to develop such administrative health services as may be necessary.

Everything relating to the conduct, management, and control of elections, including the registration of voters, is vested in a board of election commissioners consisting of five members appointed by the mayor, holding office four years, each of the five receiving a salary of \$1,000 a year. The big parties get two members apiece and the fifth member goes to a third party, if there be such—otherwise the mayor names the fifth man at his own discretion. The members of this board and their two principal executive appointees are not to be eligible to other offices, nor are they to be members of political conventions or to engage in politics otherwise than to cast their votes.

It is provided that there should be held in San Francisco on the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November, 1899, an election to be known as the "municipal election," and the same thing is to happen every two years. This brings the municipal elections in the odd years, whereas the State elections, as well as the Congressional and Presidential elections, come in the even years. At this municipal election next fall the whole complement of elective officers will be chosen, including the mayor, the eighteen supervisors who make up the municipal legislature, the auditor, treasurer, assessor, tax collector, recorder, city attorney, district attorney, public administrator, county clerk, sheriff, county judges, and four police judges.

Article XII. of the charter is entitled "Acquisition of Public Utilities," and its provisions are certainly worthy of note. It opens as follows: "It is hereby declared to be the purpose and intention of the people of the city and county that its public utilities shall be gradually acquired and ultimately owned by the city and county." With this object in view it is provided that within

a year after the charter goes into effect, and at least every two years thereafter, "the supervisors must procure through the city engineer plans and estimates of the actual cost of the original construction and completion by the city and county of water works, gas works, electric-light works, steam, water, or electric power works, telephone lines, street railroads, and such other public utilities as the supervisors or the people, by petition to the board, may designate." San Francisco happens to be one of the few great cities of the whole world which is supplied with water by a private company, and the charter especially provides that plans must be made which will show the possibility of various schemes for a municipal water supply; and when a plan is formulated there must be submitted to the voters at a special election propositions for permanent acquisition and ownership. The same principles are to apply to gas works, street railroads, and other monopoly supply services; but it is provided that the supervisors, before submitting to the voters plans for the original construction of municipal undertakings, must first solicit and consider offers for the sale to the city of existing undertakings owned by private corporations.

If the supervisors do not act of their own motion, voters numbering as many as 15 per cent. of the vote cast at the last election may set a municipal ownership scheme in motion by signing a petition. For instance, if 15 per cent. of the voters should like to have the municipality buy or construct a gas plant, they have only to sign their names to a petition setting forth the project, and it becomes the duty of the supervisors within six months to have negotiations or estimates in such shape as to be able to submit the whole affair to a vote. If the mayor does not like the shape in which the supervisors formulate and submit the proposition to the voters, he may at the same time submit a proposition drawn up in his own way. Such propositions, having been duly formulated by the supervisors or the mayor, are turned over to the board of election commissioners, by whom they are submitted to the vote of the people at the next regular municipal election. If they think it desirable to do so the supervisors have authority to respond to the petition of 15 per cent. of the voters by proceeding at once to pass an ordinance declaring it to be the determination of the board to acquire a desired public utility.

In submitting to the voters the main question the supervisors must state the amount of bonds they would deem it necessary to issue in order to consummate the proposed undertaking. The people must by their vote specially authorize the bond issue. Furthermore, at least two-thirds of

those who vote at such an election must vote favorably in order to legalize the bonds. A general limitation upon enterprises in the direction of public ownership of monopoly undertakings is fixed in a provision which declares that the sum total of all bonded indebtedness of the city and county must never at any one time exceed 15 per cent. of the assessed value of all real and personal property of the city. As we have already remarked, the present assessed value of San Francisco is something more than \$352,000,000. The present debt is practically nothing. Under the 15-per-cent. provision the maximum possible debt at the present valuation of the city would be something under \$53,000,000. This leaves an ample margin with which to make investments in water and lighting plants and so on. The principle, however, of limiting the amount of capital that a city should invest in public undertakings by a percentage relation to the assessed value of property is a wholly false principle, which will not bear discussion for a moment. A municipal monopoly like the water supply or the lighting supply subjects the municipality to no risk whatsoever, and such investments have nothing to do with public debts in the ordinary sense.

The reason for this is plain. Since the city has absolute power to fix the rates charged for water and gas, it can always make such an enterprise finance itself. The price charged for gas and the rates charged for water must bring in enough income not only to pay operating expenses, but also to pay the interest on the cost of the investment and a certain proportion each year of the principal. There is no more reason in public business than in private business for fixing a general percentage limitation upon the right to issue bonds. New York City for some time past has been prevented from doing things that would be greatly to its advantage, simply because of a percentage limitation upon its ability to issue bonds. Such limitations are nowadays not nearly so much in the interest of the taxpayers as in the interest of private corporations which desire for their own ends to have the municipality put in a position where it is unable to make advantageous use of its own public utilities, and must needs, therefore, sacrifice its best assets for the benefit of private monopolists. The city ought at least to be in as good a position as any private company to supply its people with such matters of universal necessity as water and light. In San Francisco, however, the 15-per-cent. limitation will cause no embarrassment.

The thirteenth article of the charter is devoted to the organization of the civil service. The mayor is required, immediately upon the taking

effect of the charter, to appoint three persons "known by him to be devoted to the principles of civil-service reform." These must belong to different parties, and one of them is to be appointed every year. They constitute the civil-service commission. It is their duty to classify all places of employment, to make rules for the classified civil service, and to see that no appointment is made to any place in the civil service except according to the rules. This, of course, does not apply to common laborers, whose selection is simply to be governed by priority of application. A system of examinations is authorized, and all promotions, as well as all appointments, are to be based upon merit. In the case of all vacancies the commissioners are to submit to the appointing power the names of not more than three applicants having the highest rating for each promotion. Whenever an office is to be filled the commissioners are to be notified of the fact, and they must then certify to the appointing officer the name of one, or at the most three persons standing highest on the register for the class or grade to which the position belongs. Removals must be for cause, upon written charges, and after an opportunity to be heard. Charges must be investigated by the civil-service commission, and the finding of the commissioners is conclusive. There are many other details, but these are the essential principles. The municipal civil-service system of San Francisco must be regarded henceforth as one of the most advanced ever adopted anywhere.

The parks are to be under the control of a board of park commissioners, "five in number, one of whom must be an artist." The mayor appoints them for four years, and they are not paid. They make the rules for the management and use of the parks and of the squares and avenues that pertain to the park system, have charge of a museum and art gallery, and exercise the functions usually belonging to park commissioners. There is not a separate park police force, but on the request of the park commissioners the chief of police details members of the regular force for use in the public pleasure grounds. These park commissioners are also authorities upon matters of public art, and henceforth no work of art shall become the property of the city—whether by purchase, gift, or otherwise—unless the work itself and its proposed location have been approved by the board. This authority is made very sweeping in its application to matters of an æsthetic nature. The supervisors are required to levy a tax each year for the maintenance of the park system, which shall be not less than 5 cents nor more than 7 cents upon each \$100 of assessed valuation. This

means an average amount exceeding \$200,000 a year for the park system.

The miscellaneous provisions of the charter are in some instances unusual and in some instances striking. No municipal officer may go out of the State during his term of office excepting once, upon written permission of the mayor. No municipal officer may be interested in any way in contracts for public work. This principle is made more sweeping in the details of its application than anywhere else, so far as we are aware. No officer or employee who gives or promises to give anything that is valuable in consideration of his being nominated, appointed, voted for, or elected to any office or employment, not only forfeits his office, but is forever debarred and disqualified from holding any official position. There are other provisions, similarly stringent, to protect subordinates against exactions from their superiors. All books and records of every office and department are to be open to the inspection of any citizen at any time during business hours. An exception is made in the case of the records of the police department. Any elected officer, except supervisor, may be suspended by the mayor and removed by the supervisors for cause; and any appointed officer may be removed by the mayor for cause. The salaries provided in the charter are to be regarded as full compensation for all services rendered, and there are no fees for any one. All moneys coming into the hands of municipal officers, no matter from what

source derived or received, must be paid over to the city treasurer within twenty-four hours.

This remarkable charter was drafted by a board of fifteen "freeholders," who had been, in accordance with a constitutional provision, elected in December, 1897, for the purpose of preparing and proposing a charter for San Francisco. As required by the constitution, this board of freeholders, under the presidency of Mr. Joseph Britton, made its draft of a charter within the ensuing ninety days after its election, and signed the document on March 25, 1898. It was submitted to the voters of San Francisco, who duly ratified it on May 26, 1898, and it then had to await the approval of the Legislature. That approval was duly granted several weeks ago, with the concurrence of the governor. The charter accordingly takes effect with the beginning of next year, and the officers who are to exercise the functions set forth in its provisions will be elected, as we have already remarked, next November. Thus the city of San Francisco will have entered upon an extremely significant new era in its municipal life; and all Americans interested in the organization and government of the great towns of the country will be eager to follow the working of a charter that in many regards is highly commendable beyond all dispute. While in other respects it is designed to promote experiments that will help to settle questions now much disputed in more than one American municipality.

MAYOR QUINCY, OF BOSTON.

BY GEORGE E. HOOKER.

THE most conspicuous and interesting personality before the Boston public to-day is that of Mayor Josiah Quincy. Conspicuous because of the rapid succession of departures which he has inaugurated during his three years in office, he is interesting, not only because of the conjecture and hope naturally playing about a progressive public official, but because of his discriminating affinity for ideas, his astonishing fertility in practical expedients, and his rare faculty for scoring results. It might be added in a parenthetical way that he is also interesting because of a certain unemotional and indeed enigmatic exterior, which is indifference to critics, coldness to sentimentalism, dispassionateness in official business, and to the unfriendly interpreter may appear to be the cloak of steady ambition or of mere intellectual zest, while to the

imaginative admirer it is the barrier resolutely thrown up around a cherished idealism.

His antecedents harmonize with his present career. Grandson on his father's side of one mayor of Boston and great-grandson of another, he is connected on his mother's side with the family of Bishop Huntington, while his individual history has been largely that of a professional politician in the higher sense of that term. Contenting himself with an assured though meager competence which relieved him from the necessity of earning money, he has never practiced his profession of the law, but instead has made politics and government his calling in life. A dozen years ago he was helping to frame a charter for his native town of Quincy. He has served four years in the Legislature and been chairman repeatedly of the State committee of his party.

In the second Cleveland campaign he managed the literary bureau of the national committee, and he was subsequently summoned by Mr. Cleveland for a short period (and evidently for the performance of a specific piece of work—viz., the decapitation of a considerable section of the consular service) to the assistant secretaryship of the State Department.

His first election as mayor of Boston took place in the fall of 1895, and at the end of the two years' term he was reelected. His reputation inevitably gained at Washington as a headman seems, curiously enough, to have constituted in the eyes of the politicians his special fitness for nomination to succeed a Republican mayor. Expectation, however, turned to disappointment; for instead of converting his administration into a matter of place-making, he entered upon a broad course of constructive public enterprise with an energy and abandonment of devotion made possible by established habits of industry, an abstemious mode of life, an exemption from private ties of business, professional life, or society. Trained in university and by travel, well furnished in mind, alert, methodical, accustomed to estimating men and familiar with political life, he is a prodigious worker, the author of his own addresses and messages, cool and steady under pressure, open to ideas, rapid in judgment, concise in expression, and wonderfully expeditious in action. He is likewise immeasurably fertile and almost dashing venturesome in projects, though discreet and practical in execution.

His measures have been of two sorts—viz., those directed on the one hand to an enlargement and refinement of executive machinery and on the other to an expansion of its functions.

I.

Realizing the complexity of municipal administration and its frequent lack in delicacy of touch, he set about to bring to its service more knowledge, and especially that representing greater diversity of standpoint.

The department of municipal statistics was inaugurated in 1897, and one of its functions is the publication of the weekly *City Record*, designed to keep the different departments informed concerning local and general municipal activity. To the same end there has lately been formed the Boston Society of Municipal Officers, designed to promote closer coöperation between the various branches of the city government, and through addresses to furnish a means of contact with other persons possessed of special knowledge on municipal subjects.

Eight unpaid commissions have been created and put in charge, three of them of the reorganized charitable and correctional institutions of the city and the other five respectively of the statistical department, the municipal baths, the municipal concerts, the free evening lectures, and the boys' summer camp. These commissions have been carefully chosen, are broadly representative, and bring to the service of the public a great deal of special knowledge and enthusiastic devotion.

In the effort to put his administration in vital touch with the feeling and needs of the city and with progressive ideas in general, he has ranged quite beyond official circles and political environment. The very first subject treated in his inaugural address was the desirability of coöperation between labor organizations and the city government. The next paragraph of the address proposed the formation of the Merchants' Municipal Committee, which has now become an established body, chosen by the central commercial organization of the city and constituting a mayor's cabinet on commercial development and municipal finance. At the present moment a special mayor's committee is at work investigating the operation of the laws against drunkenness. He has also effected a radical change in the structure of the city government by securing legislation transferring the management of the finances of the city from the city council to a newly constituted board of apportionment, consisting of three *ex-officio* and two specially elected members. Through this important redistribution of power—which, though it leaves the lower branch of the city council shorn of almost its last vestige of authority, yet promises to avoid the distracting scramble of localities for public moneys—"the formulating of something like a scientific budget" is, in the words of the mayor, made possible. This change, as well as his advocacy of a reduction of the school board from a body of twenty-four members to one of nine and the consolidation of the two chambers of the city council into a single chamber of less than half their combined membership, indicates his general tendency to regard city government as more and more a matter of science and of the expert rather than as an expression of the mere formal idea of representation.

The mayor is a member of the Twentieth Century Club, a listener and participant in its important discussions of public questions, and an alert and appreciative inquirer generally. When Mr. Webb, of the London County Council, was in Boston last spring, Mr. Quincy gave in honor of Mr. Webb and his wife a dinner, to which about one hundred guests, largely representing



MAYOR JOSIAH QUINCY, OF BOSTON.

the work of the city government, were invited. Thus in the admirable speech which followed from Mr. Webb the administration was brought into contact with the ideas of the foremost representative of municipal progress in the English-speaking world.

II.

The extension of government functions which Mayor Quincy has brought about has consisted on the one hand in the substitution, in certain branches of public work, of direct labor for the contract system, and on the other in the provision of new facilities for promoting popular health, recreation, and instruction.

For more than a year the city's printing, which for a quarter of a century had been executed under contract, has been done by the newly established municipal printing office, employing its own staff. For a year and a half the city's electrical work has been executed by a newly organized department of electrical construction, which employs about thirty men. The repair division was opened last April, employed during the summer an average of two hundred men representing the various building trades, executes a considerable part of the repairs upon public buildings, and has undertaken some original construction.

In promoting and standing sponsor for these

enterprises, the mayor's emphasis has been not upon any hope of immediate money-saving, but upon the enhanced quality of work realized, the standard conditions of labor maintained, the favorable influence of such conditions upon private standards, and the removal of tendencies toward corrupt politics. As a further step in this same general direction he is favoring the establishment of a pension or retirement system for municipal employees.

Of the enterprises in behalf of health and recreation baths stand first. Eighteen floating baths and bathing beaches belonged to the city in 1897, some of them dating back as far as 1866. Last spring these were turned over from the board of health to a newly constituted baths commission. Their capacity was increased, a dozen more plants were hastily added, the five-cent charge for suits was abandoned, the three-cent charge for towels was reduced to one cent, and soap was supplied for one cent. Thereupon the number of outdoor baths increased from 657,275 in 1897 to nearly 2,000,000 in 1898.

In October the new all-the-year-round bath-house on Dover Street was opened. This sumptuous plant, costing \$90,000 and containing complete separate equipment of shower and tub baths for men and also for women, is entirely free to all, except that a charge of one cent each is made for towel and soap, both of which, however, bathers may if they choose bring with them. A similar institution, reinforced by a swimming-tank, a gymnasium, and a public wash-house, is projected for each of the four or five other industrial districts of the city. For two of these the gymnasiums are already constructed, and the other features will perhaps be added during the year.

Two playgrounds and outdoor gymnasiums are now owned and administered by the park department, and of the \$500,000 which the city has been authorized by the Legislature to spend for small parks and playgrounds, \$200,000 will be expended during the present year. Last summer the mayor obtained leave from the school committee to occupy the school yards, and opened, under the charge of paid matrons, twenty school playgrounds for the use of children. To the same general end a boys' summer camp was inaugurated on one of the city's islands in the harbor, under the charge of a special commission. It was open seven weeks; the stay for a single boy was limited to a week; 100 boys could be accommodated at a time and about 800 were received in all. The average stay was four and one-third days, and the average cost for maintenance \$1.83 per boy per week. The commission in their recent report commend the scheme

and recommend its continuance, with the coöperation if possible of the school authorities.

The most recent venture of the mayor has been the opening, with the aid of an advisory committee, of courses of popular evening lectures, in school and other halls in different parts of the city, similar to the courses which have for several years been so popular in New York.

Indoor concerts, though carried on by many European cities, have probably never before been undertaken by any American municipality. Two series of six each, however, were actually given in Music Hall during the last fall and winter, under the charge of the new music commission. Having been successful in organizing a municipal band of thirty-seven pieces for summer music in the parks, the commission proceeded in the fall to organize a municipal orchestra of thirty-five pieces for winter concerts. The programmes were rendered on Sunday evenings, usually to full houses made up chiefly of wage-earners, and were of a high order. The admission ranged from 10 to 25 cents and practically met the expenses. It is intended next fall to open another series of these concerts. Chamber concerts, rendered by a string quartette with the assistance of a soloist and costing from \$50 to \$60, are also given by the commission on week-day evenings in the more remote districts of the city. These are free, the cost being borne by a private donation. No money has been appropriated by the city for any of this winter music, but it is quite reasonable to expect that when its standing and the demand for it have been more clearly defined, it may be put upon a permanent basis at public cost. A pipe organ, however, has been recently purchased by the city, to be used under the direction of the commission for regular recitals by a municipal organist, and other popular projects are in mind.

In further aid of artistic interests the city gave free use of one of its halls for the recent South End picture exhibition, and the mayor in opening the exhibit expressed the feeling that the city should take up such work directly. The art commission has accordingly been reconstituted and promises to advance from the mere negative function of criticism to certain positive lines of action.

The perfect confidence and quiet *aplomb* with which his honor projects and swiftly executes his various undertakings, shields them from *doctrinaire* challenges and allows them very largely to stand on their own merits and to be classified as merely extensions of traditional principles. The initiation of city plants to do the city's own

printing and electrical construction and repair work is of course only borrowing for these recently expanded fields of municipal industry, the established methods of its water, sewer, bridges, paving, sanitary, and street-cleaning industries. The provision in 1898 of indoor shower-baths is only the deferred winter's complement of the six outdoor summer baths opened in 1866. Small playgrounds, municipal gymnasias, and boys' camps are simply the park system of long standing brought to closer quarters with present facts. Orchestral concerts and picture exhibitions are but the cold-weather editions of the summer concerts on the Common and the landscape decorations in the public gardens—or shall we say, of the music and art departments of the canonical public library.

While the realization of these enterprises has been due chiefly to the mayor, it is only an affirmation of his open-mindedness to say that the original suggestions came from many sources. The local typographical union had long advocated a city printing office; the construction of a free public bath had been urged by a private committee during his first mayoralty campaign; and the development by the city of good popular music was prefigured by the popular organ recitals maintained for two winters in various churches by the Twentieth Century Club. The mayor's ear is certainly open toward the people, and he is certainly able to catch distinctly those suggestions of need which so many official ears either cannot or will not apprehend.

Most mayors come to their office from commercial or professional life where the mass of mankind have been habitually viewed as subjects of profit-making. Mr. Quincy is not one of America's "self-made" men and has never dealt with his fellows as economic agencies. Their primary aspect as human beings with physical, intellectual, and moral endowments is therefore the obvious one to him, and it is interesting in this connection to know that his last annual message, just delivered a few weeks ago, is chiefly devoted to social aspects of municipal government.

Governor Pingree was mayor of Detroit for seven years, and during that period he transformed Detroit into perhaps the most beautiful and progressive of our smaller cities. If Mayor Quincy's three years of official life can be prolonged to six or ten Boston will not only be improved, will not only be, as now, the most humanized of our large cities, but according to existing tendencies will certainly be a substantial type of the new municipal era which is confidently looked for in America.

CONVENTIONS AND OTHER GATHERINGS OF 1899.

IT has been the custom of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for a number of years to set forth in the May number a preliminary account of conventions and gatherings that are to be held during the next six months, and that are of a sufficiently prominent or popular character to interest a considerable number of people. Last year the record was not as full as usual, for the reason, chiefly, that the war with Spain had so engrossed American attention that not a few conventions were postponed. This year will find us at peace with all established nations and entirely free to occupy ourselves with domestic interests of every sort. It is true that the unfortunate skirmishing in the Philippines may not have been entirely ended, but the more formidable aspects of the struggle in those islands is already well passed.

We shall have entered upon the period of great gatherings by participating in an international meeting which must unquestionably stand as a very important milestone in the history of the progress of civilization. The assemblage of the nations at The Hague in response to the Czar's call for a conference to discuss armaments, arbitration, and the gradual lessening of the evils of militarism will not, it is true, be a mass-meeting, nor yet a popular spectacle; and it is not to be supposed that it will have any very great influence upon the tides of summer travel. But it will, at least, attract a considerable number of Americans, as well as people of other nationalities, to the brave little country where the young Queen Wilhelmina is reigning so happily and prosperously. Last year Wilhelmina's coronation drew hosts of people to the Netherlands; and so important an affair as this international peace congress, coming this year, will help to sustain the high-water mark of prosperity that the money of tourists in part brought to Holland in the coronation year.

PARTY CONVENTIONS AND MEETINGS OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REFORMERS.

As for conventions at home, this happens to be what the politicians call an "off year." A twelvemonth hence we shall be on the eve of great Presidential conventions, and the air will be tremulous with the throbbing heat-waves of political excitement. There will this summer, of course, be State conventions and local political activity in such commonwealths as happen to be

electing a governor this coming fall. The most stirring of these State contests will be in Ohio. It is now quite generally supposed that President McKinley will be renominated next year. It would naturally be a great feather in the cap of the Democrats if they could carry the President's own State in the gubernatorial election, or even if they could considerably cut down the recent Republican majorities. Thus the State Republican and Democratic conventions in Ohio will be interesting occasions to the whole country, and the campaign will not be a dull one. The Republican convention is to be held at Columbus on June 1. The Democrats will probably not meet before August. Massachusetts and Iowa, which are the only other Northern States that have to elect their governors this fall, have both of late years been strongly Republican; and there is no indication at present of any very stirring political season in either of those States. Governor Wolcott in Massachusetts and Governor Shaw in Iowa seem to have gained a strong hold upon public confidence, and if they were renominated it is presumable that they would be reelected. The Iowa Republicans will meet at Des Moines on August 2, and the Democrats in the same city two weeks later. In the two border States of Maryland and Kentucky and in the Southern State of Mississippi there will be governors to elect. In the border States, certainly, there will be a very energetic contest, inasmuch as the Democrats will consider Maryland and Kentucky as belonging normally to their party, although both have at present Republican governors.

In Virginia a Democratic convention is to be held at Richmond on May 11 to decide the question of nominating a United States Senator by primaries. It is said that this convention will not only declare in favor of the nomination of Senators by the people, but will adopt resolutions demanding that the two Senators from Virginia shall commit themselves in favor of the adoption by the Senate of an amendment to the Constitution allowing the people to elect the Senators by popular vote. As a possible beginning of a movement for the popular election of Senators, this convention will be an important gathering.

MEETINGS IN THE INTEREST OF REFORMED POLITICS.

The National Social and Political Conference is called to meet at Buffalo, N. Y., on June 28-July 4. This will be a gathering of representa-

tive citizens from all parts of the country who are especially interested in reform movements. Such topics as industrial monopolies, transportation, municipal ownership, expansion and militarism, proportional representation, the single tax, organized labor, direct legislation, and the need of a new party will be under discussion. This will be purely a meeting of conference, no person being bound by any resolutions he does not vote for. The membership will be secured entirely by invitation and the admittance by card. Mr. Eltwed Pomeroy, of Newark, N. J., is the organizer and secretary of the conference.

The third annual convention of the National Good Citizenship League will be held at Cincinnati on May 2-4. This body aims at the unification of reform forces in the promotion of direct legislation through the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and other measures calculated to bring about a selection of the best and most competent candidates for public office.

CITY GOVERNMENT.

The League of American Municipalities, composed principally of officials of American cities, will meet in Syracuse, N. Y., on September 19-22. The programme committee is composed of Mayor Samuel M. Jones, of Toledo, Mayor James M. Gray, of Minneapolis, and Mayor W. C. Flower, of New Orleans.

The next annual meeting of the National Municipal League and seventh annual conference for good city government will be held in Columbus, Ohio, on November 15-17. Most of the time of the convention will be taken up with a discussion of the municipal corporations act provided by the committee on municipal programme, of which Horace E. Deming, Esq., is chairman. The president of the league, James C. Carter, Esq., of New York City, will deliver the annual address.

SOCIAL SCIENCE.

The American Social Science Association will hold its annual meeting at Saratoga on September 4-8. The departments of health, jurisprudence, finance, social economy, education, and art will hold meetings on successive days. The annual address of the president, the Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, will be given on the first night of the session. Probably a good deal of attention will be given to fiscal problems relating to the government of colonies.

The American Public Health Association will meet at Indianapolis on October 31 and will remain in session four days. The second annual meeting of the International Woman's Health

League will be held at Cleveland, Ohio, on May 9-11.

The National Conference of Charities and Correction will be held this year at Cincinnati on



PROF. E. ORAM LYTE,

President of the National Educational Association.

May 17-23, under the presidency of Prof. Charles R. Henderson, of the University of Chicago. It is believed that the attendance at this meeting will be as large as that of the great meeting in New York last year. Mayor Samuel M. Jones, of Toledo, Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden, Mr. Horace Fletcher, Dr. E. T. Devine, Mr. Homer Folks, Miss Mary Wilcox Brown, and Secretary Hastings H. Hart are among those who will deliver addresses at the different sessions of the conference. The annual conference sermon, on Sunday, May 21, will be preached by President John Henry Barrows, of Oberlin College. A prominent place on the programme is given to the subject of reformatories and industrial schools.

The National Prison Association of the United States will meet in Hartford, Conn., on September 23-27. There will be reports from the standing committees on the subjects of criminal law reform, prison discipline, preventive and reformatory work, care of discharged prisoners, the work of the prison physician, and the police force in cities. There will be addresses on "The Indeterminate Sentence," by Charlton T. Lewis; on "Prison Labor," by the Hon. Carroll D. Wright; "Some Elements in Prison Reform," by President W. F. Slocum, of Colorado College.

The fifteenth annual convention of the National



PROF. EDWARD S. ORTON,
President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Association of Officials of Bureaus of Labor Statistics in the United States will be held in Augusta, Maine, on July 12-14. The Hon. Carroll D. Wright will address the convention.

EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND PROFESSIONAL GATHERINGS.

The large attendance and marked interest which characterize the annual meetings of professional men and women in America have been noted more than once by foreign visitors among us. In these great gatherings, and especially in those held in the interest of education, the enthusiasm is often hardly less intense, if less demonstrative, than in our political conventions. Delegates and members travel long distances for the sake of attending these meetings. To be chosen as a "convention city" is an honor diligently sought and highly prized by the most ambitious of American towns.

THE TEACHERS AT LOS ANGELES.

This summer Los Angeles, the metropolis of southern California, will be the objective point of thousands of American teachers. This attractive city has been selected as the meeting-place of the National Educational Association, which will visit the Pacific coast for the first time in eleven years. So much depends on the city's

capacity for the entertainment of so vast a throng of visitors as the N. E. A. meeting is sure to bring that a special canvass of facilities has been made by the local committee, and it has been found that the hotels and rooming-houses offer accommodations for more than 20,000 people, while hundreds of private houses will throw open their doors during the session of the convention on July 11-14. Experience of past years shows, however, that all the accommodations Los Angeles has to offer are likely to be called in requisition. The railroads have made exceptionally favorable terms for transportation, and many Easterners will avail themselves of the opportunity to make the famous overland trip. The association's president this year is Prof. E. Oram Lyte, of Pennsylvania.

THE LIBRARIANS AT ATLANTA.

The American Library Association, an organization which seeks to develop and strengthen the public library as an essential part of the educational system, will hold its twenty-first general meeting at Atlanta, Ga., on May 8-13. The special significance of this fact is that the section of the country in which the meeting will be held has not as yet been blessed with an abundance of



PROF. CHARLES R. HENDERSON,
President of the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

public libraries, and it is hoped that interest may be stimulated. The president of the association is Librarian Lane, of Harvard University.

ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science, the representative scientific body of the United States, will hold this year's meeting at Columbus, Ohio, beginning August 21. Prof. Edward S. Orton, of the Ohio State University, is the president of the general association, and the other officers of the meeting will be well-known university professors and officials of scientific institutions.

Together with the meeting of the general association will be held meetings of the following affiliated societies: American Forestry Association, Geological Society of America, American Chemical Society, Society for the Promotion of Agricultural Science, Association of Economic Entomologists, American Mathematical Society, Society for the Promotion of Engineering Education, American Folk-Lore Society, National Geographic Society, Botanical Society of America, and American Microscopical Society.

The main association now numbers about 1,800 members, of whom about 800 are fellows.

The British Association is to meet at Dover on September 13; Prof. Michael Foster, the eminent physiologist, will preside.

The American Philological Association will meet at New York University, University Heights, New York City, on July 5-7.

The next meeting of the American Fisheries Society will be held at Niagara Falls on June 28-29. The papers will be devoted to the results of scientific investigation into fish life and habits, fish culture, its progress, and kindred subjects.

The seventeenth congress of the American Ornithologists' Union will meet in Philadelphia on November 14-16.

PHYSICIANS AND LAWYERS.

Of the learned professions, the one best represented by national conventions this year seems to be the medical. Not less than a dozen such gatherings have been announced for the coming months. The first of these will be the annual meeting of the Association of American Physicians, to be held in Washington, D. C., on May 2-4. The president of this body is Dr. G. Baumgarten, of St. Louis.

The American Medical Association is to hold its convention this year at Columbus, Ohio, on June 6. Several auxiliary societies will meet at the same time and place. In the meantime the American Psychological and the American Laryngological associations will have met in New York City and Chicago, respectively, between May 22 and May 26. A little later will occur the annual meeting of the American Neurological Association

at Atlantic City, N. J., on June 14-16. The meeting of the American Surgical Association is announced for Chicago on May 31-June 2.

The American Institute of Homeopathy will hold its fifty-fifth session at Atlantic City on



DR. BENJAMIN F. BAILEY,

President of the American Institute of Homeopathy.

June 20-24. This is said to be the oldest national medical society in the United States, and the Atlantic City meeting, under the presidency of Dr. Benjamin F. Bailey, of Lincoln, Neb., promises to be the largest in its history. During the last week of June the International Hahnemannian Association will assemble at Niagara Falls. The National Eclectic Medical Association, of which Dr. David Williams, of Columbus, Ohio, is the president, will hold its next meeting at Detroit on June 20-22. The American Veterinary Medical Association, with a number of auxiliary societies, will meet in New York City on September 5-7.

The American Association of Physicians and Surgeons announces its purpose to unite in one common effort physicians of all schools, regardless of "pathy." Its principles are so liberal that any physician recognized by the State may become a member. The association has a vice-president in each State of the Union, and the organization includes physicians of all the schools. The next annual meeting will be held in Chicago on May 31-June 3. The president is Dr. L. D. Rogers, of Chicago, and the permanent secretary Dr. R. C. Kelsey, of the same city.

The Association of Military Surgeons of the United States will meet in Kansas City, Mo., on September 27-29 for discussion of matters relating to the sanitation, surgery, and medicine of war or of military organizations in peace. The president of this body is Lieut.-Col. Jefferson D. Griffiths, of Kansas City. The secretary is Maj. James E. Pilcher, U. S. A. The membership of the association includes medical officers of the regular army, volunteers, and national guard. The session will last three-days and will include the presentation of about sixty papers.

At Buffalo, N. Y., on August 28-30, will occur, the annual meeting of the American Bar Association, to be followed immediately by that of the International Law Association, which has accepted an invitation to meet in the United States this year.

ENGINEERS AND ARCHITECTS.

For the engineers of the country the following conventions have been announced: The American Society of Civil Engineers at Cape May, N. J., during the last week in June; the American Society of Mechanical Engineers at Washington, D. C., on May 9-12; the American Institute of Mining Engineers at San Francisco in October, and the American Institute of Electrical Engineers at Boston in June.

The exact date of the annual convention of the American Institute of Architects has not yet been fixed, but it will occur in Pittsburg some time in the early part of November. The programme has not yet been arranged.

MUSICIANS.

For the musicians of the country, both professional and amateur, several attractive conventions have been announced. The National Federation of Musical Clubs will hold its first biennial meeting at St. Louis on May 3-6. The organization of this federation took place in Chicago only a little more than a year ago. Members of all musical clubs, whether federated or not, are invited to be present and take part in the discussions. The chief purpose of the federation is the mutual helpfulness of clubs by bringing them into communication with one another and thereby advancing musical art.

At the convention of the National Music Teachers at Cincinnati, on June 21-23, an effort will be made to perform representative works of American composers under the direction of an able conductor and with the aid of a permanent symphony orchestra. Prof. Arnold J. Gantvoort, of the Cincinnati College of Music, will act as president, and the conductor will be Mr. Frank Van Der Stucken.

During the following week the people of Cincinnati will have the privilege of listening to music furnished by the North American Saengerbund. There will be a chorus of 4,000 male singers and the combined Cincinnati and Chicago symphony orchestras. Several important works will be performed under the direction of Mr. Louis Ehrgott.

The American Federation of Musicians and the National League of Musicians of the United States will both hold sessions in Milwaukee on May 9-12.

SUMMER SCHOOLS.

The discontinuance during the last year or two of certain summer schools that were once well patronized may have led to the inference that the summer-school movement in this country is on the decline. While it may possibly be true that the total number of summer schools holding sessions in 1899 will be somewhat less than the number of such institutions, say, three or four years ago, it should not be inferred from this that the actual amount of scholastic work done during the summer months in this country has suffered a decrease. On the contrary, it is probably true that a larger number of teachers and students will be occupied in such work during the coming summer than at any previous time in our history. The fact is that summer work has been more effectively organized all along the line. Colleges and universities which a few years ago were practically closed for nearly or quite three months of the year are now throwing open a considerable part of their equipment for the use of summer students. There is a marked tendency, east and west, to dignify this summer work of the universities and colleges—if not altogether to follow the example of the University of Chicago in making the summer quarter equivalent with any other three months of the calendar year in courses offered. Meanwhile the long-established summer schools for the special training of teachers and the "assemblies" for biblical study have added to their facilities, and are now stronger than ever before in point of teaching faculties and bodies of students.

CHAUTAUQUA.

Chautauqua has during the past year been thoroughly reorganized. An endowment for the support of summer classes has been begun by the contribution of \$50,000. A vigorous campaign will be carried on for the increase of this fund and for the securing of needed buildings.

For the public lecture courses of the coming season the chief topics will be American history, social life, art, and literature. Among many lecturers the following may be mentioned: Governor Roosevelt will speak on "National Army Day;" Prof. John Fiske will give a course of lectures on the "Early Colonial Period;" Dr. Edward Everett Hale, a course of lectures on the "Revolutionary Era;" Prof. A. B. Hart, of Harvard, a course of six lectures on "The American and the Spaniard;" Prof. A. M. Wheeler, of Yale, a course of six lectures on "The Foreign Relations of the United States." There will also be a series of brilliantly illustrated lectures on Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines. Among others who will speak during the summer are President G. Stanley Hall, President John Henry Barrows, Hon. George R. Wendling, Miss Susan B. Anthony, Dr. George Hodges, Dr. J. M. Buckley, Miss Susan Hale, Prof. Caleb T. Winchester, Bishop Galloway, Gov. G. W. Atkinson, Dr. Luther Gulick, Dr. Walter L. Hervey, Bishop Vincent, and Mr. William Armstrong.

The department of pedagogy, under the charge of Dr. Walter L. Hervey, of New York, has been greatly strengthened for the coming season. President G. Stanley Hall, of Clark University, in addition to popular lectures, will give a regular course of instruction for teachers. Instruction in all college and university subjects will be given by teachers from leading institutions. The school of modern languages will be strengthened by a course in Spanish under the charge of Prof. Henri Marion, of the Naval Academy at Annapolis.

Another new department will be a series of lectures designed for parents and teachers. These classes will be under the charge of Dr. Luther Gulick, of Springfield, Mass., assisted by parents and teachers. Such subjects as children's lies, methods of punishment, children's plays, their social life, etc., will be discussed, not from the standpoint of an abstract psychology, but upon the basis of the concrete experiences of careful students.

The annual convention of the National Association of Elocutionists will be held at Chautauqua at the end of June, while the American Association for Teaching Speech to the Deaf will hold its biennial gathering about the middle of July.

THE CATHOLIC SUMMER SCHOOL.

The Catholic Summer School of America, located at Cliff Haven, N. Y., on Lake Champlain, will hold a session of seven weeks beginning July 9. Among the speakers there will be representatives from the Catholic University at

Washington and from many of the leading colleges. Systematic courses of lectures are arranged, dealing with the progress of social science, recent developments in the study of biology, will power in the domain of ethics, character studies of authors and statesmen, episodes of American history, including the war with Spain, and a number of talks at the piano illustrating famous musical compositions.

During the six weeks special provision will be made for instruction on approved lines to secure the professional advancement of teachers. The main object kept in view by the management is to increase the facilities for busy people, as well as for those of leisure, to pursue lines of study in various departments of knowledge by providing opportunity to get instruction from men who are specialists.

A SUMMER COURSE IN AGRICULTURE.

A new departure in summer-school work will be inaugurated at Orchard Farm, Ghent, N. Y., during July and August, by a course of instruction in agriculture and horticulture which will be given to a limited number of young men and women who are interested in this field. The course will cover agricultural chemistry, the philosophy of soil tillage, horticulture with its different branches of fruit-growing and gardening, diseases of trees and plants, insects and their treatment, the breeding of horses and cows and other animals, markets, both home and foreign, and the economic management of labor. This enterprise is under the direction of Mr. George T. Powell.

SUMMER WORK AT HARVARD.

The programme of the Harvard Summer School for the present year includes the classics and the modern languages, with four courses in English composition, courses in Anglo-Saxon and Shakespeare. There will also be courses in history and government, psychology, education and teaching, and principles of design. In sciences there will be courses in physics, chemistry, botany, geology, geography, and astronomy, and also courses in mathematics, topographical engineering, and shop work, with two courses in physical training. Work will begin on July 5 and continue six weeks. The work will be done on the intensive method, which prevents a student's taking more than one course with any degree of satisfaction.

A NEW DEPARTURE AT CORNELL.

Cornell University now offers a summer session of the university, instead of a summer school as heretofore. This is in line with the tendency already noted among our higher institutions of

learning. This summer session entirely displaces the volunteer summer courses heretofore offered. All summer professors and instructors for 1899 are to be regularly appointed and paid by the university. A large proportion of the courses will be conducted by the regular professors.

An interesting feature of the work at Cornell is what is known as the School of Nature Study. In the summer of 1899 instruction will be given in three departments—namely, insect life, plant life, and on the farm. The instruction will consist of lectures, text-book work, laboratory work, and field excursions.

WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY.

The summer session of the University of West Virginia was so successful last year that it has become a permanent feature of the institution. With the regular college work of the summer term is combined a series of general lectures. The summer quarter is an integral part of the university year, and work during that quarter counts toward a degree the same as work in any other quarter. All the departments of the university will be in full operation. In addition to the regular faculty eminent specialists from other institutions will lecture.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY.

The New York University has issued its announcement of summer courses for the coming season. The term extends from July 10 to August 18, and includes courses in mathematics, chemistry, biology, physics, history, Germanic languages, Latin and Greek, and psychology. Situated in the northern portion of New York City, this institution has some unusual advantages for summer work.

RELIGIOUS GATHERINGS.

CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR.

In point of attendance and popular interest the annual gatherings of the great young people's societies of the country have been the most important religious meetings for several years past. The season of 1899 promises to prove no exception to this rule. We are informed that the interest in the Christian Endeavor convention, to be held at Detroit on July 5-10, is unusual. The growth of this great society has been so phenomenal that it has been difficult for our annual record to keep pace with it. At present the total enrollment is over 55,000 societies, with a membership of 3,250,000. The programme of the convention for this year has been somewhat changed. The opening session will be

held in one of the great tents, and the officers and trustees will hold an immense informal reception of the delegates. On the next day the president's annual address will be delivered by Dr. Clark, the general secretary's annual report will be read, and the anniversary sermon will be preached. General Secretary Baer promises a list of speakers for the six days' meetings such as has never been equaled at any previous Christian Endeavor convention. Among those provisionally announced we note such well-known names as those of Bishop Vincent, President J. H. Barrows, of Oberlin, Dr. David James Burrell, of New York City, Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman, of Philadelphia, Bishop Fallows, Dr. Wayland Hoyt, Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis, of Plymouth Church, Dr. P. S. Henson, of Chicago, Dr. Charles E. Jefferson, of New York City, President Booker T. Washington, of Tuskegee, and many others. Detroit is rapidly gaining prominence as a convention city, and it is a good point from which to make lake and river excursions.

Y. M. C. A.

In another Michigan city, somewhat earlier in the year, will be held the International Convention of the Young Men's Christian Associations. The date set for this gathering, which will be held at Grand Rapids, is May 25-28. From the provisional programme we learn that there will be several features of exceptional interest. For example, one evening will be devoted to work in the army and navy, Rear Admiral Philip presiding, and Commander Wadhams, of the New Orleans Navy Yard, making an address. An extensive exhibit will be made of the educational work of the city and railroad associations and junior departments and the methods of Bible study in all associations, including those in colleges. There will also be an exhibition of publications, blanks, etc., connected with the physical department. The last evening of the convention will be devoted to the interests of the 200,000,000 young men in non-Christian lands. Prominent speakers from all parts of the country will address the convention, which is a delegate body.

THE NORTHFIELD CONFERENCES AND SCHOOL FOR BIBLE STUDY.

The Northfield (Mass.) Summer Conferences and School for Bible Study, under the direction of D. L. Moody, cover the season from June to September, including three large conferences and, between the sessions, Bible lessons given by prominent teachers.

The World's Student Conference, which is under the direction of the Young Men's Christian

Association, marks the opening of the summer school. Beginning on June 30, it continues through July 9. Appointed delegates have come from Britain, Scandinavia, Germany, India, China, and other foreign countries where student movements, outgrowth of the American movement, now exist. The aim of this conference is the deepening and strengthening of the religious life in the individual student and through him the spiritual life of the whole college, practical training in the conduct of student Bible classes, and other departments of Christian work in college.

The list of speakers includes the Rev. William H. P. Faunce, D.D., the Rev. A. F. Schauffler, D.D., Dean George Hodges, D.D., Mr. R. E. Speer, Mr. R. N. Wilder, Mr. John R. Mott, and Prof. W. W. White. It is expected that Prof. George Adam Smith, of Glasgow, will also be present. The platform meetings of this as of the following conference are open to all.

The second conference is that of the Young Women's Christian Association, lasting from July 13 through July 24. The aim is similar in its bearing upon the work of young women to that of the previous conference. In addition to the departments on college work, Bible, and missionary study, is included consideration of Christian work among city young women.

From July 24 until August 1 and from August 21 to 31 Bible lectures will be given daily by teachers of unquestioned ability and of wide reputation. These lectures will furnish material for thoughtful study which may be pursued at greater leisure than is possible during the frequent meetings of the conferences.

The General Conference for Christian Workers, the oldest, largest, and best known of the Northfield gatherings, opens on Wednesday, August 2, and continues through Sunday, August 20. Every session of this conference is open to all.

OTHER STUDENT CONFERENCES.

Besides the Northfield conference of the Young Women's Christian Associations mentioned above, two other conferences will be held by these associations during the summer. The first occurs at Asheville, N. C., on June 16-27. The second at Geneva, Wis., on June 30-July 11. At the three conferences last year over 800 delegates were present, and even larger representations are expected this summer. These conferences are largely made up of young women from the colleges, although there are also many representatives from the great cities. Among the speakers this year will be the Rev. Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman, Mr. Robert A. Speer, Prof. W. W. Moore, Mr. John R. Mott, and Miss E. K. Price.

The officers of the Young Men's Christian Association have issued an attractive announcement of the courses of instruction for general secretaries and physical directors offered by their summer training school at Lake Geneva. There are each year a series of student conferences corresponding with the conference already mentioned under the auspices of the Y. W. C. A. at the same place. The conference beginning this year on June 16 and ending on June 25 will be the tenth. Eloquent platform speakers will take part. The summer school proper occupies the month beginning July 26.

THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL UNION.

One of the great interdenominational societies of the country is the American Sunday-School Union, which will celebrate its seventy-fifth anniversary at Philadelphia on May 24 and 25. This is the oldest and largest Sunday-school missionary society in the United States. It has organized over 100,000 Sunday-schools, containing more than 500,000 teachers and 4,000,000 scholars. Among the topics to be discussed at the forthcoming conference will be "The Sunday-School as an Evangelizing Agency," "The History of the Sunday-School Movement," "Needs of the Rural Districts," "Our Work Among the Colored People," "Work Among the Mountain Whites," "Work Among the Chinese," "Work Among the Indians," and "Work Among the Mexicans and on the Frontier." Such well-known speakers as Mr. D. L. Moody, Dr. A. F. Schauffler, Dr. J. M. Crowell, Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis, Dr. Addison P. Foster, Bishop McVickar, Mr. William E. Dodge, Rear Admiral Philip, and Gen. Joseph Wheeler will address the meetings. The president of the organization is Mr. Morris K. Jesup, of New York City.

BROTHERHOOD OF ANDREW AND PHILIP.

The Federal Convention of the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip will be held at Baltimore on November 17-19. This convention embraces all the denominations and is held biennially, the denominational brotherhoods holding their conventions the alternate years. The attendance at this convention will be several hundred delegates, representing about 500 chapters and 15,000 men found in 19 denominations and 33 States and provinces. The Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip is similar to the Brotherhood of St. Andrew of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which will meet at Columbus, Ohio, in October.

YOUNG PEOPLE IN DENOMINATIONAL MEETINGS.

Among the important denominational gatherings of young people the fourth International

Conference of the Epworth League of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to be held at Indianapolis on July 20-23, will have a prominent place. This will be a joint conference of all branches of Methodists in America. Half a dozen bishops of the Methodist Church and five Methodist governors will grace the occasion. Both Senators Fairbanks and Beveridge, of Indiana, are members of the local committee of Indianapolis and are active in furthering the interests of the meeting. The two definite themes to be considered are, first, "Unity of American Methodism," and, second, "Christian Citizenship." A whole day is to be given up to the question of citizenship, culminating in a banquet in the evening, with addresses by Bishop Fowler on "Abraham Lincoln," by General Gordon on "The Last Days of the Confederacy," and by Dr. Potts, of Canada, and General Wallace, of Indiana, on "Anglo-American Relations."

The ninth International Convention of the Baptist Young People's Union of America will be held in Richmond, Va., on July 13-16. The organization includes the Baptist churches in the United States and Canada. While it is a denominational society, it does not insist upon uniformity of name or constitution. Its distinctive feature is its educational work. This is embodied in its "Christian Culture" courses, known respectively as the Bible Reader's Course, Sacred Literature Course, and the Conquest Missionary Course. Each of these extend through four years and is supplemented by an annual examination. The number of papers submitted at the last examination is said to have exceeded 13,000. Eminent speakers of the Baptist denomination, North and South, will be represented on the programme of the conference. The city of Richmond will extend to her guests a true Southern welcome. Delegates will make side trips to Washington and other points of interest.

The eleventh annual convention of the United Society of Free Baptist Young People will be held at Hillsdale, Mich., on September 6-10.

The Decennial Jubilee Convention of the Young People's Christian Union of the Universalist Church is to be held at Lynn, Mass., on July 12-19. The society cele-

brates its decennial anniversary in the place of its birth. There are two Universalist churches in Lynn and fifteen or twenty more within a radius of ten miles. The convention will be held in the Lynn First Church (Dr. J. M. Pullman's).

MISSIONARY MEETINGS.

A number of important missionary meetings will be held during the coming six months. What are known as the "May Anniversaries" of the Baptists are distinctively missionary gatherings. These will be held this year at San Francisco on May 30 and 31. An important feature of the home mission meeting will be an historical address on "Fifty Years in Home Mission Work on the Pacific Coast," by Dr. H. L. Morehouse. Gen. T. J. Morgan will deliver an address on "Twentieth-Century Home Missions."

The next annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions will be held in Providence, R. I., during either the first or second week in October, the exact date not having yet been determined. The annual sermon will be preached by the Rev. George C. Adams, of San Francisco. Dr. C. M. Lamson will preside, and it is hoped that the Rev. Dr. Fairbairn, of England, will deliver an address.

The seventy-third annual meeting of the Congregational Home Missionary Society will be held at Hartford on May 23-25. President Barrows, of Oberlin, will preach the annual sermon. Gen. O. O. Howard, the president of the society, will deliver an address. Senator Haw-



MEETING-PLACE ON LAKE GENEVA, WIS., OF THE STUDENT CONFERENCES.

ley, of Connecticut, Dr. J. D. Kingsbury, of Massachusetts, and Dr. Lyman Abbott, of New York, will speak on "Home Missions and the Nation's Larger Responsibilities."

Another organization conducted by the Con-



DR. W. G. PUDDFOOT,

Field secretary of the Congregational Home Missionary Society.

gregationalists is the American Missionary Association, whose field of work is in the United States, especially among the negroes, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and Alaskans. New work has just been projected in Porto Rico. These fields will be reported upon at the fifty-third annual meeting of the association, which will be held this year at Binghamton, N. Y., on October 17-19. The president of the association is the Rev. Dr. F. A. Noble, of Chicago. The annual sermon will be preached by the Rev. Dr. Cornelius H. Patton, of Missouri.

Among the missionary meetings to be held by women will be the convention of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of Friends at Marion, Ind., on May 18-21. The programme includes addresses by returned missionaries and prominent workers and a discussion of the missionary training of children.

The National Convention of the Christian Woman's Board of Missions will be held in Cincinnati on October 12-15. This will be the silver anniversary of this board, which was organized in Cincinnati in October, 1874.

The sixteenth annual meeting of the International Missionary Union will be held at Clifton

Springs, N. Y., on June 14-20. All foreign missionaries of evangelical denominations are eligible to membership and entitled to entertainment. The conference will give special attention to sociological, political, philological, scientific, and literary aspects of missions. A suggestive syllabus has been prepared.

THE CONGREGATIONALISTS IN INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL.

Among the distinctively denominational gatherings of the year, one of the most important will be the International Congregational Council, to be held in Boston on September 20-28. The first of these councils was held in London in 1891 and was so successful that it was at once determined that the Congregationalists of the British Isles, America, and the colonies should meet in conference at least once in a decade. The full quota of delegates would admit 600 persons, but it can hardly be expected that this number will be present. Nearly one-half of the 200 American delegates have already been chosen. Of the English delegates Dr. Macken-
nal, Rev. W. J. Woods, secretary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, Dr. Wardlaw Thompson, and Albert Spicer have already been appointed. Dr. Fairbairn, of Oxford, will preach the opening convention sermon. Among the Americans who will address the convention will be Dr. George Harris, Dr. George P. Fisher, D. Richard S. Storrs, Prof. Graham Taylor, Dr. Lyman Abbott, and Presidents Angell, Eliot, and Hyde.

PRESBYTERIAN ASSEMBLIES.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America will meet at Minneapolis on May 18, and its sessions will probably continue for from ten to twelve days. The moderator, the Rev. Dr. Wallace Radcliffe, of Washington, D. C., will preach the opening sermon. The public meetings of the assembly will all be devoted to educational and mission work. On the same date, in Richmond, Va., will meet the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, commonly known as the Presbyterian Church South. The forty-first General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church will meet in Philadelphia on May 24 and continue in session about a week. The Cumberland Presbyterian General Assembly will be held in Denver on May 18 and will probably continue until May 25 or 26.

VARIOUS DENOMINATIONAL BODIES.

The General Synod of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America will assemble in Catskill,

N. Y., on June 7. The work of this body is similar to that of the corresponding organizations of the Presbyterian churches.

The Reformed (German) Church in the United States will hold the triennial session of its General Synod at Tiffin, Ohio, on May 23.

The biennial convention of the Universalists will be held in Boston on October 17. The convention will consider several propositions for amendments to the constitution referring to a larger representation and the laws of the convention relating to fellowship. It will also confirm or reject the statement of principles adopted at Chicago two years ago.

The American Unitarian Association, under the presidency of Hon. Carroll D. Wright, of Washington, will hold its annual meeting in Boston on May 30.

The nineteenth annual session of the National Baptist Convention will be held in Nashville on September 13-18. The programme of the meeting has not yet been arranged.

TEMPERANCE MEETINGS.

This year's meeting of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America at Chicago on August 9-12 will be notable as the semi-centennial celebration of the visit of Father Mathew to this country. This organization has grown to be the largest fraternal body in the Catholic Church. It has under its jurisdiction 925 societies with a membership of over 80,000. It is expected that more than 1,000 delegates will gather in Chicago from all parts of the Union.

The National Women's Christian Temperance Union will meet this year in Seattle, Wash., on October 20-25, but as yet the programme is not formulated.

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATIONS.

THE TRANS MISSISSIPPI CONGRESS.

The tenth session of the Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress will be held at Wichita, Kan., on May 31-June 3. The object of this congress is to promote the business interests and develop the resources of the States and Territories west of the Mississippi River. The subjects of irrigation, river improvement, water transportation, Western trade, mining, the beet-sugar industry, homestead laws, and other topics of special interest to the great West will be discussed by the congress. The Hon. Hugh Craig, ex-president of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, is president of the congress. The governor of each State and Territory may appoint ten delegates and the mayor of each city

may appoint one delegate and one additional delegate for each 5,000 inhabitants, provided that no city may have more than ten delegates. The executive officer of each county may appoint one delegate and each business organization may appoint one delegate for each fifty members, provided that no such organization may have more than ten delegates.

EXPOSITIONS.

The Greater America Exposition, to be held at Omaha on July 1-November 1, has been projected with a view to illustrating the products and resources of the United States, and particularly of Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands, as well as the manners, habits, and industrial capacity of the people of those islands. About fifty of the natives of each of these islands will be present. The grounds and buildings occupied by the Trans-Mississippi Exposition last year will be utilized, and are now undergoing certain landscape and other changes.

The exposition to be held in Philadelphia in September, October, and November of the present year will be under the auspices of the Philadelphia Commercial Museums and the Franklin Institute. The exposition will be the first



PRINCIPAL FAIRBAIRN, OF OXFORD.

(Who will attend the Congressional council at Boston.)

national exposition of American manufactures specially suited for the export trade ever held. The United States Government, the State of Pennsylvania, and the city of Philadelphia have all appropriated money for the aid of the enterprise. In connection with the exposition the second International Commercial Congress, composed of representatives of the international advisory board of the Commercial Museums, will be held. The leading commercial organizations of Latin-America, South Africa, Australia, China, and Japan, as well as the American chambers of commerce and boards of trade, will be represented. The successor of the late Dr. William Pepper as president of the Commercial Museums is Mr. Charles Henry Cramp, of the celebrated ship-building firm.

CONVENTIONS OF FINANCIERS AND MANUFACTURERS.

The fourth annual convention of the National Association of Credit Men is announced for Buffalo, N. Y., on June 6-8. It is said that the membership of this body represents nearly \$1,000,000,000 of capital invested in business. About one-half of this amount is represented by New York City. The membership of over 5,000 comprises leading financiers and representatives of wholesale houses. The American Bankers' Association is to meet at Cleveland in October.

The New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association will meet at the Crawford House, in the White Mountains, on September 27-29, and listen to papers on subjects of a technical nature pertaining to the manufacture of cotton, and generally avoiding commercial questions. The National Paint, Oil, and Varnish Association will hold its annual meeting at Cleveland, Ohio, on October 10-12.

The American Association of Traveling Passenger Agents will meet in Denver on September 19-29. The Master Car Builders will hold their annual convention at Old Point Comfort, Va., on June 14. The national convention of Railroad Commissioners will be held at Denver on August 10.

The annual meeting of the United States League of Local Building and Loan Associations will take place at Niagara Falls on July 26-28.

AGRICULTURAL AND HORTICULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS.

The National Farmers' Congress meets in Boston on October 3-6. The National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry will hold its next session on November 15 in the State of Ohio, but the precise place of meeting has not yet been determined.

The twenty-sixth biennial session of the American Pomological Society will be held in Horti-



REV. FATHER A. P. DOYLE.

Secretary of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union.

culture Hall, Philadelphia, on September 7-8. This society has been characterized as the strongest association of fruit-growers in the world, having maintained an unbroken existence since its organization in 1848. It is devoted to the promotion of fruit culture in all its branches. The programme includes papers by well-known specialists.

LABOR MEETINGS.

The most important meetings of the labor organizations occur very late in the year. Thus the American Federation of Labor, representing a large number of unions in various occupations, will not hold its annual convention until the second Monday in December, at Detroit, Mich. In the intervening months, however, several of the more important organizations belonging to the federation will hold conventions. For example, the Amalgamated Association of Iron Workers will meet at Detroit on May 16 to formulate a scale of wages to govern all the mills under the jurisdiction of this great organization for the years 1899-1900. In the same city, on August 14, will be held the annual convention of the International Typographical Union.

The Knights of Labor, the only real rival in

this country of the American Federation as a general organization, will meet this year in Boston on November 14.

The National Bricklayers' Alliance will meet in Springfield, Ill., on May 2.

The fourth biennial convention of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen will be held at New Orleans on May 8. The American Railway Master Mechanics' Association will meet in convention at Old Point Comfort, Va., on June 19.

The National Association of Railway Postal Clerks will meet at Indianapolis on June 3, and the National Association of Letter Carriers at Scranton, Pa., on September 4.

PATRIOTIC MEETINGS AND CELEBRATIONS.

DESCENDANTS OF REVOLUTIONARY SIRES.

The National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution will meet with the Michigan Society at Detroit on May 1, preceded by a Sunday church service, at which the chaplain-general, Rev. Rufus W. Clark, D.D., will preach a sermon. Senator Depew, president of the Empire State Society, will be one of the distinguished guests. The triennial meeting of the Sons of the Revolution was held in April. The Daughters of the Revolution held their annual convention in Philadelphia on April 24. The triennial meeting of the Sons of the Cincinnati will be held in New York City during the month of May.

CIVIL WAR REUNIONS.

The Grand Army of the Republic will hold its thirty-third national encampment and reunion in Philadelphia on September 4-9. On the afternoon of the first day there will be a parade of the Naval Veterans, who annually meet with the Grand Army. The general parade of the G. A. R. itself will take place on the second day, and in the evening addresses are expected from many distinguished men, including President McKinley. Various excursions will be made to points of interest in the vicinity of Philadelphia.

In the week following the G. A. R. encampment the Union Veteran Legion will meet at Baltimore.

On October 4-5 the Society of the Army of the Potomac, the membership of which is now estimated at 2,500, will hold its thirtieth reunion at Pittsburg, with a parade and public exercises. The Society of the Army of the Tennessee has decided to meet in Chicago the coming fall, but the exact date of the meeting is still undetermined; it will probably be during October.

CONFEDERATE ORGANIZATIONS.

The annual meeting and reunion of the United Confederate Veterans will be held in Charleston, S. C., on May 10-13. The annual memorial ceremonies will be held in Magnolia Cemetery on May 10. At the same time and place the United Sons of Confederate Veterans will hold their annual reunion.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy is a national organization composed of Southern women and has a membership list of not less than 3,000. The national convention of this body will



MR. CHARLES HENRY CRAMP,

President of the Philadelphia Commercial Museums.

be held in Richmond, Va., on November 8, under the presidency of Mrs. Katie Cabell Currie, of Dallas, Texas.

OTHER PATRIOTIC OCCASIONS.

On September 15 will occur at Indianapolis a reunion of a society which must now be much depleted in numbers—the National Association of Mexican War Veterans.

The national encampment of the commandery-in-chief of the Sons of Veterans will take place in Detroit, probably the third week in September.

The national encampment of the Patriotic Order Sons of America will meet in biennial session in New Haven, Conn., on September 26.

A national peace jubilee, in celebration of the victories of our army and navy in the war with

Spain, will be held in Washington, D. C., on May 23-25. The exercises of the three days will consist chiefly of military and civic parades, historical pageants, and patriotic addresses. On September 4-6, also in Washington, will occur a reunion of veterans of the Spanish-American War.

The anniversary of Lincoln's emancipation proclamation will be celebrated at Warrenton, Va., on September 22.

OTHER GATHERINGS.

THE WHEELMEN AT BOSTON AND AT MONTREAL.

It is believed that the twentieth annual meet of the League of American Wheelmen at Boston on August 14-19 will be attended by 40,000 wheelmen from all parts of the United States. Boston enjoys the distinction of being the pioneer city in the history of American cycling. The L. A. W. was originated in Boston. Boston, it is said, had the first bicycle club, rode the first bicycle that came to America, made the first American bicycle, held the first bicycle race of America, and is first in nearly everything that pertains to cycling. Boston also boasts of a park system as yet unequalled in America. Completely encircling Boston, and in some cases ex-

tending for a distance of 15 miles from the State House, is nearly 14,000 acres, or about 22 square miles, of woodland and valley, lake and stream, embracing miles of seacoast and including both banks of three charming rivers—the Charles, the Mystic, and the Neponset—together with the beautiful lakes and the shores of Quincy Bay. The entire system is threaded by miles of finest macadam roads and bicycle paths. Suburban Boston, especially the Newtons and Brookline, has long been the favorite rendezvous for cyclists. The details of the programme of the meet include century runs, bath runs, runs through the park system, historical runs, moonlight runs, and almost every other form of diversion known to the American cyclist.

The International Cyclists' Association, an organization founded in 1892 for the holding of the world's cycling championships and for the general regulation of international cycle-racing, is to meet this year at Montreal, Canada, on August 7-12, under the auspices of the Canadian Wheelmen's Association. This body comprises in its membership Australia, Belgium, Canada, Cape Colony, Denmark, England, France, Germany, Austria, Holland, Ireland, Italy, Mexico, Norway, New Zealand, Scotland, Sweden, Switzerland, the Transvaal, and the United States of America.



Photo by Rinehart, Omaha.

THE FINE ARTS BUILDING OF THE GREATER AMERICA EXPOSITION AT OMAHA.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

THE STEADY DECLINE OF WAR.

IN reply to those who regard war as an inevitable and incurable accompaniment of human nature, Mr. Alexander Sutherland, writing in the *Nineteenth Century*, appeals to history to show "the natural decline of warfare." The development of human sympathy has, he argues, been steadily sapping the military spirit.

THE SEVENTH CENTURY—"A FEROCIOUS NIGHTMARE."

In order the better to trace the amelioration of the centuries as shown in the English race, he takes intervals of four centuries :

"Start, then, in the seventh century, with our ancestors of forty generations ago. If we, who are accustomed to the peaceful ways of a modern city, could be dropped back into one of these Teutonic tribes, our lives would seem one long ferocious nightmare, wherein no occupation was of any repute save that of the warrior, nor any pursuit capable of kindling ardor save that of slaughter. . . . Peaceful industry was degrading and fit only for slaves ; and a man's surest passport to the heaven of wassail was to die amid the frenzied slaughter of battle."

Our Teutonic ancestors used to conclude a victory with human sacrifices, often torturing the victims. When they swept through Spain, Procopius, an eye-witness, tells us they slew every human being they met, even the unresisting women and children, until 5,000,000 had perished. They did the same in France. There the Franks by way of variation rolled their wagons over 200 maidens and cast their bodies to the dogs. When our Teutonic forefathers made good their footing in England, they swept the land of human beings, only in some parts sparing a considerable number of women.

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY—WOMEN SPARED.

In the eleventh century the individual has largely lost the right of immediate and deadly revenge. Laws are in force requiring money compensations for injury. A strong king now takes the place of the petty chief, and "the king's peace" is respected. But still, "as Gibbon says, 'in the eleventh century every peasant was a soldier and every village a fortification ; each wood and valley was the scene of murder and rapine.' No man in these days could lie down and rest with any security save such as his own and his comrades' weapons could bring him."

Yet the spirit of the time was against women and children being slain except in the promiscuous slaughter of a stubbornly besieged city ; though all prisoners taken in arms were put to death :

"Men at least had moved on from that stage in which they quaff wine from enemies' skulls, and decorate their horses with human scalps, and burn men for sacrifices, and slaughter women, and catch babies upon pikes."

IN TUDOR TIMES—WHAT GROTIUS ALLOWED.

Moving forward to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and picturing England as she was in Tudor times, the writer exclaims :

"What a change in the military feeling ! War has assumed a new aspect. The old lust of killing as in itself a delight has disappeared. Even prisoners in arms are now spared. It is two centuries since an English commander has deliberately slain his captives after a battle. . . . Grotius, writing about this time, gives in his book, '*De Jure Belli*,' a very definite statement as to the prevailing sentiment. At the devastation of a province or the capture of a city, he thinks it right that children, women, old men, clergy, farmers, merchants, and other non-combatants should be spared. He allows that tradition and precedent are against him, but he claims to be speaking of the newer spirit. He is doubtful as to whether it is right for the victors to ravish the women of captured places. All precedent, he says, establishes the right, but he praises those generals that refuse to exercise it. Speaking as a lawyer, bound by tradition, he has to admit the right of the victor to slay all prisoners taken in arms, but he thinks that if heathen they might be more wisely enslaved, and if Christian they ought to be only held to ransom."

OUR OWN TIME.

The writer next makes the final transition to the England of our own time :

"For two and a half centuries her soil has been practically free from war ; for a century and a half it has been absolutely free from it. Scotland and Ireland have been very nearly as long undisturbed by conflicts. It now appears that 40,000,000 people can live at absolute peace among themselves in a land where, ten centuries ago, our ancestors of the heptarchy spent their whole lives in fighting each other. In spite of all the ingenuity of our great weapons of destruction, the loss of life in Europe by war dur-

ing the present century has not exceeded one per annum out of every ten thousand of the population. One in a hundred would be a very low estimate of similar deaths in the Europe of a thousand years ago; so that warfare is now less than one-hundredth part as destructive as it was in the early Middle Ages."

"THE MEEK SHALL INHERIT THE EARTH."

The writer draws the conclusion that all the current of historic tendency is in favor of the dream that a reign of peace may, after all, be not so very far away. The giant force of human sympathy moves onward from century to century:

"It is a natural process through which brutal and unsympathetic strains by slow degrees are worked out, leaving the earth to be possessed by the sympathetic. . . . If the brutal fellow finds it hard to mate and finds it hard to make his union permanent when mated, it is plain that his particular type will leave less than the average of offspring. If the unkind and unsympathetic parent loses more of his children than the average parent, then here again we have a culling process, and in the new generation the sympathetic type will be better represented than the unsympathetic.

"And as with individuals, so with races; kindness and honesty make the best policy in the end. . . . Want of sympathetic cohesion paralyzes a people.

"A vast process of elimination is therefore going on, by means of which the world is given more and more into the possession of the sympathetic type. While we amuse ourselves and argue and quarrel and threaten, this great but unobtrusive change is going forward. Marriages are made or fail to be made; children are reared or die out; citizens succeed or fail; nations expand or decay in such a fashion that, on the whole, the kindly dispositions tend ever, more and more, to prevail over the cruel. And therefore, Czar or no Czar, wars are eventually doomed, and peace must come in its own good time."

IN ANOTHER FOUR HUNDRED YEARS, WHAT?

Human ingenuity may hasten the process. "If it required another four hundred years to carry us to the abolition of war, we could scarcely regard the rate of progress as having diminished." The writer concludes:

"The fate of war will be the same as that of cannibalism, and human sacrifices, and baronial wars, and the duel in England. . . . It is only a question of patient hopefulness, with as much of helpfulness as we can devise."

NAVAL DISARMAMENT FAR OFF.

ACCORDING to Mr. H. W. Wilson's view of "The Naval Situation" in the *Nineteenth Century* there is no immediate prospect of anything like naval disarmament on the part of the great powers, or even of a cessation of activity. He ridicules the idea that the working classes are "plundered" to build battleships, and insists that "from first to last the cost of a big ship in England goes almost entirely in wages to the workingman." He refers to the movement for naval expansion on the continent and presents this forecast:

"It grows clearer and clearer from such signs as this that far from naval disarmament being at hand, the competition is going to grow fiercer and fiercer. And this suggests that the mere progress of armaments will crush out the weaker powers of the world without war. It is a new phase of the unending and desperate struggle for existence. The portents are gloomy for states with finances in hopeless disorder, such as France and Italy; bright for the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic. The last consular report on Germany draws attention to the fact that 'in the prosperous state of the country's finances it is expected that the large expenditure for the navy may be met out of the ordinary revenue.' It is certain that in England and the United States any outlay on the navy can be met in the same way. Japan, Russia, Italy, and France must have recourse to loans which bring present relief at the cost of future embarrassment. As two of these powers are our allies or friends, British financial help might be extended to them in future. But any friction with Germany would place this country in a most dangerous position. The nonconformist conscience, however, may be trusted to safeguard us against trouble with a Protestant and kindred power, while Germany's trading interests are such as more and more to identify her policy with ours. She will not, doubtless, risk war on our account, nor will she ever quarrel with Russia for our *beaux yeux*. But she is not likely to join a great coalition in upsetting the British empire. Our change of attitude to her and our evident naval strength—a factor with which the Bismarckian policy had not to reckon—will gradually cement the 'union of hearts' if England is not suddenly carried away by some gust of anti-German sentiment."

Mr. Wilson is not alarmed by the invention of the submarine boat. He says: "Though the submarine may cause the loss of a ship from time to time, we may rest practically certain that in its present form it cannot change the fate of a navy."

He remarks on the fact that the Americans,

who could have finished at least one of two submarine boats in time for use at Santiago, did not send for them. He is, however, alarmed to note that "we are laying down about the same tonnage of cruisers as France alone—we with our world-wide commerce, our innumerable defenseless cities on the seaboard, with everything to lose if our command of the sea is seriously challenged!"

STORIES OF ADMIRAL DEWEY.

THE May *McClure's* gives an attractive account of the personal qualities of Admiral Dewey, from Oscar King Davis, who is the correspondent of the *New York Sun* at Manila. Mr. Davis says that the photographs of Admiral Dewey which have been copied in the public prints during the past few months have given a poor idea of the true appearance of the man. Most of them, he says, show a rather long, narrow face, with high, slightly receding forehead and Roman nose. As a matter of fact there is more breadth and less length to the face than these pictures show. It is a square face and its most prominent feature is the rugged under jaw. The eyes are wide apart and set well back, under heavy brows. The forehead is high, broad, and bold, the nose is large, and the mouth generous but firm. Most of his pictures show more of a mustache than the admiral wore last summer. Mustache and hair are almost white; the complexion is dark, as are the eyes. He is not a big man physically, but he is astonishingly quick in his actions; his shoulders are so square and his broad back is so straight that many a man much his junior might envy them. His step is quick and springy; his whole bearing is one of alertness and readiness. His mental process is lightning-like; he thinks like a flash and gets all around his subject in less time than many a man would take to study one side. Yet he does not jump to conclusions, and there are times when he is very deliberate. He reasons to his determinations, and whatever his personal preferences or beliefs or feelings, he can dissociate them entirely from his work. His logic machine is absolutely sound and in the finest order. It turns out conclusions with mathematical precision.

DEWEY'S FLEET ALL SHIP-SHAPE.

Admiral Dewey is proud of the fine condition of his fleet and the discipline of his men. Mr. Davis reports him as saying in a conversation: "Just look at those men. Aren't they a fine lot? See the condition they are in, in spite of all the work of the summer. They have not been off the ship for more than three months, and you know what hard work they have had. See that

big fellow leaning against the rail. Isn't he a magnificent specimen? Suppose some sudden emergency should arise. Do you know how long it would take to have this ship ready for action? Less than four minutes. I've a great notion to try it, just to show you how quickly they would be ready."

"It's just the same everywhere. I come over here from the *Olympia*, and in five minutes I am as much at home as if I had been here always."

"Orderly!" he called, and a stalwart marine came up quickly and saluted. The admiral gave some trifling order and the marine went away. "I never saw that man before," the admiral went on, "but that makes no difference. He knows his work, and he does it just as if he had been my orderly for years."

"Naturally I am proud of the work of the squadron. I should not be fit to command it if I were not proud of its work; but I am proudest of my men. They are splendid fellows. They have done their work well. The people haven't realized how good their navy was. I would rather have command of this squadron than hold any office any people could give me."

WHEN DEWEY LOST HIS TEMPER.

Mr. Davis says that Dewey had worked out a programme for every contingency, and when he sent word to the German admiral that the Germans could "have a fight here and now, or at any time and any place," he meant just exactly what he said. "Moreover, his own plan of action was mapped out, and the disposition of his ships in case of battle with the Germans was arranged. There can be no doubt whatever, no matter what denials or disavowals the Germans may make or have made, that the situation for a time was very critical in Manila Bay. I have heard it said of Dewey's talk to the German flag lieutenant on the *Olympia*, that day he 'laced out' Von Diederichs' staff officer and brought the whole matter to a focus, that it was 'very undiplomatic.' Well, suppose it was undiplomatic; it was also tremendously effective. The admiral lost his temper, and he said what was in his heart with the clear-cut emphasis of an unusually plain-spoken man. That practically settled the 'German incident.' One afternoon on the *Olympia*, when he had been talking to me about the German incident, he pointed to the wrecks of the Spanish ships lying about Cavite and exclaimed: 'That was one of the least of my difficulties here.'

"After all, it was perfectly characteristic of Dewey that he should lose his temper. The wonder is rather that he kept it so long. He is

very high-strung. His nerves are constantly on a hair-trigger and his temper is their admirable match. It is a strong man's temper; but as a general thing this strong man holds it in complete control. Once in a while it gets away from him for a little time, and then things hum. But it is just like an electric storm. It is soon over, and the air is the clearer for the outburst."

Mr. Davis says that Admiral Dewey was deeply touched by the many remembrances he received from America and the many tokens of pride which the nation has in him. He says that for a long time the admiral did not realize what a hero he was in the minds of his countrymen, and it is doubtful if he comprehends it thoroughly now. He does know enough of it, however, to be afraid of the reception there is waiting for him at home. "He was never what would be called a robust man and is not in rugged health. Moreover, the strain of the long campaign before Manila has told on him, so that it will be probably with genuine relief, even in spite of what is in store for him here, that he starts home."

STORIES OF OUR CORRESPONDENTS IN THE WAR.

IN the May *Harper's* Mr. Richard Harding Davis gives a very readable account of what our war correspondents were called on to do in the late unpleasantness in reporting the work of the Shafter and Miles expeditions. In the first place, he says that the prophets who predicted all the good results for the routine newspaper men and evil things from the men who had been employed merely to serve as descriptive writers were not at all true prophets. The war did not show that the descriptive writer or novelist was necessarily capable of gathering news, nor did it prove to the contrary. Nor did it prove that the man who had previously reported criminal news and real-estate deals was equally at home when he found himself in a Cuban jungle, "two thousand miles from the office telephone and with no friendly policeman to direct his steps. The success of the different men was entirely a question of intelligence and of individual character." The good correspondents were surprises almost every time. Mr. Davis says: "I have seen the war correspondent whom Kipling describes as the 'War Eagle' in his 'Light That Failed.' I saw him in Greece, with three horses, three servants, a tent, the British flag flying over his head, cooking-stoves, medicine-chests, writing-desks, and typewriters. He carried letters from prime ministers and he lunched with young princes daily. And I have seen a boy named Sammy who acted as a courier

for the New York *Herald*, eighteen years of age, who had a keener scent for news than the War Eagle ever possessed, who better knew what was going to happen before it happened, and who was in every way more alert, intelligent, and suited to the work in hand."

Mr. Davis gives Mr. Stephen Crane credit for being the first among the correspondents, judged by what he achieved. As a matter of interest outside the reportorial achievement, he also gives Crane credit for being the bravest man of the corps.

"Crane was the coolest man, whether army officer or civilian, that I saw under fire at any time during the war. He was most annoyingly cool, with the assurance of a fatalist. When the San Juan hills were taken he came up with them with James Hare, of *Collier's*. He was walking leisurely, and though the bullets passed continuously, he never once ducked his head. He wore a long rain-coat, and as he stood peering over the edge of the hill, with his hands in his pockets and smoking his pipe, he was as unconcerned as though he were gazing at a cinematograph.

"The fire from the enemy was so heavy that only one troop along the entire line of the hills was returning it, and all the rest of our men were lying down. General Wood, who was then colonel of the Rough Riders, and I were lying on our elbows at Crane's feet, and Wood ordered him also to lie down. Crane pretended not to hear and moved further away, still peering over the hill with the same interested expression. Wood told him for the second time that if he did not lie down he would be killed, but Crane paid no attention. So, in order to make him take shelter, I told him he was trying to impress us with his courage, and that if he thought he was making me feel badly by walking about he might as well sit down. As soon as I told him he was trying to impress us with his courage he dropped on his knees, as I had hoped he would, and we breathed again.

"After that, in Puerto Rico, we agreed to go out together and take a town by surprise and demand its surrender. At that time every town in Puerto Rico surrendered to the first American who entered it, and we thought that to accept the unconditional surrender of a large number of foreigners would be a most pleasing and interesting experience. But Crane's business manager, who guarded him with much the same jealousy as that with which an advance agent guards the prima donna, did not want any one else to share the glory of the surrender, and sent Crane off by himself. He rode into Juana Diaz, and the town, as a matter of course, surrendered and made him welcome. He spent the day in

establishing an aristocracy among the townspeople and in distributing *largesse* to the hungry. He also spent the night there, sleeping peacefully far beyond our lines, and with no particular interest as to where the Spaniards might happen to be. The next morning, when he was taking his coffee on the sidewalk in front of the only *café*, he was amused to see a 'point' of five soldiers advance cautiously along the Ponce road, dodging behind bushes, and reconnoitering with both the daring and skill of the American invader. While still continuing to sip his coffee he observed a skirmish-line following this 'point,' and finally the regiment itself, marching bravely upon Juana Diaz. It had come to effect its capture. When the commanding officer arrived his sense of humor deserted him, and he could not see how necessary and proper it was that any town should surrender to the author of the 'Red Badge of Courage.'

GETTING AROUND GENERAL SHAFTER.

"One of the most amusing and daring acts of any of the correspondents was that of Burr W. MacIntosh, of *Frank Leslie's*. When the troops arrived at Daiquiri a general order was issued forbidding any of the correspondents to accompany the soldiers when they made their first landing. The men on the press boats of course promptly disobeyed this order; but the correspondents on the transports were forced to obey it or run the risk of losing their credentials. Mr. MacIntosh was the one exception. He was most desirous of obtaining a photograph, taken on the shores of Cuba, which would show the American soldiers making their first hostile landing on that shore. To this end he gave his camera into the hands of a sergeant in one of the shore boats and hid his clothes under the cross-seats of another. When these boats started MacIntosh dived from the stern of the transport, and after swimming a quarter of a mile through a heavy surf, reached the coast of Cuba in time to recover his camera and perpetuate the first landing of our army of invasion."

THE MEN ON THE PRESS BOATS.

"It is impossible to give too much credit to the men who manned the press boats. They were not able to take anything for granted, and soon learned that they could depend upon no one save themselves. They were forced to learn navigation, geography, diplomacy, and finance. In time each man knew just how many motions of the wheel would carry his tug to Jamaica, how much coal was needed to feed her fires, and how much his crew would drink before they would scramble on deck and demand an increase

of wages before deserting in a body. He was captain, engineer, supercargo, and deck hand. With a salary of \$40 a week, he was responsible for thousands of dollars. One cablegram alone to the New York *Herald* cost \$5,000. He had also to pay for boat hire, port dues, and salaries. These many responsibilities were carried by young men who were, for the most part, under thirty years of age, who had previously never been further from New York City than Coney Island, and with an experience as executives which was limited to guessing at the insurance on a fire and reporting Dr. Depew's speeches. Yet with all these duties pressing upon them they were forced to sit in a choking cabin and write accurate and dramatic pictures of bombardments, engagements with shore batteries, and races after blockade-runners; while the cabin table was at an angle of forty-five degrees and the cabin lamp swung in complete somersaults. Their reward was a hastily scribbled cablegram of congratulation from the 'chief' or a precise and detailed message of instruction from the same source, which if followed would have left the paper without news."

A NEW FRENCH PLAN FOR THE INVASION OF ENGLAND.

THE second March number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* has made an unusual sensation in England by an anonymous article entitled "The Descents on England." The appearance of this paper just on the eve of the signing of the Anglo-French agreement is an unfortunate sign of the bitterness which it is to be feared still remains in France against England.

BRITISH PIN-PRICKS.

The English, says the writer, have told one another so often that their tight little island can never be invaded that they have succeeded in persuading a large number of Frenchmen of the same thing; yet England is thirsting for a war with France. Ever since 1888, we are told, British statesmen have been preparing for the struggle. The imperial defense act, the ever-growing naval estimates, the aggressive speeches of eminent politicians on the depression of trade—all these are cited as motives and symptoms of British bellicosity. Most important of all is the question of trade; new outlets for commerce must be opened, and it is in Indo-China that French and English interests conflict: that is why England wants a war—to get Indo-China. When France and Germany and Russia have finished their several naval programmes an alliance of the three would effect the destruction

of Great Britain, and that is why, our anonymous author thinks, Great Britain wishes to take France first. The *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Chronicle* are quoted in support of the view that England considers the destruction of France indispensable. A terrible parallel is drawn between Germany before 1870 and England. Our author seriously believes that a war with France is as much desired by England now as it was by Bismarck in 1866. He goes on through the old story of provocative speeches, the British lion's tail so sore from many pin-pricks, and the music-hall imperialism of the day, and full use is made of Lord Salisbury's "blazing indiscretion" in his speech about the dying nations. The Americans have conquered Spain, and it belongs to England to be the executioner of France. As for Italy, this greedy England is using her to pull the chestnuts out of the fire in the basin of the Nile and in Abyssinia.

JOHN BULL'S PLOTS.

The next question is, How is this bloodthirsty England to carry out her conquest? The English, hypnotized by Captain Mahan and his school, are convinced that sea power must be kept in their hands at all costs, so they have, roughly speaking, two fighting units to every one French, and their plan of campaign would be first to blockade the French ships in their ports, and then by bombarding the French coasts so to arouse public opinion as to force the French to send their blockaded ships out to certain destruction; in short, it is Admiral Cervera at Santiago over again. Our author, however, points out that it would be possible for the French to concentrate all their powerful vessels at Brest or Cherbourg, leaving in the Mediterranean only a few swift cruisers and torpedo-boats. It would be very difficult for the English to blockade a really large concentration of French battleships. This seems to be understood in England, where great stress is laid on the importance of Gibraltar as a means of dividing the French forces, bottling up the French Mediterranean squadron, and preventing it from joining the channel fleet. So we arrive at the essential aim of the English—namely, the destruction of the French squadrons. It would be of no use to England to land troops in Algeria or Tunis, to undertake operations in Indo-China or Madagascar, while the bombardment of the French coasts would be a difficult and a dangerous course because of the recent vast improvement in the French defenses. Moreover, the latest authorities are of opinion that a hostile fleet has more to lose than to gain by bombarding even a comparatively defenseless town.

WHY NOT A FRENCH LANDING?

The English Government, we are told, is firmly convinced that in any event the French cannot possibly take the offensive at any point. It is this theory that our author sets himself to traverse. Not only might France take the offensive, he says, but she could do so with no small chance of success. As a preliminary he goes through the various successful landings which have been made on the coast of England, beginning with the two invasions of Julius Cæsar. As to the Spanish Armada, he actually thinks it a wonderful thing that the Spanish fleet should have been able to reach the Lizard without serious damage, although the English had the command of the sea. As a matter of fact, the English had not the command of the sea; what they had and what they kept was the command of the channel. Later invasions of England failed, but this is because the single aim of effecting a landing was not adhered to, but the attacking force suffered itself to be seduced into giving battle on the sea. In 1690 7,000 French troops were landed in Ireland without difficulty and effected a junction with the Irish forces. In 1793 it was only divided councils among the French commanders which prevented the successful landing of 40,000 men in Ireland. The fleet actually arrived in Bantry Bay, although the English fleet was absolutely mistress of the sea, and its superiority to the French fleet has never, we are told, been greater than at that time. Another landing in 1798 in Ireland failed because it was badly organized, although 1,000 Frenchmen did carry on a campaign in Ireland for seventeen days in spite of the great superiority of the English forces. Finally, we come to the plans of Bonaparte; he saw clearly enough that unless the attacking force had the command of the sea, it must have some special advantage of equipment. The First Consul saw the possibility of this special advantage in a swift yet roomy transport which should not cost more than \$800 to \$1,000. On July 3, 1804, he had collected 1,800 vessels of transport, armed with mortars, but, as is well known, the attack was never made.

HOW TO DO IT.

We come now to 1899. A new boat has captured the affections of our author. It is called the *Fram* (no connection with Nansen) and was built originally for service on the Loire, even in the height of summer when the waters are low. It is about 130 feet long, is flat-bottomed, and has two engines developing 150 horse-power; with eighty tons burden it could travel eight knots an hour.

With water and coal on board the *Fram* draws only 28 centimeters. Now, it is easy to construct on the same lines pinnaces of small draught, decked and capable of attaining a speed of from eight to ten knots. To be able to pass from the canals and rivers to the high seas these boats would be provided with false keels analogous to those of racing yachts, which would give them all the necessary stability. These boats could be constructed simultaneously in all French yards and collected at different points on the 11,000 kilometers of navigable canals and rivers leading down to the French coast. They could be armed with a quick-firing gun in the prow with its appurtenances, a revolving quick-firing 47-millimeter gun and the necessary gunners, with 24 horses and half or a whole company of infantry. The drinking-water would be stored in watertight compartments, and other provisions and ammunition would be placed in small chests, which would serve as benches for the troops.

There would be little danger for these pinnaces of being sunk by cannon-shot, for they would be divided into water-tight compartments, and if a hostile ship should endeavor to sink them by running them down it would be blown up by the torpedo which is part of the armament. Moreover, the pinnaces could defend themselves against torpedo-boats by the quick-firing 47-millimeter gun which they would carry, and which is capable of discharging in a minute a great number of shells.

"To be able," says the writer, "to hurl upon England an army of 160,000 to 170,000 men, with 500 quick-firing guns and the necessary ammunition and provisions, 1,500 steam pinnaces would have to be constructed, which would cost 150,000,000 francs—an important sum, no doubt, but one which, considering that it would come out of the 800,000,000 francs voted by Parliament for the increase of the fleet, would be, perhaps, more usefully spent in thus procuring for us so powerful a means of attack than if it were devoted to the construction of ironclads. Moreover, there is all the less reason for hesitation, as this flotilla, so far from being unproductive in time of peace, would render trade and commerce the greatest services."

The problem of getting these vessels across the channel and upon the English coast presents no difficulties for the writer. As for the English coast defenses, he thinks them almost a negligible quantity. The troops would be landed almost simultaneously, like a party of Cook's tourists out for a holiday. In fact, Napoleon had to face a far more difficult problem at Wagram, where he had to cross the Danube by four bridges in front of the whole Austrian army. From Calais

or Dunkirk the operation would be merely a matter of three or four hours, and the invader could descend on Brighton in seven hours. Moreover, favorable points for landing are far more numerous than is supposed. Twelve divisions of 14,500 men each could thus land in England and three in Ireland without disturbing in any way the mobilization of the twenty army corps. And the Irish could be armed with old Gras rifles, several hundreds of thousands of which are rusting in French arsenals. According to our optimistic writer, *ils ne demandraient pas mieux*.

These are merely the general lines of a scheme which is worked out in abundant detail. The writer foresees a possible—nay, probable—loss of 10,000 men; but what would this be for an invading army of 170,000? At all events, he considers this new steam pinnace as the logical consequence of Fashoda, and pronounces its immediate construction necessary. When this fleet is completed "it is probable that the inconsiderate attacks of the English press will give way to better feelings. It will then be possible to come to an understanding with England."

A PROPOSED ANGLO-FRENCH AGREEMENT.

IN the *Anglo-American Magazine* for April Mr. Robert Stein offers a proposition for an exchange of territory between France and England which, as he sets it forth, would seem to be mutually advantageous.

THE NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES AND THE CHANNEL ISLANDS.

The first of Mr. Stein's suggestions relates to the Newfoundland question, concerning which he says:

"There is the open sore of more than a hundred years' standing—the Newfoundland fisheries. To understand it, one must hear the story told by a Newfoundlander. The island at best is poor, periodically struggling with famine. To this poor land comes every summer a foreign population, occupies the north and northwest coasts from Cape St. John to Cape Ray, engages in the principal local industry, cod-fishing, and is enabled by a high government bounty to undersell the natives while practically preventing any development of the country back of the 'French shore.' To the economic grievance a military one is added. St. Pierre and Miquelon, the two French islands on the south coast of Newfoundland, fortified during the Crimean War, have remained so; Anticosti is owned by 'Chocolat Menier'; the French fishing population constitutes a most efficient naval school and

a formidable reserve force to a French fleet that may enter the Gulf of St. Lawrence. No wonder Newfoundland and Canada and Great Britain wince every time France moves to draw a new advantage from her treaty rights."

Now comes Mr. Stein's proposed remedy :

"If we are to believe recent utterances in French newspapers, France is quite willing to relinquish these rights—for a compensation. Now, there is one compensation, of supreme value to France, which, it seems to an outsider, England can make with comparatively little loss to herself. In sight of the shore of Normandy, far from England, are a group of islands owned by England, but inhabited by a French-speaking population—the Channel Islands. So far as a layman can judge, their costly fortifications have nothing to do with the defense of England ; they are of use solely as a base for attack. Geographically, ethnologically, and commercially, they belong to France, though the tariff causes the bulk of their commerce to go to England. Their loyalty to Great Britain is beyond question. It even seems that they do not object to being eventually Anglicized, seeing that the legislature of Guernsey the other day unanimously voted to admit English on equal terms with French in its deliberations. Though as British possessions they must be irksome to every Frenchman who looks at the map, and especially to the inhabitants of the neighboring coast, no general demand for their acquisition seems to have manifested itself in France, where, nevertheless, 'natural boundaries' are so much in favor. This apathy may be due to the supposed hopelessness of such a demand ; for besides their strategic value the islands have a sentimental interest for England, being the last remnant of her Norman possessions. Be that as it may, in the hands of England they are nothing less than a knife perpetually aimed at the heart of France. Can England be induced to surrender them ?"

Mr. Stein admits that this suggestion might seem impertinent, coming from an American, but it has been made quite recently by Englishmen. The Channel Islands have a wealthy and industrious population of about 100,000. They lie only 15 miles from the French coast and 210 miles from Paris—much nearer than either Brest, Bordeaux, or Lyons. Miquelon and St. Pierre and the Newfoundland fisheries would be wholly inadequate compensation, as Mr. Stein admits.

MOROCCO.

Mr. Stein next directs our attention to French and British interests in Morocco, involving—

"1. A territory larger than France, 'the finest in North Africa,' according to Grant Allen.

"2. The control of the Strait of Gibraltar.

"France mainly desires the territory, England mainly desires the control of the strait, though either power would of course gladly have both if it could get them. That being impossible, let each take that which it cares for most. Let France take the main bulk of the territory so necessary to round out her African possessions. Let England take enough to control the strait—to wit, Tangier and as much of the adjacent peninsula as may be necessary, say to the parallel of 35° 20'. Of course the less England demands the more readily will France give her consent. Spain would probably be glad to sell Ceuta to England and her other north African posts to France. The rugged character of the Tangier peninsula would probably enable British engineers to convert it into a huge fortress.

"Evidently in this case, too, France will have by far the best of the bargain, gaining 260,000 square miles, while England gains only, say, 1,500. Morocco, however, is so important to France that for its sake she will be willing to make almost any concession. The opportunities are numerous. There is Egypt, where she may waive her standing grievance ; there is Tajura Bay, at the entrance of the Red Sea and dangerously close to Abyssinia ; there are Wadia and Bagirmi, through which communication might be established between the Egyptian Soudan and the British Niger territory ; there are Siam and China, where a friendly arrangement between the two great sea powers will save millions of natives from the incapacity of their so-called governments."

HOW BOTH SIDES WOULD GAIN.

By the supposed agreement England will gain :

St. Pierre and Miquelon and the Newfoundland fisheries.

The northern peninsula of Morocco.

Acquiescence in the possession of Egypt.

France will gain :

The Channel Islands.

Morocco.

"In other words, each will lose that which is of little use to it, but a great annoyance to the other ; each will gain that which is most useful to itself ; while all the territories involved in the bargain will receive the best chance of development. Best of all, perhaps, the domain of barbarism will be reduced by some 260,000 square miles.

"As mentioned above, other concessions may be requisite on both sides before the bargain is deemed equal.

"There are many admirers of France in Eng-

land and many admirers of England in France, and plenty of reasonable people in both countries. Will they be strong enough and brave enough to make themselves heard above those who take pleasure in increasing the mutual irritation?"

MODERN BONAPARTISM IN FRANCE.

AN Anglo-Parisian journalist, writing in the *Fortnightly Review* for April upon Bonapartism, gives us many interesting details concerning the personality of Prince Victor, the hope of the Bonapartist conspiracy. The writer says:

"Prince Victor is said to be extremely reserved in speech, and one can well understand it; yet he is a man, and with all the consciousness of his manhood upon him. He looks upon himself as a future ruler, but whether he ascends the imperial throne or not, he thinks himself as much a Dauphin of France as the Duc d'Orléans or as the Duc de Bordeaux before he became the Comte de Chambord. Why not?"

PRINCE VICTOR AND HIS FATHER.

But although Prince Victor thinks himself heir to the imperial throne, he has immense disadvantages to overcome in the character of his father. Prince Napoleon, by his cynicism and indifference to the imperial tradition, frequently provoked Prince Victor to anger, but usually he controlled himself.

"Prince Victor kept silent on more than one occasion, but at last his indignation burst forth, although even then it did not go beyond the bounds of respectful protest. The scenes I promised to describe both happened at the dinner-table. Prince Napoleon maintained that monarchies had served their time and that the republic was their only possible substitute. 'The glory of Napoleon I. was powerless to save his son from exile. The Duc de Bordeaux, who was called "the child of a miracle," was obliged, in spite of the many centuries of prestige attached to his race, to travel the same road; the heir of the Citizen King has not had better luck, and the Prince Imperial perished on African soil,' he said. 'Let us, therefore, no longer talk of hereditary monarchies; monarchies are dead, whether they are called royal or imperial.' To which tirade Prince Victor, respectfully rising, replied: 'Why, father, would you let the imperial crown welter in the dust and allow no one to lift it out of it?' Prince Napoleon made no answer, but in a few weeks he took up the same song with the same burden; and in addition violently abused the Second Empire, by which no one—absolutely no one—had profited to a

greater extent than he. There was a dead silence among the guests, all of whom had faithfully served the vanished *régime*; but this time Prince Victor deliberately put himself forward as a champion of the cause. 'Father,' he said in a voice quivering with emotion, 'if you choose to leave the imperial crown on the ground, you will at least allow me to pick it up.' There was a terrible scene. Prince Napoleon rose, and, shaking his clinched fist at his son, he thundered: 'You! you!' he repeated; 'after I am gone, if you like, but not while I am alive. I'd sooner twist your neck.'

"From that day dates the breach between father and son, for almost immediately afterward the latter left the paternal roof forever. From that day forward Bonapartism practically changed its chief, though not nominally, seeing that for seven more years Prince Victor steadfastly refused to enter into open rivalry with the dynastic head of the house.

"What was this young prince in whom the imperialists, and absolutely the best of them, centered their hopes and put their trust from that moment? We shall not call outside evidence to his character, but let the father, who offered to twist his neck, speak. 'Victor—Victor is a chip of the Savoy block,' he said to a representative of *Le Figaro*. 'Victor loves above all things the army, women, and the chase. Give him a regiment and an object to attain, and he'll recklessly risk his skin and his head without measuring his own forces, and least of all his enemy's.' Saying which Prince Napoleon shrugged his shoulders as if with contempt at such, to him, inexplicable foolhardiness."

"THAT REGIMENT."

Nevertheless, though Prince Victor was willing to risk all, his life included, if he had his regiment, he has not got that regiment, and he is likely to remain a pretender to the end of his days. The most interesting passage in the Anglo-Parisian journalist's article is that in which he expressed a firm conviction that a single regiment would be sufficient to overturn the republic.

"I feel convinced that if M. Paul Déroulède had succeeded in getting General Roget to the Elysée, M. Loubet would have spent the first and perhaps only night of his presidency at Vincennes or Mont Valérien, whither his ministers would have been sent to join him, for a look backward into the history of the nineteenth-century revolutions and riots in the capital shows me that regulars will not fire upon regulars; hence one regiment will do the trick, and manifestoes are of no use. They have been used

throughout the century, 1814, 1815, 1830, 1848, and 1851, as the word after the blow. One regiment would have saved the empire on September 4, at any rate temporarily. General Trochu refused it to M. Estancelin. There would be no barricades if Prince Victor came at the head of a regiment into Paris to-morrow. The last word, expressive of the first, is, then, 'that regiment.'

THE SEARCH FOR THE VENEZUELA-GUIANA BOUNDARY.

PROPOS of the approaching settlement of the Venezuelan boundary dispute by the tribunal at Paris, a paper in the current number of the *American Historical Review* by Prof. George L. Burr, the chief expert who assisted the commission appointed by President Cleveland to determine the boundary, is of interest.

Professor Burr prefaces his paper by disclaiming any intention to tell where the Guiana boundary is, or even where it ought to be:

"First, because it would be unkind while the question is still *sub judice*; secondly, because nobody cares, now that Great Britain and Venezuela have agreed to leave it to a court; and, in the third place, because I never found out. Of the methods by which it was sought I know something and may freely speak."

Those methods consisted in the collection and examination of existing maps, in the study and interpretation of treaties, and in the search of grants made at different times by the Dutch Government. Professor Burr's account of this work and its difficulties would be better understood and appreciated by the historical student than by the general reader. What he says in conclusion, however, regarding the practical effect of the commission's labors, is suggestive.

A STRIKING CHANGE OF ATTITUDE.

"Even while we were at work, a great change came over the attitude of both Great Britain and Venezuela to the matter at issue. From the point of view of the trained student it would be hard to conceive a contrast more striking than that of the second to the first of the blue books in which the British Government set forth and established its claim. Rash statements of fact were quietly retired, assertions of right were modified, documents were given in full, with exact statement of their whereabouts, and even sometimes in the original tongue. Venezuela's indignant and sweeping denials gave place in later utterances to more definite and persuasive statement. And long before our work was published both countries had arrived, by independent research of their own, at more than one of

our results. It may be that we only gave them the time to do this work. Yet, as I have turned over in the past months the pages of the case and the counter-case submitted by each country to the arbitral tribunal, and have noted how, in spite of much additional evidence, both of document and map, the statement of historical fact laid down by each agrees at nearly all points with the results reached for the American commission, and further how, as to this basis of historical fact, however divergent the claims based upon it, there is now substantial agreement between the contestants, so that their issue is now in the main one of law, not of fact, I have taken pleasure in the belief that already our work has proved of service."

WORK OF THE AMERICAN COMMISSION NOT IN VAIN.

"Whatever that result may be—whether or no our labors may have aided to add a few more miles of swamp or of forest to the territory of Great Britain or of Venezuela. . . . I believe there must come out of it something better than the ownership of swamp or of forest, of gold mines or mouths of rivers. I believe that the world will be slow to forget that there has been found for an aggrieved nation, even when its demand for arbitration has been refused, a way to deal with a question of historical claim more effective than an immediate appeal to arms. And if, to the sober eye of retrospective history, it shall appear that in this instance the foremost of civilized states was on the point of being drawn into desperate war with two transatlantic neighbors over a claim which had no better objective basis than a German adventurer's misreading of an Indian name, I much doubt if any civilized state will so soon again be willing to risk the derision of posterity by refusing all peaceful arbitration until it has at least set its own scholars at one earnest effort to test the justice of its cause."

AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN CHINA.

IN the April *Forum* the Rev. Gilbert Reid, for more than fifteen years a missionary in China, writes on the various avenues through which American institutions may be said to exert a wholesome influence on the life of China. These he classifies as political, commercial, religious, and educational.

POLITICAL.

Our political influence, as compared with that exerted by the great powers of Europe in China, is purely negative. While our position there, on paper, is the same as heretofore, it has really been lowered by the aggressive action of the other powers. Such hold as our nation retains

on the respect of the Chinese rulers—and Mr. Reid believes that it is still strong—is due to the absence of any ambition on our part in the direction of territorial aggrandizement. If we avoid contests with the other powers the Chinese will regard us as their best friends. Thus, as Mr. Reid puts it, “the relations of America with China depend largely on the relations of America with Europe.” We have no distinctly aggressive policy in China at present and probably shall have none.

COMMERCIAL.

Mr. Reid notes a decline in the relative importance of American trade in China. He says that American goods are very generally sold there by English or German merchants. While American trade with China is still large, it does not always go to the credit of Americans, nor is it pushed by Americans.

“American manufacturers close doors because they are overstocked. Instead of doing anything to find a new outlet they leave it to others, who as commission agents sell wherever some one indicates a want. There is plenty of American push, to the extent of over-supply, in America, but a laughable deficiency of push amid the teeming millions of the Orient. European countries have had commercial missions to China, and within the last few months one has gone from this country, through the enterprise of the Commercial Museum of Philadelphia.”

Mr. Reid laments the business opportunities in China that Americans have already lost. Russia, Germany, France, and England have secured railroad and mining concessions of great value. While these countries have been increasing their political influence they have also gained commercial privileges. There may still, however, be an opportunity for American materials to be used in railroad-building, and this, in Mr. Reid's opinion, will depend on the support given by our Government to the “open-door” policy advocated by Great Britain. With any other policy we should be placed at even greater disadvantages through restrictions imposed by the claims of other governments.

RELIGIOUS.

Mr. Reid is convinced that while American commerce has been relatively declining in China, American missions have been relatively increasing, both as regards the number of agents and their scope of influence. He says:

“American missionaries are established in two-thirds of the provinces, and thus far they have based their rights of residence and protection on the treaties, imperial edicts, and special regula-

tions made between the American minister at Peking and the Chinese Foreign Office. In fact, China herself has been inclined to show a large amount of religious toleration, and probably American missionaries are treated with as much real respect and cordiality as those of any other country. Their method of prosecuting work has been so large-minded and beneficial that both rulers and people have on that account, rather than through any superiority of creed, become more and more friendly.”

From the very fact that American missionaries have been free from the suspicion of acting as political allies, they have derived a decided advantage in attracting the natives to an honest acceptance of Christianity.

EDUCATIONAL.

Mr. Reid shows that Americans have taken an especially active part in promoting educational interests among the Chinese. The only institutions founded by foreigners in China which give instruction in Western science are the schools connected with the American missions.

“The universities in Peking and Nanking, the colleges in Tung-Cho and Shantung, the Anglo-Chinese colleges in Shanghai and Foo-Chow, and St. John's College in Shanghai are the more important; and all these are maintained by American missionary societies.

“In the government institutions for Western learning the president of the Imperial College in Peking for more than a quarter of a century was Rev. W. A. P. Martin, D.D., LL.D., author of ‘A Cycle of Cathay’; the president of the Tientsin University is Prof. Charles Tenney; and the president of the new university in Shanghai is Rev. John S. Ferguson. These three are all Americans, formerly connected with the American missions.

“The new international institute to be established in Peking—consisting of public auditorium, class-rooms and reception-rooms, a library and reading-room, a museum or exhibit hall—while international in its support and management, is now carried on by three Americans; and it affords Americans, in friendly accord with other nationalities, a much-desired opportunity of influencing the governing classes of China. One building erected by an American would tend more to the peaceful development of China than a thousand times its cost spent on a fort or a man-of-war.

“Plans for imbuing the Chinese with the spirit of modern enlightenment, for widening their sphere of knowledge, for teaching them new and better methods of education, for promoting learning, literature, the arts and sciences, for devel-

oping the whole nature of man, and for blessing the whole life of a nation would not only command the attention of the Chinese, but would be carried out with no frustration from foreign powers."

"This is the 'open door' for Americans in securing in China an influence political, commercial, and religious; and as our influence in this way expands the influence of others may also increase—all tending to the welfare of the Chinese people and the maintenance of their own rule, made just, liberal, enlightened, and pure by the beneficent impulse of true friends from other nations."

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

IN the *North American Review* for April the Rev. Dr. J. P. Jones, an American missionary stationed at Madura, South India, sums up the benefits of England's rule in that country. The material progress under British control has been marked and unmistakable. A magnificent railroad system, 20,000 miles in length, an extensive irrigation system, water works in all the important towns, cotton mills employing 150,000 laborers, and a rapidly growing foreign commerce—these are a few of the evident fruits of a wise colonial administration. What is less obvious is the political advancement that the country has made and is making. On this point Dr. Jones says:

"As a matter of fact, we see in all the municipalities a form of popular government such as not all Western countries enjoy. The power of franchise in the election of municipal commissioners is vested in all those who may be possessed of the least modicum of property. Even women enjoy this franchise. And it is a curious fact that natives in south India are protesting to-day in the newspapers against the granting of this power to women, because, they say, the power is exercised only by dancing-girls and other public characters. To those who watch carefully the working of this municipal franchise and see how easily and speedily the natives have adopted all the vices and tricks of the representative system, it does not by any means seem an unmixed good. And the hardest critics of the system that the writer has met have been intelligent and loyal natives, who believe that this meed of self-government is fraught with evil. The district boards also are composed almost entirely of native gentlemen, and these have large powers in the administration of the internal affairs of the land. Moreover, these municipal and local bodies together elect members for the provincial legislative bodies, where they enjoy recently enlarged powers of interpellating the

government—a power which, by excessive use or abuse, they may soon forfeit. To all this must be added the freedom of the press, which also has recently been abused by the dissemination of seditious sentiments, but which adds immensely to the power of the people. Then the 'National Congress' is a peculiar institution, which, while it gives scope to the political aspirations of many natives, adds, by its very existence, to the luster of the British reign in the land. Just imagine for a moment such a congress existing under Russian rule! It is true that the chief work of the congress in the past has been to criticise and abuse government. By this it has alienated many of its best friends. Still, even as a public censor it has doubtless done good, and it offers to the discontented a wholesome vent for pent-up ill-feeling. It is also a remarkable gathering and illustrates one of the wonders which this government has accomplished. To think that out of the babel of Indian tongues there should gather together in one place annually some 3,000 native gentlemen to discuss state questions and to criticise one of the most modern of all governments in the pure English accents of Addison or of Macaulay! What an object-lesson of progress in itself!

LARGE PROPORTION OF NATIVE OFFICIALS.

"Nor is Great Britain as remiss or as selfish as many would lead us to believe in the distribution of the loaves of office. There are only 100,000 Britishers in this land—1 to every 3,000 of the population. Of these only 750 are found in the higher offices of government. In the provincial services 2,449 natives are employed in high judicial and administrative posts. It is a significant fact that out of 114,150 appointments carrying 1,000 rupees annually, 97 per cent. are in the hands of natives. To all offices below that of a governor of a province natives are eligible. As judges of the high courts and as members of the legislative bodies, not a few Indians are now found; as they are also in the Indian civil service, which was so long exclusively filled by Anglo-Indians. It hardly appears how England can hold this great land to herself and as a great member of her empire with fewer of her own citizens than are now found at the helm."

Dr. Jones declares that after many years of observation and living among the people of India he is convinced that nine-tenths of them would vote in favor of a relative increase, rather than a decrease, of the British official force. The people have far more confidence in the justice and honesty of the Anglo-Indian officials than in their own native officials. Dr. Jones has often been importuned to use his influence to

have cases transferred from native to British jurisdiction on the ground that "the white man will not accept bribes and will give justice." Low, mercenary, and unprincipled native officials, especially in the police department, seem to be the greatest evil that the people have to endure to-day. The presence of the few English civil servants is a purifying influence.

EDUCATION.

Although it is true that only 1 male in 10 and 1 female in 160 is able to read, there are now 3,500,000 youths attending the public schools. In the 140 colleges there are 17,000 students, of whom more than 5,000 are graduated each year.

"Under the influence of this educational work, which is conducted in such a way as to add supreme emphasis to an English training, there is a growing host of young men who are almost crazed with a passion for English culture and degrees. It is one of the problems of the day to direct the mind of this increasing army of university graduates to other professions than the over-crowded government service. There is a persistent feeling among these youth that it is the business of state to supply them with lucrative posts upon their graduation. And it is the disappointed element of this class which furnishes so many of the discontented, blatant demagogues who are almost a menace to the land.

"Yet this educational work is one of the potent leavening influences of the land and is helping greatly in carrying quietly forward one of the mightiest revolutions that have been witnessed in any land. In its trail follows closely the social elevation of the people. The relaxation of the terrible caste system, the elevation of woman and her redemption from some of the cruelties and injustice of the past, the loud and general desire for a many-sided social reform—these and many other things bear unmistakable testimony to the new social life upon which the country is entering."

Dr. Jones concludes his study in the following words:

"Thus, to sum up, England has done bravely and well the mighty work undertaken by her in this historic land. She has not been and is not now without failings, and her line of progress is studded with many errors. But she has been faithful to her trust and has carried it out in no narrow, selfish way. The warm and deep loyalty of India bears testimony to this, for native sentiment reveals marked appreciation.

"Great Britain cannot be too careful in correcting her errors in her Indian rule and in studying to solve well the large and vital problems before her.

"But she certainly merits all praise from the world for the heroic work done here during the last century and a half and the marvelous results achieved. And she deserves the supreme gratitude of a great people whom she has raised out of the depths of semi-barbarism and carried, in many respects, abreast of civilization and progress. This gratitude she has not only won; she is enjoying it, too, from the hearts of the many millions of this stolid but appreciative people."

THE REPUBLIC AS A COLONIZING POWER.

IN the *May Harper's* Prof. Francis N. Thorpe writes on "The Civil Service and Colonization." He thinks that it is entirely wise to ask ourselves in the face of new duties in the Philippines and West Indies as to whether our interpretation of government, even of the popular type, has not been provincial, or at least Western-continental, and not applicable to a world policy.

"All the crises in the lives of nations, it may be said, have not yet occurred. The capacity of our form of government to adapt itself to a colonial policy has not been tried. Whatever administrative policy proves practicable will undoubtedly be pronounced by Americans to be of a type consistent with our traditional form of government. Yet it promises to reconstruct our civil affairs as radically as the industrial necessities of the nation in 1860 reconstructed the suffrage and the basis of representation.

"The civil service which must emanate from the application of a colonial policy will strengthen the executive rather than the legislative department of our Government. Had the thirteen States carried subordinate colonies with them into revolt in 1776, our form of republican government would have known from the first a distinct yet coördinated civil service, whose rules of procedure would have composed our system of administrative law. If America now becomes a colonizing power it may demonstrate, before the twentieth century closes, that it is possible to have a republican form of government whose executive and administrative are as strong, relatively, as these parts in a monarchy, and yet that the essentials of the republican form continue with undiminished power. The question of a highly efficient civil service, especially in our foreign and colonial contacts, involves far more than academic tests, the distribution of the spoils of party, or the installation of an office-holding class. It goes to the roots of our political system, and again compels decision and choice between two methods of conducting public affairs—the modern monarchical and the modern republican. More than this. Franklin's test—a well-administered government—must be the

test to which the civilized world shall at last come in making up its choice.

ADAPTATION OF REPUBLICAN METHODS.

"The republican form has always halted at the edge of barbarism. It makes too heavy demands on men to prosper among any barbaric people. Probably the majority of Americans who have thought of the matter believe that the principles of our Government are of universal application. Doubtless also many Americans believe that our political form possesses latent and inexhaustible virtues which need only contact with other races to transform them into self-governing and prosperous communities. Our local traditions lean this way. Our continental optimism is vigorous enough to cross oceans and ignore racial bounds. Our commercial precedence and fertile invention, our practically instantaneous military and naval successes, not wholly without surprise to ourselves, though no serious defeats were anticipated, have impressed the national confidence yet more deeply. Americanism at home and abroad was never more intense than to-day. The press of the country has not refrained from pointing out that as a people we are equal to any demands that may be put upon us. The moral value of such confidence is inestimable. It is a virtue which in past times has carried on the work of civilization; indeed, it is essentially the work of human progress. Because our self-confidence is so great, we, as a people, will not hesitate to adapt our republicanism to monarchical methods whenever necessary. Our written constitutions will not be suffered to stand in the way. Whatever civil service is demanded in ruling subordinate races within our jurisdiction, that service will be construed as in harmony with the republican form.

"There remains the final test of administration—a fixed public policy at all points of colonial contact. Our political methods at home have obeyed no such fixed policy. Rather have they been distinguished by the ebb and flow of parties. The hard experience that comes to nations that maintain a colonial policy will not pass us by. It need not be hoped that the American people will abandon their policy of domestic civil service, wasteful as it is, until the economies of administration are forced upon them by grinding necessity. Old and stable nations are forced to be economical. Here lies a hint. We must grow into an efficient civil service. When the public is convinced by economic necessity of its value, it will undoubtedly become as efficient under our republican form of government as it is with the nation whose colonial experience to-day is widest and most authoritative."

THE HUMAN ORGANISM AS REPUBLIC.

THE analogy so frequently drawn between society and the human body is further illustrated by Dr. Woods Hutchinson in a *Contemporary* article entitled "The Republic of the Body."

"DEMOCRACY IN BIOLOGY."

The "great cellular theory" developed under Virchow is first described:

"The body is conceived of as a cell-state or cell-republic composed of innumerable plastic citizens, and its government, both in health and disease, is emphatically a government 'of the cells, by the cells, and for the cells.' At first these cell-units were regarded . . . as, so to speak, individuals without personality, mere slaves and helots under the ganglion oligarchy which was controlled by the tyrant mind, and he but the mouthpiece of one of the Olympians. But time has changed all that, and already the triumphs of democracy have been as signal in biology as they have been in politics, and far more rapid. The sturdy little citizen-cells have steadily but surely fought their way to recognition as the controlling power of the entire body politic, have forced the ganglion-oligarchy to admit that they are but delegates, and even the tyrant mind to concede that he rules by their sufferance alone. His power is mainly a veto, and even that may be overruled by the usual two-thirds vote. And although their industry in behalf of and devotion to the welfare of the entire organism is ever to be relied upon and almost pathetic in its intensity, yet it has its limits, and that when these have been transgressed they are as ready to 'fight for their own hand' regardless of previous conventional allegiance as ever were any of their ancestors on seashore or rivulet marge. And such rebellions are our most terrible disease-processes, cancer and sarcoma."

CELLS BECOMING CIVILIZED.

Many of these cells have soaked every thread of their tissues in lime-salts and buried themselves in a marble tomb; yet petrified and mummified they are still alive, else the bone would dissolve. An exactly similar process occurs in the drama of coral-building. "If such a class or caste could be invented in the external industrial community, the labor problem and the ever-occurring puzzle of the unemployed would be solved at once." The connective-tissues show a similar degradation in a less degree:

"Whatever emergency may arise, nature can always depend upon the connective-tissues to meet it. . . . They are the sturdy farmers and ever-ready minute men of the cell-republic."

Their analogue in the external world is the sponge and its colonies.

THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

Next in order after bone and tissue "we find the great group of storage-tissues, the granaries or bankers of the body politic, distinguished primarily, like the capitalist class elsewhere, by an inordinate appetite, not to say greed. They sweep into their interior all the food materials which are not absolutely necessary for the performance of the vital function of the other cells."

Then come the group of blood-corpuscles, more free and independent than any other class in the body. "They float at large in the blood-current, much as their original ancestor, the amoeba, did in the water of the stagnant ditch."

The red ones become mere sponges for soaking in oxygen and for giving it out.

"THE MOUNTED POLICE."

The white are the great mounted police, the sanitary patrol of the body. Wherever an irruption of disease-breeding bacilli appears, there rush these white cells, to fight and conquer or die.

"They are literally the Indian police, the scavengers, the Hibernians, as it were, of the entire body. They have the roving habits and fighting instincts of the savage. They cruise about continually through the waterways and marshes of the body, looking for trouble, and, like their Hibernian descendants, wherever they see a head they hit it. They are the incarnation of the fighting spirit of our ancestors, and if it were not for their retention of this characteristic in so high a degree, many classes of our fixed cells would not have been able to subside into cush burgher-like habits."

THE UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE.

THE *May Cosmopolitan* begins with another article in the series on "Great Problems in Organization," a description of the workings of the United States postal service, by the present Postmaster-General, the Hon. Charles Emory Smith. He begins by telling us that the postal establishment of the United States is the greatest business concern in the world. This is true, inasmuch as it handles more pieces, employs more men, spends more money, brings more revenue, uses more agencies, reaches more homes, involves more details, and touches more interests than any other human organization, public or private, governmental or corporate. Although the postal service of England, France, and Germany includes the telegraph, our postal business by itself surpasses the service of any of those countries.

THE MAGNITUDE OF THE BUSINESS.

The Post-Office Department directs 73,570 post-offices, musters an army of 200,000 employees, spends this year \$105,000,000, and counts receipts of nearly the same amount. "It handled last year 6,214,447,000 pieces of mail matter, of which 2,825,767,000 were letters, so that every minute confides 12,000 new messages to its hands. It manufactured and delivered postage-stamps to the number of 3,623,821,608 and the value of \$71,788,333. It carried 2,069,742,000 newspapers, some of them suggesting what Hamlet said to the ghost, 'Thou comest in such a questionable shape.'

"The growth of the postal business is phenomenal. The figures just given are almost inconceivable, but when contrasted with the earlier figures they seem incredible as well. When Timothy Pickering served as Postmaster-General in Washington's administration, his balance-sheet of expenditures and receipts for a whole quarter of a year showed an aggregate of \$63,000, which is the expenditure of every six hours now. Even as late as 1880 the revenues and expenses were but little over a third of what they are this year. Within these eighteen years our population has increased about one-half, while the volume of the postal business has multiplied threefold."

THE GROWTH OF THE RAILWAY POST-OFFICE.

"The railway post-office is the artery of the whole system. It was started in 1864, and the force of employees in this branch of the service alone now reaches more than 8,100. The number of miles of railroad covered by the service last year was 174,777, and the total mileage of the postal cars was 281,585,612. The growth in the handling of matter has been prodigious. In 1884 there were distributed in railway post-offices 4,519,661,900 pieces of mail; in 1890 the number had grown to 7,865,434,101; and in 1898 to 12,225,706,220. These figures almost defy the imagination, but they convey some idea of the amazing extent of this work. With this development the old system of distributing offices was abandoned. The mails are now handled, sorted, pouched, and delivered in the postal car, and all the delay involved in sending to a distributing-point is avoided. For this service the most expert training and talent are required. The railway postal clerks must know every post-office in their whole range of territory as they know the alphabet; their memory within the necessary scope must be without flaw; and in throwing their letters to the right boxes across the car they become as expert as Herrmann in handling the cards upon the stage. Before entering upon the service they are required to pass

examinations which determine whether they possess sufficient knowledge to enable them to distribute the mails correctly. They are required to memorize the entire scheme and to submit to what are known as 'case examinations,' and unless they pass satisfactorily they are rigorously excluded. When this method of examination was instituted in 1872 the distribution averaged one error to every 720 letters. From that time onward the ratio of errors steadily declined until in 1884 it was found that 4,152 pieces were distributed correctly to every error made. Then, unfortunately, through change of administration the *personnel* of the service was materially interfered with, and the ratio of errors increased until in 1888 it was one in every 3,694 and in 1890 one in every 2,834."

Stricter examinations have now brought the errors down to one to every 10,428 pieces correctly distributed.

THE POST-OFFICE KEEPS UP WITH EXPANSION.

The post-office has kept on with the advance of American authority and has taken possession of the mail system in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines; or rather it has created a system anew, as the methods prevailing under Spanish rule were entirely antiquated and crude. "A party of American experts has been sent to each of the new possessions to take charge of the work, and although the reconstruction has only just begun, a vast improvement has already been wrought in the mail service. Under the old system the charge for postage, while nominally fixed, was in reality largely a matter of caprice with the agents; the mails were irregular and uncertain; there was no coherent, organized, and unified system. Since the American occupation registered letters have been found in the post-office at Havana which had lain there untouched for years. One of the first fruits of American administration was a saving of \$100,000 a year on a single line of transportation, and with rigorous care and the faithful application of American principles there is fair promise that the postal service in Cuba, as well as in Porto Rico and the Philippines, will be made self-sustaining."

WHY THE BUSINESS IS NOT PROFITABLE.

"Why is it not self sustaining in the United States? Because the Government of the United States, representing the people, has chosen to be liberal, in some respects perhaps foolishly liberal, in carrying the written and printed communications of the people, rather than ask too closely whether it pays in a financial sense. If the postal service covered only thickly settled sec-

tions, as in England or France or Germany, it would bring a splendid surplus. But the mail is carried to the remotest regions and over the arduous passes of Alaska, where a two-cent stamp will take a letter even though it costs fifty cents or a dollar to deliver it. But the great source of the deficit is in the carriage of second-class matter, which is mailed at one cent a pound, while it costs the Government eight cents a pound to transport it. For handling this class of mail last year the United States paid above \$20,000,000 more than it received. Wipe out the abuses that are connected with this branch of the service, and it would pay a magnificent profit."

THE "THREE AMERICAS" RAILWAY."

WE are indebted to the *Bulletin* of the Bureau of American Republics for a convenient *résumé* of the reports of the Intercontinental Railway Commission, giving in detail the results of the surveys made by different parties of engineers in Central and South America for the proposed "Three Americas' Railway."

It will be remembered that the International American Conference held at Washington in 1889-90 recommended the creation of an international commission to ascertain the feasibility, the cost, and the available location for a railroad connecting the countries of South and Central America with Mexico and the United States. As a result of this recommendation, which was approved by Secretary Blaine and President Harrison, an appropriation was made by Congress for the Intercontinental Railway Commission. In this act it was provided that three commissioners on the part of the United States should be appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, who were to act with representatives of the other American republics to devise plans for carrying out the objects recommended by the International American Conference. The commission organized on December 4, 1890, and at once set about the equipping of the surveying parties to make the necessary topographical examination.

The American commissioners, Messrs. Cassatt, Davis, and Kerens, were practical railroad men. Eleven other countries were represented on the commission. The instructions issued to the different engineering parties directed that they should take notes of the general topographical and geological formations of the regions traversed, the nature of the soil, climatic conditions, the character of the agricultural and other industries, the population, the materials available for railroad construction, and everything else of interest in connection with the proposed railroad. In

addition to the transit and other geodetic instruments, the parties were provided with cameras. The report just issued exhibits the surveys and field notes made from Mexico through Central America to Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru in South America. There is also included much general information relating to Bolivia, Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Chile, and Venezuela.

SURVEYS AND ESTIMATES.

The condensed report of the commission furnishes a well-digested synopsis of the work performed by the different parties sent out. The engineering force was organized in three corps. Corps No. 1 was directed to make examinations in Central America, Corps No. 2 was assigned to Colombia, and Corps No. 3 continued the survey in Ecuador and Peru. The report gives the proposed distances as follows: Central American division, from Ayutla, Guatemala, on the Mexican border, to Rio Golfito, Colombia, 1,043 miles; from Rio Golfito to Buenos Ayres, Argentina, 5,446.76 miles; through the United States from New York to Laredo, Texas, 2,094 miles; and from that point through Mexico to Ayutla, Guatemala, 1,644.3 miles; making a total of 10,228.06 miles, including the lines already in operation in the different countries. The extent of railroad to be constructed is a little over one-half the total, being 5,456.13 miles. An estimate is given of the cost for grading, masonry, and bridges of that portion of the line which must be constructed to complete the connections, which amounts to \$174,290,271.84.

THE WORLD'S SHIP CANALS.

IN the *Engineering Magazine* for May Mr. E. L. Corthell writes on the "Physical and Commercial Aspects of the World's Ship Canals," giving detailed descriptions of the Suez, the North Sea, the Corinth, the Kaiser Wilhelm, and the Manchester canals.

The great canals now under construction or projected are:

1. The Bruges Canal, now nearing completion. It is to be $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, $26\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, and will cost, including port-works at Heyst, on the seacoast, and at Bruges, \$7,800,000.
2. The Brussels Canal, to connect the Scheldt with Brussels and to make a maritime port of that city. This canal will be 16 miles long and $19\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, so that vessels of 2,000 tons may reach Brussels. Its estimated cost is \$7,000,000.
3. The Berlin Ship Canal, to convert Berlin into a seaport, with a depth of 25 feet and average cost of \$50,000,000.
4. The Baltic-Black Sea Canal, 1,000 miles long, 28 feet deep; cost estimated at \$25,000,000; very doubtful.
5. The Massachusetts Maritime Canal (Cape Cod),

connecting the waters of Long Island Sound and adjacent waters with Massachusetts Bay; length, $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles; estimated cost, \$5,000,000.

THE SUEZ CANAL.

The following statistics of the Suez Canal are given:

"Net tonnage in 1870, 436,609; 1880, 3,057,421; 1890, 6,890,094; 1897, 7,899,373. Receipts in francs, respectively, 4,345,755.42, 36,492,620.25, 65,427,239.22, 70,918,410.43. The general increase by periods is: 1870-80, a progression of 1 to 6; 1870-90, 1 to $14\frac{1}{2}$; 1870-97, 1 to $16\frac{1}{2}$. Number of passengers: 1870, 26,758; 1880, 101,551; 1890, 161,253; 1897, 191,215. The military and naval conditions of the world largely modify this passenger movement. Passenger receipts, in francs: 1870, 263,552; 1880, 1,015,517; 1890, 1,613,538; 1897, 1,912,150. The rates are, per ton of vessel, 9 francs; per passenger, 10 francs. The total receipts from all sources in 1897 were 75,607,929.40 francs; the total number of ships passing through, 2,986. The total expenses, including interest, etc., were 24,082,204.24 francs.

"The capital of the company is 200,000,000 francs, divided into 400,000 shares of 500 francs each. The annual interest on these shares is 5 per cent. The dividends per share, after paying all interests and setting aside the required amounts for a sinking fund, amounted to 97.62 francs in 1897. From the receipts of the first half of 1898 the dividend for that year will be 100 francs, or 20 per cent."

AN ISTHMIAN WATER ROUTE.

The Panama and Nicaragua interoceanic canals are still in an uncertain status as to plans and cost.

Mr. Corthell's paper shows that "nearly all the existing canals met with opposition in their inception and with meager financial returns when first operated, yet who can doubt that they have been for the general good of nations and commerce? It is with great engineering works as with great political events—the very nearness prevents a true estimate of importance, and it is only when sufficient time has elapsed that the real value of any great project can be correctly determined.

"Thus it was with the early history of internal waterways, with railroads, and with nearly all the ship canals which have yet been constructed; and so it will doubtless continue to be with any isthmiian canal, whatever route may be selected. It is only when considered in the broad light of its ultimate effect upon the welfare of mankind and the commerce of the world that a true conception of the importance of the waterway through the American isthmus can be grasped."

THE PEON SYSTEM IN MEXICO.

PRINCE ITURBIDE, in the *North American Review* for April, declares that the Mexican peon system, so often condemned as a form of slavery, is really the only arrangement in force on this continent that regulates the relations between capital and labor to the satisfaction of both. The details of the system are not the same throughout Mexico; what Prince Iturbide says concerning it applies to the middle belt of Mexican states.

PERPETUAL VASSALAGE.

As described in this article peonage is a kind of bondage for debt which becomes virtually perpetual. With rare exceptions the peon is of Indian or mixed blood. He is bound by debt to the *hacienda*, or plantation, on which he works, but he may rise by a scale of promotion to the highest and most dignified forms of employment on the place. The indebtedness is contracted either directly or by voluntary inheritance.

"In the former case, a peon seeking employment presents himself to the administrator (by which title the manager of a *hacienda* is known) and asks for an *enganche*—that is, a retainer, the amount of which, as a rule, varies between ten and thirty dollars. If the applicant be acceptable the retainer is paid, and the peon becomes part and parcel of the establishment. If he happens to be indebted to another *hacienda* and, for his own reasons, is changing employers, his debt being a recommendation, larger amounts than those named will be advanced to buy the debt and allow the peon a cash margin. His contract obliges him to work for the *hacienda* until his debt is canceled. On the other hand, his prerogatives are such as no other laborer in the world enjoys. In the first place, it is tacitly understood that while the peon remains in the employ of the *hacienda* his debt will not be canceled, but, on the contrary, that it will be increased, until, if ever, his children are pleased to assume it or death or old age wipes it out. The debt may not be sold without his consent except to a new owner of the *hacienda*. The peon is free, however, to change creditors at will. Only a part of his earned wages may be applied each week to his debt. Each week he receives rations, sufficient for his maintenance and for that of his family. Each year he and his family receive an ample supply of clothing. Medical services are furnished them free of expense, and the sums of money that they may require for baptisms, confirmations, marriages, or burials are advanced to them regardless of the balance that the peon's account may show against him. *Haciendas*, such as are described in this paper, have schools to

which the peon may—and often must—send his children. He is furnished space, of course, and material for the construction of his hut, and is entitled to the use of a fair measure of ground, which he cultivates for his own benefit, with the *hacienda's* stock, implements, and seed. Finally, there are two days in the year on each of which the peon receives extra wages amounting to several dollars. And when, through age or accident, the peon is no longer able to work, he becomes a charge of the *hacienda*."

Prince Iturbide mentions one establishment which in 1887 had 1,600 inhabitants (men, women, and children) whose aggregate indebtedness to the owner amounted to more than \$26,000, of which one peon alone owed \$1,500. Several of the peons, however, were free of debt, and a few of them were even the *hacienda's* creditors. The earnings and expenses of the women, who are very industrious, are entered on the accounts of the men of their families. Sometimes, at the end of a day, a peon is credited with several days' extra work that has been done by the women of his family.

ADVANTAGES OF THE SYSTEM.

Prince Iturbide is enthusiastic in his praise of the system, contrasting it with the labor systems of other lands to the disparagement of the latter. Of the condition of the laborers he says:

"There, then, is a numerous class of human beings who are born not only in poverty, but in debt, and heirs by natural law to all the misery of the proletariat—to which they would be a prey if the peon system were not there to solve their problem of life. As it is, from his cradle to his grave the peon will never lack food, raiment, or shelter. His wife and his children will never know the pinch of hunger. If he has the capacity to rise above his class, the *hacienda* will afford him the opportunity to do so. If he goes through life an insolvent debtor, still at the *hacienda* he will have an open credit, and not only his needs, but, in a measure, his limited appetite for the superfluous will be satisfied. In a word, he will be above the proletariat, and that through no charity of his employer; for all that is done in his interest is his due.

"The peon system affords the farmer proportionate advantages. It is less expensive than others—so much so that in many instances peon labor competes successfully with machinery. The prerogatives and perquisites that it secures to the field hands could not be replaced by increased wages of reasonable amounts; hence the owner secures greater satisfaction among his laborers by this system than he would by others that demand larger pecuniary disbursements.

Then the laborer becomes identified with the *hacienda*. It is his home, and he takes a natural interest in its welfare; while his relations with the owner are such as to preclude the antagonism that so often redounds to the detriment of both employer and employee.

"This solution of the labor question is due to the clergy of the early Mexican Church, who perhaps did not conceive the peon system as such, but whose humanitarian efforts in behalf of the Aztec race constituted one of the forces of which the system in question is a resultant. It perhaps presents imperfections, but improvement may be sought in keeping with its principles; for it is an excellent general formula that has stood long and varied tests, with the result that Mexican *haciendas* collect an indigent population into communities that know no want, while they furnish the most remunerative safe investment to be found in this hemisphere."

HOW MARQUIS ITO FIRST WENT TO EUROPE.

MR. JOHN FOSTER FRAZER relates in the April *Windsor* a talk he had at Tokio with the Marquis Ito, whom he describes as "the Father of Japan." With the Marquis was Count Inouye, his right-hand man. They told Mr. Frazer that while still boys they had made up their minds that Japan must be westernized. It says much for the tenacity of this conviction that it survived their first actual experience of Western life. The Marquis said:

"Well, our chief decided that Inouye and myself should go to England to learn navigation, so that on our return our knowledge would be useful in ousting the foreigners from Japan. We two young fellows accordingly went to Nagasaki for the purpose of getting a passage to England. The only word of English we knew was "navigation." We went into the office of the company, and when the man in charge asked what we wanted, all we could say was "navigation." Everything seemed all right, and away on board the vessel we went. But what was our surprise on finding that instead of being passengers we had been shipped as common sailors. All through the voyage we had to scrub the decks and work just the same as the others. The English sailors found out we had money and it was soon gambled away from us. Not all, for we kept two dollars carefully stowed away in an old stocking for emergencies. Well, at last we got to London, but nobody was there to meet us. The ship was tied up, everybody cleared off, and we were left alone. We got very hungry, but as we knew no English we didn't know what to do if we went on shore. However, hunger made us

decide that one of us must go and buy something somehow, so we tossed up who it should be. The lot fell on Inouye."

"Yes," said Count Inouye; "I was never more frightened in my life than on that wet night when I set foot in London and started off with one of the dollars in my hand to buy food. I had to be very careful so as to know my way back. I found a baker's shop, so in I went and pointed to a loaf of bread. Of course I could not speak, but I held out the dollar to show my willingness to pay, and do you know, that Englishman kept the dollar and gave me no change. Anyway, I got back to Ito all right, and we ate that bread like wolves. Next day some of our friends came to look for us and away we went. We were in London about a year."

"And did you learn much navigation in that time?" I asked.

"No," said Count Inouye, "not very much; but we kept our eyes open, and we came to the conclusion that it was all nonsense for Japan to keep foreigners at arm's length."

THE MALAY LANGUAGE.

IN *Appleton's Popular Science Monthly* for April Prof. R. Clyde Ford says of the Malay language:

"The Malays are not barbarians, and their language by its grace and adaptability has shown its right to be. To-day it is the mother tongue of more than forty millions of people and the *lingua franca* of Chinamen, Hindoos, Europeans, and natives. It is spoken from Madagascar to the distant islands of the Pacific and from the Philippines to Australia. With it one can barter in Celebes and sell in Java; converse with a sultan in Sumatra or a Spaniard in Manila. Moreover, it is soft and melodious, rich in expression, poetical in idiom, and simple in structure—a language almost without grammar and yet of immense vocabulary, with subtle distinctions and fine gradations of thought and meaning; a language that sounds in one's ears long after *Tanah Melayu* and the coral islands and the jungle strand have sunk into hazy recollection, just as they once dropped out of sight behind one's departing ship.

ARABIC AND SANSKRIT INFLUENCES.

"Malay is written in the Arabic character, which was adopted with Mohammedanism, probably in the thirteenth century. Anciently the Malays used a writing of their own, but it is not yet clearly settled what it was. There are now thirty-four characters employed, each varying in form, according as it is isolated, final, medial,

or initial. Naturally the Arabic influence over the language has been a marked one; the priest who dictates in the religion of a people is a molder and shaper of language. We have only to recall the Catholic Church and the influence of the Latin tongue in the mouths of her priests to know that this is so. Many Arabic words and phrases have been adopted, but more in the language of literature than in that of every-day speech. A large number of expressions of court and royalty and terms of law and religion are Arabic; also the names of months, days, and many articles of commerce and trade; nevertheless the language of common speech is still Malay.

"Another influence, also, has been felt in the Malay—that of the Sanskrit language. The presence of many Sanskrit words has caused some very ingenious theories to be constructed in proof that the Malays were of Indian origin and such word fragments the survival of the primitive tongue. Such theories, however, have not stood the test of philology, and the fact still remains that the language is essentially unique, with an origin lost in the darkness of remote antiquity. However, Sanskrit influence has been much greater and has penetrated much deeper into the elemental structure of the language than the Arabic. In fact, the aboriginal language, before it felt the animating spirit of the Aryan tongue, must have been a barren one, the language of a primitive man, a fisherman, a hunter, a careless tiller of the soil. As Maxwell says in his 'Manual of the Malay Language,' the Sanskrit word *hala* (plow) marks a revolution in Malayan agriculture and, one may say further, Malayan civilization. What changed the methods of cultivating the soil changed the people themselves. It is probable that this change came through contact with people to whom Sanskrit was a vernacular tongue, but whether through conquest by the sword or by religion is hard to tell. Perhaps it was by both. At any rate, it was deep and strong and left a lasting impression on the language. Sanskrit names fastened on trees, plants, grain, fruits, household and agricultural implements, parts of the body, articles of commerce, animals, metals and minerals, time and its division and measurement, family relationships, abstract conceptions, warfare, and fundamental ideas of religion and superstition. Such a conquest must have been an early and tremendous one.

GRAMMATICAL ABSURDITIES.

"Strangely enough, Malay is almost a grammarless tongue. It has no proper article, and its substantives may serve equally well as verbs,

being singular or plural and entirely genderless. However, adjectives and a process of reduplication often indicate number, and gender words are added to nouns to make sex allusions plain. Whatever there is of declension is prepositional as in English, and possessives are formed by putting the adjectives after the noun as in Italian. Nouns are primitive and derivative, the derivations being formed by suffixes or prefixes, or both, and one's mastery of the language may be gauged by the idiomatic way in which he handles these *Anhängsel*. Adjectives are uninflected.

"The use of the pronouns involves an extensive knowledge of Oriental etiquette—some being used by the natives among one another, some between Europeans and natives, some employed when an inferior addresses a superior and *vice versa*, some used only when the native addresses his prince or sovereign; and, last of all, some being distinctly literary and never employed colloquially. Into this maze one must go undaunted and trust to time and patience to smooth out difficulties.

"Verbs, like nouns, are primitive and derivative, with some few auxiliaries and a good many particles which are suffixed or prefixed to indicate various states and conditions. These things are apt to be confusing, and when the student learns that a verb may be past, present, or future without any change in form, he does not know whether to congratulate himself or not. Prepositions, too, are many and expressive; conjunctions, some colloquial, some pedantic."

After these statements we can hardly credit Professor Ford's assertion that the Malay language is easily learned. He says that it is full of wonders and surprises. Euphemism prevails.

"For instance, to die is beautifully expressed in Malay as a return to the mercy of Allah. The language is decidedly rich in poetical expression and imagery. A neighbor is one whom you permit to ascend the ladder of your cottage, and your friend is a sharer of your joys and sorrows. Interest is the flower of money, a spring is an eye of water, the sun the eye of day, and a policeman all eyes. A walk is a stroll to eat the wind, a man drunk is one who rides a green horse, and a coward a duck without spurs. A flatterer is one who has sugar-cane on his lips, a sharper is a man of brains, a fool a brain-lacker.

"In his proverbs also the Malay shows a matchless use of metaphor and imagery, his words having the softness of the jungle breeze, and at the same time the grimness of the jungle shades."

CENTENARY OF A RUSSIAN GENIUS.

"**TEMPLE BAR**" contains a timely sketch by "E. F. C." of Alexander Poushkin, whose centenary is being kept by Russia in the spring of this year. The writer speaks of him as one of the greatest of Russians, poet, dramatist, novelist, and historian:

"To the Western world he is little more than a name. One or two of his tales have been translated, one or two of his poems made the foundation of operas, but there the knowledge of him ends. Yet he was not only the most brilliant figure of Russian literature in his day, but a type of the awakening culture of his country—a strange blend of power and weakness, of lofty ideas and ignoble lapses, of barbaric vigor and civilized corruption. His own descent was a curious mingling of opposites. His father was one of an old and noble Russian family whose name is often met with in history. His mother was the granddaughter of a negro, Ibrahim Hannibal; and, as in the case of the elder Dumas, we can trace how the wild negro blood inherited by Poushkin broke out in every form of extravagance."

A DRAMATIC DÉBUT.

He was born in Moscow on May 26, 1799. His father was an officer in the guards. His infancy showed no sign of coming brilliancy. But after seven he began to develop in mischief and intellectual power. While still at school he wrote verses, subsequently published as "Lyceum Verses." His entrance into public fame was dramatic in the extreme. He was not yet sixteen.

"In January, 1815, for the first time in the history of the lyceum, a public-speech day and examination was held. The novelty drew crowds of all that was most famous in the aristocratic and literary circles of St. Petersburg, and among others came the poet Derzhavin. The old man sat, his head resting on his hand, dreamy and indifferent, while the examination went on, till it came to the recitations of Russian poems. Many were his own, and as he listened he bent forward and his eyes lighted up. At last it came to Poushkin's turn, and a few paces from the poet whose star was setting the new and brilliant comet started on his short, dazzling career. Standing before that crowd of learned and famous men, with beating heart and trembling voice he began to recite his 'Recollections of Czarskoe Celo.' As he proceeded his excitement grew, till as he finished it was overpowering—he turned and fled. Astonishment, delight, enthusiasm spread through the audience; all felt that here was a real poet. Derzhavin rose and called for

the boy that he might embrace him, but Poushkin was nowhere to be found. Next day all Petersburg rang with the praises of the new poet."

The young poet worked hard. But soon he yielded to the attractions of high life and dissolute gayety. His dissipation brought him twice to death's door and oftener to destitution. Nevertheless he found time and strength to complete in 1820 what he had begun four years before, his "Ruslan and Ludmila," a poem of the Faery Queen order. "It burst upon the world like some meteor on a dark night," producing an immense effect.

FROM SUSPECT TO COURT FAVORITE.

Revolutionary pamphlets, however, got him into trouble, but friends interceding with the Emperor saved him from Siberian exile. He was sent south to Ekaterinoslav. There he fell ill and was found fever-stricken in a hut, uncared for, by a St. Petersburg friend, who took him home to his father's house, still further south. On recovery he removed to Kisheneff and again to Odessa. But in the latter town his wild views, revolutionary and now atheistic, led to his being sent to his father's estates under police supervision. There he wrote much, and passed from under the influence of Byron to that of Shakespeare. Finally he begged to be allowed to return to St. Petersburg, and renounced his objectionable views. The young Czar Nicholas I. sent for him, received him with favor, and promised himself to be his censor.

A MISERABLE END.

Unfortunately he did not conciliate the all-powerful Count Benkendorf, and found his freedom much hampered in consequence. In 1831 he married a fashionable beauty and was at the zenith of outward good fortune.

"In spite of all he was utterly miserable. . . . He was constantly meeting with real or fancied affronts from those about him. We can picture him at this time, this man of great mind and soul, but of uncouth exterior and rough manners, wandering solitary and forlorn through the gay ball-rooms where his position demanded his presence, and glancing from behind columns or from distant doorways at younger and more fashionable men paying court to his beautiful wife."

The bitter epigrams he hurled at his enemies led them to plot his death. He and his wife were calumniated by a young officer whom he must perforce challenge to a duel. It ended fatally for him. He died in 1837. The writer observes:

"Had Poushkin belonged to any other nation, had he written in a language more generally

known, he might have ranked above all but the very greatest of poets. Unfortunately the strong local coloring of his works makes them less suitable for translation than those of some of his fellow-countrymen, but they are household words to every student of the Russian language. To touch upon even the principal is impossible in a cursory sketch. So numerous, so varied are they that the mind bows down in astonishment and admiration before this many-sided genius. In the hearts of his own countrymen Poushkin has ever held his true place as a writer of genius."

FIRST FOLIOS OF SHAKESPEARE IN AMERICA.

MR. SIDNEY LEE, the English Shakespearean scholar, writes in *Cornhill* about the famous "First Folio" edition of 1623.

It is stated that Jaggard and his partners probably printed about 500 copies, of which about 200 have been traced within the past century. Of these fewer than 20 are perfect and 160 have sustained serious damage. Mr. Lee sounds a note of alarm: "This country is being rapidly drained of its first folios by the United States of America." He says:

"When in the summer of last year I found that for purposes of research it was desirable that I should consult two copies of the first folio which were reported to possess unique features and were known to have been in libraries in England a very few years ago, my inquiries led me to the embarrassing conclusion that if I wished to examine the copies in question it would be necessary for me to take a trip to New York. One of these two copies only crossed the seas in 1897. There was a third copy, which I sought to trace in vain, and I believe, although I have no precise information on the subject, that that copy has also joined its brethren in America. English booksellers make no secret of this fact of the growing practice of exporting rare editions of Shakespeare to America. Mr. Quaritch, the great bookseller in Piccadilly, wrote to me lately in reference to the first folio: 'Perfect copies are usually sold by us dealers to American collectors. They thus get scarcer and dearer every year.'

"It is also to be recorded that the great collection formed by Mr. Halliwell-Phillips, the biographer of Shakespeare, left this country in January, 1897, when it became the property of Mr. Martin J. Perry, of Providence, R. I., U.S.A. Another great collection has lately experienced a like fate. Consequently it is not easy to exaggerate the danger to which Great Britain is now exposed of losing the most valuable memorials of its literature.

"Booksellers often tell me that it gives them

greater satisfaction to sell a rare English book to an Englishman than to an American; but even the most patriotic of booksellers has commercial instincts; and however unexceptionable a bookseller's patriotism may be, it cannot be expected that when an Englishman offers £500 for a copy of the first folio and an American £1,000, the bookseller will make the copy over to the Englishman in preference to the American bidder. The difficulty can only be met by an improvement in public sentiment in this country. Public sentiment ought to demand that whenever any specially valuable Shakespearean treasure, which should be regarded as a national monument, comes into the market, the director of such a national institution as the British Museum should have funds placed by the government at his disposal to enable him to enter into competition on something like level ground with American amateurs."

MR. PUTNAM'S PLANS FOR THE NATIONAL LIBRARY.

THE May number of the *National Magazine* has a fine portrait of Mr. Herbert Putnam, the newly appointed librarian of Congress, and a brief article in which Mr. Putnam outlines the policy under which he will manage his great national charge. Mr. Putnam has been for four years the librarian of the Boston Public Library. He is a young man, not yet forty. He means that the National Library shall be the largest in the United States, one that will stand as a model and example in forwarding the work of scholarship in the United States. He wishes the country to spend \$500,000 a year for it, and that there should be a force of about 250 employees in its administration.

"The material to be gathered by the library should, in my opinion, assume the following in order of importance:

"1. Actual legislation of the United States and of other countries, and all documentary matter embodying or pertaining to the same.

"2. All material entered under the United States copyright law.

"3. Law.

"4. Other American, so far as practicable.

"5. Of general literature, chiefly the following: (a) The history of this hemisphere; (b) the history of foreign countries; (c) sociology, particularly in so far as it bears upon federal legislation already enacted, or such legislation likely to be enacted or under discussion hereafter.

"I must express my opinion that proper attention to the above departments alone will be all that the National Library can expediently undertake with any funds reasonably to be foreseen."

AMERICAN NURSERY LITERATURE.

IN the *New England Magazine* for April Mr. Charles Welsh writes on "The Early History of Children's Books in New England," bringing out many interesting facts relating to the early nursery literature that found favor in the country, especially the series of books published in England by John Newbery and reprinted in Massachusetts by Thomas and others. He says:

"The contents of many of the books, in spite of the advertisements declaring them always to be highly moral in tone, were sometimes more free and outspoken than we should tolerate nowadays; and the style was frequently dull, heavy, didactic, prosy, and stilted, partaking of the character of the 'age of prose and reason' in which they were produced. There was still to be found in some of them a perverse, barbarous, and trivial element, and sometimes what we now should call immoral, cruel, and foolish ideas pervaded them. But on the whole they struck an entirely new note, opened out a fresh field, and prepared the way for the better things which have followed—those charming and uplifting products of the imagination which, as President Eliot says, teach that the supreme attainment of any individual is vigor and loveliness of character, and implant and encourage industry, perseverance, and veracity in word and act. Newbery's books, however, generally tended to encourage whatsoever things were pure and lovely and of good report according to the lights of the days in which they were written. While many of them have long since been deservedly forgotten and some have absolutely disappeared from the face of the earth, others have lived on until the present day, and the old-time nursery rhymes and jingles, wonder tales and fairy stories, some of which were first printed in accessible form in Newbery's little volumes, are among the most precious of our nursery classics of to-day."

"MOTHER GOOSE" NOT A NATIVE OF BOSTON.

Mr. Welsh disposes of a popular error regarding the identity of the famous "Mother Goose."

"One of Newbery's little books, entitled 'Mother Goose's Melody,' for which he evidently adopted the 'Mother Goose' from the title given to the collection of Perrault's fairy tales, which had by this time begun to be popular in England through a translation published some thirty years before, calls for a few words here, because around it has grown up a legend ascribing the authorship to a Boston lady, Elizabeth Goose, the mother-in-law of Thomas Fleet, the Boston printer. This myth is entirely dispelled, first by the fact that most of the well-known rhymes

and jingles in the collection are now known to have originated long before this estimable lady came upon this earthly scene, and next by the connection which has been clearly established in his book on 'The Original Mother Goose Melodies,' by Mr. W. H. Whitmore, the city registrar of Boston, between the Boston printed 'Mother Goose' and the Newbery editions which preceded it."

AMERICAN CHILD-LORE.

Mr. Welsh is interested in the collection of nursery stories, rhymes, and jingles from every part of the United States, with a view to showing how far we have gone in the direction of evolving a national nursery literature of our own. Correspondents all over the country are helping in this work, and if any of our readers are sufficiently interested in the subject to take the trouble to write down any of the specimens with which they may be familiar and send them to Mr. Welsh at 67½ Wyman Street, Boston, they will have the satisfaction of knowing that they are assisting in a commendable enterprise.

THE PAULIST FATHERS AND THEIR WORK.

IN the April *Arena* Ruth Everett contributes some interesting facts relating to the religious order which stands charged with attempting to "Americanize" the Roman Catholic Church.

The order was founded in 1858 by Father Hecker, who outlined its principles in the following words:

So far as is compatible with faith and piety, I am for accepting the American civilization, with its usages and customs. Leaving aside other reasons, it is the only way by which Catholicity can become the religion of our people. The character and spirit of our people must find themselves at home in our Church in the way those of other nations have done; and it is on this basis alone that the Catholic religion can make progress in our country.

The form of government of the United States is preferable to Catholics above other forms. It is more favorable than others to the practice of those virtues which are the necessary conditions of the development of the religious life in man. The Government leaves men a larger margin for liberty of action, and hence for coöperation with guidance of the Holy Spirit, than any other government under the sun. With these popular institutions men enjoy greater liberty in working out their true destiny. The Catholic Church will therefore flourish all the more in this republican country in proportion as her representatives keep, in their civil life, to the lines of their republicanism.

As the writer of the *Arena* article puts it, "the Paulist Fathers are American by three titles. First, it is the only religious institute of clerics in the United States that is of American origin, the only order founded in this country.

Second, all its first members were natives. Third, its primary vocation is apostolic labor for the conversion of non-Catholics in this republic."

THE AMERICANIZING OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

"The so-called 'Americanizing' of the Catholic Church in the United States, which the conservative Catholics of Europe profess to believe 'one of the greatest dangers that menace the Church,' did not consist in any attempt by the Paulist Fathers to abate one jot or tittle of any of the dogmas of the Church. It is true that the Paulist priest takes no vow, but the founders of the order did not dream that they were thus casting away a single incentive to virtue. On the contrary, the aspirations of the Paulist are, first, personal perfection, which is the vital principle of all religious communities, and, second, zeal for souls, to labor for the conversion of the country to the Catholic faith by apostolic work. In his zeal and enthusiasm the Paulist Father considers that he will be held responsible on the judgment day for the soul of every person in his parish."

"MISSION" METHODS.

The distinctive work of the order consists in the conducting of "missions" to non-Catholics. Every legitimate means is employed to secure an audience. The meetings are advertised, and sometimes street-preaching is resorted to.

One peculiarity in this mission work of the order is the selection of meeting-places. Referring to the practice in the early days of Christianity of apostolic preaching in heathen temples, the *Arena* writer says:

"Following the same line of reasoning, the Paulist Fathers make use of the village school-house and the town hall, even in preference to a Catholic church. They are particularly anxious to reach non-Catholics, and the latter naturally feel more at home in the school-house or town hall than in a strange church. In these services congregational singing is also encouraged, and such familiar songs as 'Rock of Ages' and 'Jesus, Lover of My Soul' are sung.

"From the beginning the Paulist Fathers earnestly took up this work of preaching. When only three could be spared, these three priests traveled through Canada and the United States; and from 1858 to 1865, when the death of one of them temporarily suspended their work, they had preached in eighty-one missions, delivered uncounted lectures and special sermons, and received into the Church hundreds and hundreds of converts. From 1870 to the present time they have given nearly one thousand missions; they have carried on unrelenting warfare against the drink habit and the custom of treating in saloons."

MARION CRAWFORD'S IMPRESSIONS OF THE POPE.

MR. MARION CRAWFORD contributes to the *Easter Outlook* (New York) his impressions of Pope Leo XIII. Perhaps the most interesting part of the paper is that in which the Pope's physical and mental characteristics are set forth:

"In the year 1878 Pius IX. and King Victor Emmanuel died within almost exactly a month of each other, and Joachim Vincent Pecci was elected to the pontificate. Cardinal Pecci was at that time exactly sixty-eight years of age, having been installed on the day succeeding his birthday. He was looked upon as an old man, and notwithstanding a popular prophecy concerning the reigns of the popes which predicted that he was to live at least twenty years after his election, it was not generally expected that he would have a long reign. People forgot the remarkable physical strength which had been his as a young man, and which was as much due to the vigorous stock from which he sprang as to the fact that he was born and bred in the healthy air of the Volscian Mountains, and had been both a sportsman and an athlete. Before he was seventy he was already unusually thin and transparently pale, but he was still perfectly erect. He had, I believe, never suffered any serious illness. He was still so active that younger men had difficulty in keeping pace with him when he walked, while he himself needed so little rest that he frequently ate his meals standing, by mouthfuls, rather than wholly interrupt the writing he was doing at another table; and he rarely if ever slept more than five hours during the night. He would have been classed by ancient physicians under the Saturnine variety of man, for he possesses the very strong osseous structure, the solid nervous organization, and the lean muscular development of melancholic temperaments.

"He has the excessively bright eyes which generally denote one of three sorts of talents—military, financial, or literary. Possibly he possesses something of all three, but his superiority as a man of letters and a financier cannot be questioned. His speech is unhesitating rather than fluent, impressive rather than persuasive, and his manner is at once authoritative and very formal. He neither invites confidence nor gives it easily; and yet nothing in his conversation suggests the idea of a diplomatic choice of truths, for if he consents to speak on any subject at all, he treats it with the frankness of one willing that all should know his opinions, but also with the dignity of one who claims that all shall respect them, whether agreeing with him or not."

GOLDWIN SMITH ON ENGLISH RITUALISM.

PROF. GOLDWIN SMITH contributes to *Self Culture* for April an article on the present ritualistic movement in the Church of England. Reviewing the historical antecedents of modern ritualism, Professor Smith concludes that in this age of science and criticism the movement can only be regarded as a startling reaction.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT—TRACTARIANISM.

"Five centuries have elapsed since Wycliffe and his disciples totally rejected transubstantiation and the whole circle of doctrine and practice of which transubstantiation is the center. Ritualism has come in two movements, distinguishable from each other, though the second sprang out of the first. The first was the Oxford movement, otherwise called tractarianism, from its series of manifestoes, the 'Tracts for the Times,' Puseyism, from its official, and Newmanism, from its real, chief.

"The writer was a student at Oxford at the time, and remembers how the mediæval Church, idealized by Newman, took hold of the fancies of young men who had before known nothing but the chilly decorum of the Anglican service and the preaching of the 'high and dry' pulpits. The Tractarians were gradually drawn on, by the thorough-going members of the party, to 'embrace the whole cycle of Roman doctrine,' and the natural result followed."

RITUALISM PROPER.

"The second movement, which commenced after an interval of partial collapse following upon Newman's secession, is ritualism properly so called. It has its source, not in the desire of a basis for the Church independent of the state or in any special theory or creed, ecclesiastical or theological, so much as in an emotional craving for sensuous worship, church ordinances, and priestly ministrations. It is traceable in some measure to the decay of intellectual belief, which

leaves a void in the religious nature to be filled by æsthetic emotion. Social fashion also plays its part, so far as the wealthy classes are concerned; ritualism is the thing farthest removed from the vulgarity of dissent. The present ascendancy of the party is largely to be ascribed to the progress of rationalism, which has deprived the more masculine minds of interest in the affairs of the Church, thereby leaving her to the more emotional and æsthetic."

THE POINTS NOW AT ISSUE.

Regarding the various ceremonials of which complaint is made by the Protestant element in the English Church, Professor Smith says:

"The ritualist clergy have introduced the mass with all its paraphernalia, with the elevation and adoration of the Host and the reservation of the elements. They have introduced the whole system of which the mass is the corner-stone, including the obligatory confessional. They have sued to Rome for recognition, but received in reply the usual intimation, courteously and lovingly conveyed, that if they will admit themselves to be heretics and their orders to be a fiction, they can be received into the true Church through the gate of penance."

THE CONFESSIONAL.

"The rock on which ritualism was pretty sure to split was the confessional. In the exercise of this most perilous function the Roman Catholic priest is safeguarded by his celibacy. He is, moreover, limited and guided by the strictest and most authoritative regulations. To the ritualist confessional these securities are wanting, and nothing can be more alien and repulsive to British sentiment than the interference of the spiritual director in the home. The upshot is an explosion of the old Protestant, or, at least, anti-sacerdotal, feeling, for which, in this age of religious indifference, we were hardly prepared. A crisis in the history of the Anglican establishment is apparently at hand."



THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

THE CENTURY MAGAZINE.

THE *May Century* opens with a descriptive sketch by R. D. MacKenzie of "The Solar Eclipse at Benares," an exceedingly poetic specimen of the travel sketch, with pictures by the author. Mr. Castaigne's magnificent illustrations to Professor Wheeler's life of Alexander the Great add very effectively to the interest and liveliness of that serial. The full-page picture of "The Siege of Gaza" especially is a remarkably strong example of magazine illustration.

The greater part of the *Century* for this month is taken up with a continuation of the war series, this time "The Story of the Captains," being personal narratives of the naval engagement on July 3, by Captain Evans, of the *Iowa*, Captain Taylor, of the *Indiana*, Lieutenant Wainwright, of the *Gloucester*, Captain Philip, of the *Texas*, Captain Cook, of the *Brooklyn*, Captain Chadwick, of the *New York*, and others. The one picture that we have seen which does Rear Admiral Sampson justice is the reproduction of the magnificent photograph by Hollinger & Co. in this series. The remainder of the illustrations are almost entirely drawings from photographs taken during the engagement or just after it. There seems to be a general conviction among the captains of the American ships that Cervera would have had a better chance had he chosen the night instead of the day for his sortie. Some of the American officers think, too, that his risk would have been less had he led his squadron to the east instead of to the west. But the Americans are divided as to the opinions on this score.

Mr. Jacob A. Riis, the careful student of the slums, has a brief contribution on "The Last of the Mulberry-Street Barons." Mrs. James T. Fields writes pleasantly of "Two Lovers of Literature and Art," the two being Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

FROM the *May Harper's* we have selected two articles, Mr. F. N. Thorpe's on "The Civil Service and Colonization" and Richard Harding Davis' stories of "Our War Correspondents in Cuba and Porto Rico," to quote from in another department.

Mr. Horace Kephart makes a most readable contribution in his article on "The Birth of the American Army" and his description of the conditions under which our Continental troops were mustered and trained. Mr. Kephart has much to say about the equipments, and especially the magnificent marksmanship of the riflemen who formed the first nucleus of our army. One famous Maryland company, led by a man named Cresap, was especially noted for its marksmanship. In Maryland and Pennsylvania its men gave examples of their skill, hitting pieces of paper the size of a dollar nailed on a blackened board about sixty yards away, and varying the feat by accomplishing it from various uncomfortable attitudes. Finally, one of two brothers took a piece of board only five inches broad and seven inches long, with a similar piece of paper centered on it for a bull's-eye, and held the board in his hand while the other brother shot through the paper. Then one of

the men placed the bit of board between his thighs and, supporting it thus, stood smilingly erect while his brother shot eight bullets successively through it, this shooting being done offhand at upward of sixty yards.

John Kendrick Bangs describes "A Historic Institution—The Manhattan Company," born in 1790, and therefore holding its centenary in this year. To this day, although the Manhattan Company is known wholly as a banking institution, it is required to maintain a water committee, who annually report that no application for a supply of water has been denied; and as an assurance of the continued maintenance of its supply, there is always present at the annual meeting a pitcher of water, freshly drawn from its tank, this being a curious relic of the old-time duties and responsibilities of the institution in its ownership of water works.

There is a delicious Indian story of a page, by Fred-eric Remington, and a chapter of Mr. Julian Ralph's experience in "Keeping House in London." After examining into the details of London housekeeping, Mr. Ralph concludes that no American of middle circumstances who has made his home in London will dispute the statement that it costs more to keep a family there than it does at home. Men's clothing, wines and liquors, servants, flowers, and a very few minor articles are cheaper in England, but these advantages are offset by the higher cost of all other necessities. The cheapest cut of beef is twenty-five cents a pound, the best fish sell for as high as fifty cents a pound, butter is thirty cents a pound, coffee is forty cents, strawberries never go lower than eight or ten cents a basket, and good small fruits generally are very much dearer.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE.

IN the *May Scribner's* Col. Theodore Roosevelt continues his story of the Rough Riders in the fifth chapter, the next to the last of the series, in which he describes the life of the Rough Riders in the trenches and pays a particular compliment to Lieutenant Parker, who commanded the Gatlings at Santiago and who has become known to the readers of the *AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS* in two articles contributed to this magazine. Colonel Roosevelt is so impressed with the work of Lieutenant Parker that he can say: "In fact, I think Parker deserved rather more credit than any other one man in the entire campaign. I do not allude especially to his courage and energy, great though they were, for there were hundreds of his fellow-officers of the cavalry and infantry who possessed as much of the former quality and scores who possessed as much of the latter; but he had the rare good judgment and foresight to see the possibilities of machine guns, and, thanks to the aid of General Shafter, he was able to organize his battery. He then, by his own exertions, got it to the front, and proved that it could do invaluable work on the field of battle, as much in attack as in defense. Parker's Gatlings were our inseparable companions throughout the siege."

In Senator Hoar's political reminiscences he takes occasion to defend the memory of Charles Sumner,

especially against the accusation that he was not practical. Says Senator Hoar: "He was the most practical of modern statesmen. Everything he did ought to have been done, everything he tried to do and failed to do ought to have been done. The progress of the cause of the negro in this country stopped when he died. The progress of the cause of equal rights and equal suffrage was arrested at his death."

Mr. F. Hopkinson Smith utilizes his notable taste for the picturesque in a pleasant travel sketch describing his experiences in Holland, under the title "Between Showers in Dort." The illustrations are from Mr. Smith's paintings.

Mr. G. W. Stevens, the noted war correspondent, describes "The Installation of Lord Curzon as Viceroy of India."

There is a collection of the letters of Sidney Lanier, under the title "A Poet's Musical Impressions," being parts of various letters written by Mr. Lanier to his wife between 1869 and 1876 in his absences from home. They are interesting as showing a poet's first impressions of really great music, and all the more so in that the poet was himself a musician equally.

Further installments of Robert Louis Stevenson's letters appear, and there is an account of the regeneration of Santiago, under the title "Santiago Since the Surrender," written by Maj.-Gen. Leonard Wood himself. It is well known now what an abominably filthy city Santiago was. General Wood can now say that the city is clean, free from odors, and as healthy as any city of its size in the United States, excepting, perhaps, for the constant presence of malaria. Of course it is old, tumble-down, and in need of a vast amount of repair, but the work has been started, and, what is more to the point, the people appreciate this fully and are interested in it. General Wood says that Cuba may be made a comparatively attractive and healthy country to live in.

THE COSMOPOLITAN.

WE have quoted in another department from Postmaster-General Charles Emory Smith's description of "The United States Postal Service," in the *May Cosmopolitan*.

Mr. W. M. Sheffield gives a brief description, with some striking pictures, of the railroad which is being built to the Klondike. The route starts from Skaguay, traverses White Pass, descends into the Yukon Valley by way of the chain of lakes, and ends at Fort Selkirk, on the Yukon, over 300 miles from Skaguay. The greatest difficulty was the first twenty miles from tide-water, where a rise of 2,280 feet had to be overcome, nearly all in one part. The obstacle is surmounted chiefly by using sharp curves, built on shelves in the face of the rock. By this means a maximum grade of 3.9 per cent., or 206 feet to the mile, has been obtained. The terminus will probably be reached before the close of this year. A force of 1,500 workmen, working twenty-two hours out of the twenty-four, have pushed the task rapidly to completion. The railroad has cost nearly \$60,000 a mile. The writer hints at a through train from San Francisco to St. Petersburg in the distant future.

Anna Leach contributes an article on "Science in the Model Kitchen," illustrated with photographs of very modern culinary apparatus in the houses of prominent American families. The writer describes many curious

innovations made possible in kitchen management by modern science, and she thinks that with the cheapening of electrical power these will become entirely possible in the more modest homes, where on account of the fewer servants kept they are most needed. No small apartment is complete without an electrical range. "It is made of soapstone or of the heavy earthenware, solid or built of tiles, for it consists only of a series of shelves, with the point of attachment to the current let into the back. It is so simple that a child can manage it, and, like the plate warmer, every saucepan and cover can be regulated automatically."

Milton E. Ailes gives a dramatic story of "Arctic Perils" in his account of the experiences of the whaling vessels frozen in the ice in the fall of 1897 which were rescued by Lieutenant Jarvis at Point Barrow on March 29, 1898. The crews of several of them were saved from death, and the whole were fed and clothed by the energies of one man, Mr. Charles D. Brower, the young manager of the Cape Smythe Whaling and Trading Company, which has a station nine miles from Point Barrow.

In a further article on "The Ideal and Practical Organization of a Home" Dr. Denslow calculates that a family can live as well for \$2,500 in parts of Maine, New Hampshire, or New Jersey as for \$7,000 in New York City, and in Georgia or East Tennessee it can live as well for \$600 as in Maine for \$1,200.

McCLURE'S MAGAZINE.

THE *May McClure's* contains some "Stories of Admiral Dewey," by Mr. Oscar King Davis, which we have quoted from among the "Leading Articles of the Month."

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT AND THE MACHINE.

Another notable figure of the Spanish war, Col. Theodore Roosevelt, is the subject of a sketch by Mr. J. Lincoln Steffens, though Mr. Steffens is not concerned so much with the personality of the governor as with his political career during the last six months. Mr. Steffens explains Colonel Roosevelt's theory of his duty in the choice of the Republican machine nomination for governor, and tells how he has managed to reconcile the responsibilities of a party man with the duties of an honest and upright man in the acts of his governorship.

THE INTELLIGENCE OF ELEPHANTS.

Col. F. T. Pollok tells some curious things concerning the intelligence of elephants, especially in regard to their utility for man's purposes. Mr. Kipling has already, in one of his stories, called attention to the part elephants play in the siege of towns, when they are used for moving siege batteries, and how, when the guns are brought into action, the elephants are replaced by bullocks, as the latter are not subject to panic like the former—explained in Mr. Kipling's story by the theory that the elephants have got sense enough to be afraid and the bullocks have not. Colonel Pollok says an elephant can carry 800 to 1,000 pounds on his back, march from eight to ten hours a day over the most difficult country at a steady pace, and do with five or six hours' sleep. The usual allowance of rice is 2 pounds per foot of height daily and about 600 pounds of green food. The elephants show the most marvelous discern-

ment in carrying and arranging logs in the huge timber yards in Rangoon and Moulemein. The beasts test the weight and balance of the log before lifting it, raise one end with their tusks, and if they can lift the whole, shift their trunks carefully until they get to the exact center, then kneel down, roll the log on their tusks, and carry it to the stack or to the sawmill. In stacking they will give it a little push here or a pull there until the timber is in the exact position. In keeping masons supplied with blocks of stone they will raise the block to the exactly correct position on the wall in course of construction.

THE SUN IS GROWING HOTTER.

Mr. Ray Stannard Baker, of the staff of *McClure's Magazine*, has a readable interview with the astronomer, Dr. T. J. J. See, in which that young but eminent scientist explains his theory of the origin of the sun and planets. Dr. See believes that our solar system and all other stellar systems were originally a swarm of icy masses floating like some great flock of birds in blue space. At present he says the sun is a gaseous body still, and that in conformation to the new law which Dr. See has evolved it is shrinking from year to year and is therefore growing hotter. At present the radiance is yellow. As the years go by and the heat increases we may expect the light to grow gradually whiter and whiter until it approaches the color of an arc lamp, and after that it will gradually become blue, the next step marked in the spectrum. It will then have reached the condition of the blue stars of the heavens, Sirius and Vega, and it will have shrunk to a density nearly approaching that of an incompressible liquid.

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE.

IN the May *Lippincott's* Mr. John Foster Kirk reviews the question of the Philippines. He agrees with the so-called expansionists in believing that there was no possibility of shifting the responsibility we had incurred in the islands to other shoulders. He thinks it certain that our rule in the Philippines will not be characterized by the same sort of conduct as has disgraced the rule of Spain. "We shall not send them governors and administrators to accumulate wealth by plunder and fraud. We shall not punish revolts by wholesale and cold-blooded executions. Material progress at least may be counted on as the solid result of a rule that is bound to facilitate the legitimate enterprises of the trader, the manufacturer, and the agriculturist." Assuming this, Mr. Kirk thinks that even those who were conscientiously opposed to the acquisition of the Philippines ought now to do their best to make our rule as good as possible, and that this purpose is ill served by criticism and censure.

Mr. Edward L. Fell contributes an essay on "The American Fondness for Movements," by "movements" meaning reform agitation of various sorts. He thinks that the American habit of plunging unreservedly into popular movements without taking their measure is playing an alarming part in the development of our individual mind and character. "It is making of us a nation of cranks."

The novel of the month is "Princess Nadine," by Christian Reid; there are several short stories and essays on Philippe de Comines and "Democracy and Suffrage."

THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

THE *Ladies' Home Journal* for May contains several readable articles, among them "Helen Keller as She Really Is," an intimate glimpse of the wonderful deaf and blind girl, given by Joseph E. Chamberlin. Mr. Chamberlin describes how Miss Keller lost her sight and the steps by which she has learned to use her sense of touch instead of hearing so that she can listen to reading, identify friends by their handshake, and perfect herself to a marvelous degree in the study of languages and of mathematics, not to speak of playing chess and solitaire. Miss Keller listens to reading by placing the fingers of a hand at the nose, lips, and throat of a person reading aloud, and there seems to be no hesitation in her interpretation of what is read. She is particularly sensitive to musical vibrations, although totally deaf as to her ears. "She is fond of holding her hands against the piano when it is being played, and her face shows keen pleasure while she is thus occupied. She distinguishes between high chords and low chords struck on a piano, but her sense of feeling does not distinguish between major and minor chords nor between concordant and discordant sounds."

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE AN ACTRESS.

Miss Viola Allen tells the readers of the *Home Journal* "What It Means to Be an Actress." She describes various phases of the novice's career, the work as an "extra," then as an understudy, and finally as mistress of her own rôle. Miss Allen advises the broadest and most complete education as the best training for the histrionic art. The least education an actress can do with is the best of common-school training and a knowledge of French. Concerning the rather vague matter of actresses' salaries, Miss Allen says that in first-class companies they run from \$25 to \$125 per week, exclusive of the leading rôles. But while this seems munificent for a young woman's income, she reminds us that the actress is traveling a great deal and that her hotel bills probably amount to \$21 a week. She takes the example of a thrifty young woman in a first-class company with the average salary of \$60 a week, and deducting the expenses of the year she shows that the actress can only save \$600 with the most prudent management. As to the charm of the life as a profession, she says that the great attraction to the novice of constant traveling becomes the bane of her existence when the novelty has worn off.

Mr. Paul Leicester Ford gives some picturesque anecdotes of George Washington, illustrating his dislike of extravagance, his occasional shrewd diplomacy, his fondness for dancing, his great love for his mother, the stage fright that seems to come over him in addressing his country folks, and many other picturesque qualities. He says Washington was the most punctual of men, and that when he was to meet Congress at noon he never failed to be passing the door of the hall when the clock struck 12. His dining hour was 4, and after allowing five minutes for the variation of time-pieces, he invariably sat down, whether his guests were present or not.

A new novel by Anthony Hope begins in this number, the editor answers with abundant instances the inquiry of a subscriber as to where are the pretty girls in America, Dr. Watson discusses "The Art of Listening to a Sermon," and there is another two-page installment of the useful series of photographs of the tasteful country homes of America.

MUNSEY'S MAGAZINE.

"MUNSEY'S MAGAZINE" for May tells something about Sir Thomas Lipton, the challenger for the *America's* cup, who will next fall sail the *Shamrock* against our *Columbia*, now being built. Sir Thomas Lipton is an Irishman, a wealthy merchant, and a bachelor. One of his first acts after challenging for the cup was to contribute \$10,000 to the relief of the United States soldiers in the field. This proof of a generous and friendly spirit, combined with his wide acquaintance in New York and Chicago, will insure a very different spirit in the coming trial of speed from that which characterized the *Valkyrie* race.

Mr. Walter Littlefield, in an article entitled "The Truth About Dreyfus," reviews in detail the various steps in that elaborately scandalous story, and prints a number of photographs and facsimiles of documents in the case in his task of showing how great a travesty of justice was the conviction and imprisonment of Dreyfus.

THE NEW ENGLAND MAGAZINE.

THE May *New England Magazine* is a well-illustrated and well-considered number. It begins with one of the articles of special local interest which consistently characterize that magazine, "The Share of Connecticut in the Revolution," by J. Moss Ives, and another in the same category is a good historical account of Brown University, by Henry Robinson Palmer, with excellent illustrations of various phases of the subject. Brown University is now in its one hundred and thirty-fifth year, and approaches the close of the century with brighter prospects than ever before, with broadened courses of instruction, increased resources, a university library of 90,000 volumes, supplemented by the Athenæum Library of 50,000 volumes and the Providence Public Library of more than 80,000.

Mr. Clifton Johnson describes "Work and Workers in Rural England," with pictures taken from the beautiful photographs with which the author illustrates his descriptive sketches. Each one of these photographs of Mr. Johnson's is really a work of art.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

A LARGE part of the *Atlantic Monthly* is taken up with the opening articles of really important and solid interest.

The first is Mr. H. de R. Walker's on "Australasian Extensions of Democracy." In the five colonies of the Australian continent the state is called upon to perform a greater number and variety of functions than in any other Anglo-Saxon nation. The railroads almost without exception, with all the telegraph and telephone lines, are in the hands of the community. Four of the colonies lend money to settlers at low rates of interest; the government of south Australia sells its wines in London; Queensland facilitates the erection of sugar mills; Victoria and south Australia have given a bonus upon the exportation of dairy produce; and there are half a dozen other striking instances of unusual phases of state aid to the community, while in all the colonies the national system of primary education is compulsory and undenominational. Mr. Walker's article is largely taken up with an argument against Mr. Godkin's strictures on the results of the nationalized efforts, his chief criticism of Mr. Godkin's statements being that Mr. Godkin has been misinformed.

H. P. Whitmarsh discusses "American Deep-Water Shipping," and deplores the present ineffectiveness of our merchant marine. He finds that the United States refuses to make \$80,000,000 yearly by not carrying her own exports. During the fiscal year that ended with June, 1898, there were entered and cleared from United States ports 50,000,000 tons of freight. Only 9.3 per cent. of it was carried in American bottoms. This seems, too, the more striking in that during the early part of the century the United States carried 90 per cent. of her imports and exports. If she did as much as that now her share of the year's carrying trade would have amounted to the enormous sum of \$180,000,000. As to the remedy for this state of affairs, Mr. Whitmarsh does not consider that free ships and bounties will necessarily be the effective cures. He thinks that two things are needed: a revival of national interest and some kind of governmental aid. There are some signs of the former as a result of the naval successes in the late war, but the latter will not amount to so much as long as it is shown only in bounties, subsidies, etc. The first step in government aid he thinks should be the formation of a body similar to the British Board of Trade, a department of merchant marine like the Department of Agriculture. He thinks that a properly organized body of this sort would bring American ships to become the best built in the world, would secure them cargoes in the face of all competition, and would make them pay.

Under the title "The Orator of Secession: A Study of an Agitator," Mr. William G. Brown makes a readable sketch of the life of that picturesque character, William Lowndes Yancey. Mr. Brown makes a striking comparison between Yancey and Wendell Phillips, and finds more points of contact than one would have imagined at the first blush.

The psychologist, Professor James, prints one of his "Talks to Teachers on Psychology;" Jacob A. Riis describes "The Battle with the Slum;" Mr. William V. Pettit gives an account of the present condition of Porto Rico; Mr. Henry W. Farnam discusses "Some Economic Aspects of the Liquor Problem;" and in the series "Improvement in City Life" Mr. Charles M. Robinson tells of the educational progress that has been made in recent years.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

IN the April number of the *North American* the Rev. Dr. J. P. Jones concludes his survey of British rule in India, and we have quoted from his article in the "Leading Articles of the Month." Prince Iturbide's account of Mexican peonage is also noticed in the same department.

The Hon. John A. T. Hull, chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, writes on the organization of the army. He rehearses the history of the recent legislation in Congress, severely criticising the Senate amendments as finally adopted.

The paper by Julian Hawthorne on "Public Schools and Parents' Duties" is, as the writer puts it, "not an indictment of American public schools, but of American parents' neglect of their children. We do not do our duty by them. It is too soft an expression to say that we intrust them to the state; we abandon them to it. America is the children's country, perhaps, but it is so in a sense less flattering to our vanity than we might wish. We pay for their book-learning, their

amusements, and their indulgence, but we deny them what it is our chief concern to give them—opportunity to develop character. Yet it is in order to afford them that opportunity, or, we might say, to compel them to that development, that we, as parents, exist. If we fail to do it we might as well, as parents, not exist at all."

Writing on the subject of orthodoxy, the Rev. Prof. Francis Brown lays down the proposition that we all owe allegiance to truth, to the full extent of our knowledge and judgment—in other words, that "we are bound to be as orthodox as we can."

"But while my apprehension of truth is decisive for me, it is not decisive for any other man. Every man must apprehend truth for himself. Every man's standard must be within himself. Only in case all these individual standards should agree could we make any one of them the universal standard. But they do not agree. They differ widely."

The Hon. Robert P. Porter gives a hopeful account of Cuba's industrial prospects. He seems to think that American enterprise and capital will first be utilized there in the establishment of transportation facilities, sanitary improvements, gas and electric lighting plants, telegraph and telephone services, etc.

Mr. Eugene Young indicts the Mormon hierarchy for a series of offenses, culminating in the revival of polygamy and of church control in politics. The influence of the Mormon priesthood extends into Canada and Mexico. Not only is Utah under Mormon domination, but eleven members of the Idaho Legislature are Mormons and Mormon settlements are spreading through Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Washington, and Nevada, not to speak of isolated communities in the South and elsewhere.

Mr. M. G. Mulhall, the statistician, shows that the proportion of British capital invested in foreign countries is more than thirteen times larger than it was forty years ago.

Bishop Potter writes on the subject of "National Bigness or Greatness—Which?" Prof. W. Garden Blaikie describes the French Riviera; Elizabeth Bland enunciates "A New Law of Health," which proves to be really a yielding of obedience to the old laws; and Edmund Gosse relates some reminiscences of "Orion" Horne, to whom allusions are made in the Browning letters recently published.

THE FORUM.

WE have selected the Rev. Gilbert Reid's article in the April *Forum* on "American Opportunities in China" for quotation elsewhere.

Prof. Ivan Oseroff, of Moscow University, contributes an article on the industrial development of Russia. He presents a series of figures, all going to show that Russia has been developing with great rapidity of late. He considers the iron, oil, cotton-spinning, ship-building, and sugar industries, showing the bearings of governmental encouragement in the way of bounties and tariffs. It is evident that the country is liberating itself more and more from importations for the requirements of home consumption. The industrial development is powerfully aided by the influx of foreign capital. Professor Oseroff also says that the enterprising foreigners who invest their capital in Russia, being better acquainted with recent mechanical improvements, stimulate the introduction of such improvements in Russian manufactures.

Mr. Bushrod C. Washington discusses the old question, "Was Washington the Author of His Farewell Address?" and concludes that while great honor is due to Hamilton and Madison for their services in the preparation of the address, the evidence is still conclusive that Washington was, in the only applicable sense of the term, the author of it.

Mr. H. Butler Clarke reviews the recent conduct of the Spanish Government in the shaping of national policy as distinguished from the consensus of public opinion in Spain so far as it can be interpreted. The Spanish virtues of bravery, hardihood, sobriety, patience, and honesty find their best exponents chiefly in the country population, which forms the sound and solid backbone, but this element lacks leaders, organization, and cohesion. It cannot initiate policies.

President Thwing, of Western Reserve University, discusses the subject of pecuniary aid for poor and able students. He evolves the following principles, which he holds should be maintained in giving aid to students in college:

"1. Every grant of aid should be made upon the ground of the claims of the individual concerned. The good health and promise of life of the applicant should be considered.

"2. In granting aid, evidence should be based so far as possible upon the man himself rather than upon testimony about the man.

"3. The amount of aid granted should vary according to the need, character, and promise of usefulness of the applicant.

"4. In case testimony is required, the testimony should be secured from witnesses outside the applicant's family as well as within.

"5. All aid should promote the self-respect and manliness of the student receiving it.

"6. No aid should be given to classes of students as classes.

"7. All grants of aid should be confined to one year, and no assurance should be given of aid for more than one year, unless the grounds of the award still obtain.

"8. Every wise and proper means should be used to impress upon the student the debt of gratitude that he owes the college, but there should be no badgering.

"9. The college should follow up each loan with courteous care in order to secure repayment."

Mr. E. L. Godkin reviews the conditions of good colonial government, drawing many illustrations from the English system, of which he has made a special study. He holds that in order to govern colonies we must have an organization exempt from the vicissitudes of our frequent elections, "which shall have nothing to hope or fear from party changes, which shall offer to young men of character and ability a career which they may enter for precisely the same reasons which induce them to go into the banking business or the dry goods business—the hope of a reasonably good livelihood and a provision for old age."

Mr. J. P. Young, of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, sets forth certain reasons for predicting a decline in England's commercial supremacy. That supremacy, built up so largely on the Manchester doctrine of England's destiny to be the workshop of the world, is now menaced by the enormous growth of manufacturing industries in other countries.

Prof. William P. Trent essays to define "The Authority of Criticism," and at least succeeds in showing

that this authority rests very lightly on most of the critics themselves.

Mr. W. J. McGee contributes an exposition of Bacon's "Novum Organum;" Mr. Homer B. Hulbert writes briefly about "Korea and the Koreans;" and the Hon. Charles A. Prouty, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, discusses the powers of that body.

THE ARENA.

THE opening article of the April *Arena* is Ruth Everett's account of "The Paulist Fathers and Their Work," from which we have quoted elsewhere.

Another leading feature of this number is a symposium on "The Race Problem," in which three leaders of the colored race—Bishop Holly, of Haiti, Prof. W. H. Council, and President Booker T. Washington—and Mr. J. Montgomery McGovern, a New York journalist who has lived many years in Georgia, and Mr. W. S. McCurley, who has lived thirty years in the South in close association with the negro, participate. Of the two white writers Mr. McGovern is far the more hopeful of the future of the negro. He urges that the negro should be taught industrial pursuits and be governed by prompt legal measures rather than by mob violence. He should not be expected to live up to a standard which is beyond his power to attain. Mr. McCurley, on the other hand, begins with the premise that the negro is and must ever be hopelessly inferior to the white man.

The Hon. C. G. Garrison, of the New Jersey Supreme Court, publishes interesting data on the question of the death-penalty, from which it appears that the States in which the death-penalty is abolished are Colorado, Maine, Michigan, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin. The death-penalty has also been abolished or qualified in the Argentine Republic, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Holland, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Russia, Switzerland (in eight cantons), and Venezuela.

Mr. S. Ivan Tonjoroff's chronicle of foreign politics discusses the Russo-Finnish episode, and intimates that the Czar is quite ignorant of what is going on in his domains.

Mr. Horatio W. Dresser occupies twenty-four pages with a discussion of "Possibilities of the Moral Law," and even then fails to exhaust the subject.

In his chapter of "Spanish Character Studies" Dr. Felix L. Oswald describes some of the pleasanter aspects of the national character, especially the Spaniard's charity:

"Foreign residents of Spanish cities are amazed to find that the relentless butchers of Moriscos, Lucayans, Netherlands, and Cuban insurgents seem to be the most charitable people on earth. The famished citizens of Cadiz and Havana shared their pittance with still poorer wretches. Without a poor-tax, Spanish communities of 50,000 self-supporters feed a pauper population of 5,000 to 7,000. Public hospitals are thronged with ministers of mercy. Nor should we shrink from the confession that in the land of Torquemada minors are treated far more kindly than in Puritanical Great Britain. There are Spanish towns where Charles Lamb's Autocrat of the Grammar-school, child-torturing Boyer, would have been torn by a raging mob."

Dr. W. H. Tolman describes the work of the recently organized League for Social Service, the object of which is the "gathering of information regarding everything that tends to the social betterment of humanity."

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

IN the *Contemporary* for April "A Turkish Official" writes an interesting paper on the future of Turkey. It is chiefly occupied with what might have been if the Turks as well as Christians had been helped by Europe to a reformed government or if the Turks could reform their own government. The writer sees in the present Sultan the ruin of his empire—a cunning but insane egotist, whose one idea of personal safety has led him to sink his people into an abyss of ignorance and corruption and to centralize all power in himself. He has no hope of help from the German Kaiser. So he concludes thus gloomily:

"On the whole it may be affirmed that, barring some unforeseen combination of circumstances, of which history is not devoid, Turkey, European, African, and Asiatic, is doomed to die. England's share in her succession will be the undisputed possession of Egypt and the annexation of Arabia right up to Bagdad. France will have Syria and Russia Anatolia. Italy's claim to the province of Tripoli in Africa is countenanced by all. The rival pretensions of Greece, Bulgaria, and Servia will be settled by Europe, Austria and perhaps Italy also coming in for a slice of Turkish territory in Roumelia. The future of Constantinople is uncertain."

THE LONDON BILL.

Dr. Collins' paper on "The London Government Bill" ends with this succinct criticism:

"The disintegration of the growing unity of London into a conglomerate of sham municipalities under the hegemony of Greater Westminster, though it may enliven and embellish local government in the metropolis, can scarcely fail to raise the rates, while it will postpone indefinitely that unity, simplicity, and equality of treatment which are the cardinal principles of the reformation of London."

"AN EVERLASTING STIGMA" ON ENGLAND.

Mr. Henry D. Macleod's discussion of "Indian Currency" rests on this contention:

"Lord Lytton's government declared in 1876 that it was impossible to close the mints to the free coinage of silver unless at the same time the mints were opened to the free coinage of gold as unlimited legal tender. Yet the government has allowed five years to pass away without taking a single step to restore the gold coinage, which it ought to have done simultaneously with closing the mints to the free coinage of silver. The whole of this unhappy India business is an everlasting stigma on British economic and financial statesmanship of the nineteenth century."

He estimates the losses of the Indian Government resulting from "the unfortunate attempt to introduce bimetalism" since 1864 at £100,000,000.

RESOURCES OF NORTH BORNEO.

Sir John Jardine draws an instructive contrast between the economies of the old East India Company and the British North Borneo Company. He thus describes the resources of the latter:

"North Borneo is both a landed estate, to be developed chiefly by private capital subscribed in the city by persons interested in planting and mining, and a territory with a scanty population, for whose good government the company is responsible to crown and Parliament. Coal is mined, tobacco last year returned high

profit, gold is being sought, and the forest is worked for timber. The railroad begun to connect Sandakan with a haven opposite Labuan will open up much country, and it is hoped will be as successful as those in Burmah and the Straits Settlements. The other rich products, which the old merchants noted, are valuable royalties, and command high prices in China and Europe. The climate seems favorable for coffee and tea, and doubtless every chance of gain will be seized by the hard-working Chinese."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Prince Baldassare Odescalchi writes on Garibaldians and the Vatican, and as a friend of Garibaldi defends the speech of his son Riscialti, who expressed the hope that the Catholic "religious organizations would be placed beyond the control of lay power and guaranteed by consent of the civilized world." He insists that "in Italy the sole form of Christianity possible is the Catholic; to destroy it is to fall into chaos." Mr. Arthur Symons brings into prominence the marvelous religious passion—the divine amorousness, one might almost say—of the two Spanish mystics of San Juan de la Santa Cruz and Santa Teresa. In San Juan he finds "an abandonment to all the sensations of love, which seems to exceed, and on their own ground, in directness and intensity of spiritual and passionate longing, most of what has been written by the love-poets of all ages." Santa Teresa "gives herself to God, as it were, with a great leap into his arms."

Dr. George Salmon strongly criticises Mr. Balfour's utterances on the Irish university question, and suggests that governments have experimented enough in Irish university-making. "Increased facilities for instruction in physical science" is what Ireland most needs. Mr. Balfour's third university might have been placed for this purpose in Cork.

Mr. Clement K. Shorter traces the growth of illustrated journalism in England—thirteen weeklies in 1899 against five in 1890. He insists that the camera does not supersede the artist correspondent, who is really becoming every day more indispensable.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE April number of the *Nineteenth Century* is much above the average. Several of its articles demand notice elsewhere. The two first are especially noteworthy in agreeing from very different points of view that English methods must be Germanized. Mr. Charles Copeland Perry urges his countrymen to study the extraordinary progress and present greatness of the German people and to imitate German thoroughness and discipline. Mr. Frederic Greenwood makes similar deductions in a paper on "The Cry for New Markets."

WHAT FEDERATED AUSTRALIA LEADS TO.

Lord Brassey reviews the course of Australian federation with great satisfaction. He supports the movement, he says, in the interests of imperial unity and of an even wider unity:

"My hopes of federation for the future are not limited to the British empire alone. I trust that the statesmen of Great Britain and the United States will never rest content until they have established a permanent union between the two countries. The words used by Earl Grey fifty years ago are as true to-day as when they were first uttered. The hopes of the world rest upon

the increasing numbers of English-speaking people, scattered in free communities upon the earth, asserting the dominion of the sea and offering to the citizens of all nations the advantages of freedom and the resources of boundless territories. It is the sure destiny of federated Australia to hold a noble place among the greatest of those free communities."

THE TINY NEW PLANET.

Rev. Edmund Ledger, Gresham lecturer on astronomy, writes about the new planet "Eros." It was discovered by the photographic plate. Its average distance from the sun is less than that of Mars; at times it comes within about one-third of the nearest distance within which Mars ever approached the earth: "its diameter is probably less than twenty miles." It is of the utmost value for enabling astronomers to ascertain more precisely the distance of the sun from the earth. Its origin is disputed. The writer cannot accept the theory that such minor planets are caused by the explosion of a larger:

"Rather may we see in a planet such as Eros a portion of the primeval solar nebula unused in the formation either of Mars or of the earth. The minor planets are probably no fragments of a larger planet previously existing, but the fragments that might have helped to form a larger planet had it not been for the influence of the mighty globe of Jupiter."

WOMEN NOT YET CLUBBABLE.

Ladies' clubs form the subject of a racy paper by the Hon. Mrs. Anstruther. She runs over the chief clubs in existence. She predicts that their number will extend to provincial centers. She mentions as two rocks ahead in the early course of every woman's club, smoking and babies. She admits that the "compleat club woman" is not yet evolved:

"Women do not, I think, feel that the fact of belonging to the same club constitutes any bond of union whatsoever between them; to be members of a club gives no sense of good-fellowship; there is no vague, intangible feeling of communion among them as all being members of one body; not only do they seldom speak to each other when they meet in the club, but unless they happen to be acquainted elsewhere they ignore one another as frigidly as if they were in a first-class carriage. . . . Women's social attitude to each other in the majority of clubs is not such as to make club life attractive or give a spirit of unity to the club."

THE LANGUAGE OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

Mr. H. W. Hoare reviews the story of "The English Bible from Henry the Eighth to James the First." Speaking of the authorized version he says:

"The predominance of Saxon words in this version is very remarkable. Compared with Latin words, they constitute about 90 per cent. In Shakespeare the proportion is 85 per cent., in Swift nearly 90, in Johnson 75, in Gibbon 70. In the Lord's Prayer fifty-nine out of sixty-five words are Saxon."

He speaks of the mental atmosphere in which the translators lived; the "consciousness of quickened life and boundless possibilities" everywhere present; the excitement, the hope, the buoyancy, the aspiration of the nation; and he adds: "The glory of the times seems to have passed into their souls and the inspiration of their originals into their pens."

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE *Fortnightly Review* is a good number, containing several interesting articles which are noticed elsewhere. Mr. Wentworth Moore's story, "An Individualist," comes to a rather unsatisfactory conclusion. Baron Pierre de Coubertin concludes his interesting historical sketch of France since 1814, bringing his narrative down to the proclamation of Louis Philippe.

RAILROADS AND THE HAULAGE OF COAL.

Mr. C. G. Harper, writing on "The Great Central Railway," describes with considerable animation and sympathy the story of how the Manchester, Sheffield & Lincoln has at last succeeded in effecting an entrance into London. In the course of the paper he refers to the fact that it builds its hope for a dividend chiefly on the profits on the haulage of coal. Mr. Harper reminds us that in the early days of railroads this kind of traffic was thought too disreputable to be encouraged:

"When the 'London & Birmingham' (as the London & North Western was styled in its early years) was first approached on the subject of conveying coal, the officials of that line were indignant that they should be thought 'common carriers' and refused to transport such plebeian stuff. It was then the cherished notion of every railroad manager that a railroad was a kind of superior mail-coach route and to be used only for passenger traffic. The idea seems, at this lapse of time, absurd, but it was once quite seriously entertained, while it was contended that the carriage of coal and goods might still fitly be made on the roads. Circumstances, however, were too strong for the 'London & Birmingham,' which was obliged to take up the coal traffic. The damning fact that the railroad soiled its hands by conveying coal was at first hidden from the eyes of passengers by the trucks being carefully covered with tarpaulins, which were first made for this especial purpose. The irony of circumstances has, after the passing of sixty years, decreed that it is in its coal traffic that the wealth of a great railroad company lies, more than in the multitude of its passengers."

WHY NOT REGULATE THE CONFESSIONAL?

An anonymous writer makes a suggestion which will provoke a wild shriek of indignation from most of our Protestant friends. He is quite indifferent about the practice of confession in the Church of England. He thinks that it cannot be stopped and it ought to be regulated. Upon this subject he makes an observation which is to be commended to the respectful attention of all the parties in the Church:

"Inside or outside her widest pale, I cannot imagine any person who could find a word of defense for the confessional as it exists to-day in the English Church. The fact that any man of any age or reputation—or lack of it—who is in priest's orders can hear confessions from anybody, when and where and how he pleases, without leave from any one or a single rule to restrain him from any act of vulgarity or stupidity or worse which may occur to him, is a scandal to the whole Church and kingdom. The toleration of such a system for another week in a country where the most elementary laws of propriety are recognized is incredible. Auricular confession cannot be stopped in the Church of England; it is not only allowed, but recommended, by the prayer-book; and, for reasons which are well known to every

one, has numerous and influential advocates. The question is, Shall it or shall it not be decently regulated? If not, I hope sincerely that every man in the country with young relatives who desire to confess their sins to a priest will use every endeavor to induce them to join the Roman Catholic Church, where the practice is at least properly safeguarded."

ROMANISM IN FICTION.

Mr. W. Sichel devotes several pages to an analysis of half a dozen books which have dealt with Romanism, past, present, and to come. His point of view is expressed in the following paragraph:

"In all the departments of life we have found her obstate, the same worldly, the same spiritual Rome. We have argued that her extra-scriptural and dogmatic infallibility sets a cramping check to the natural growth of divine truth upon earth—to 'the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ;' that the very progress which she arrogates for the promulgations of her councils she refuses to other and more sacred deliverances; that her executive system continues half pagan, half mediæval. We have indicated that she can never countenance any form of government which disdains to do her obeisance or exacts her secular fealty. We have implied that the whole tenor of her influence on the home contradicts the free play of national life. And now we reiterate our original question, Can she ever capture democracy? Our negative answer is obvious. Unless she will discard the trappings of the past, she, together with all other autocracies, must fail. And she will die rather than discard them. Rome is inflexible. She will become a sect."

THE REDUCTION OF ENGLAND'S NATIONAL DEBT.

Mr. Hugh Chisholm argues that Great Britain is reducing her debt much too rapidly, and that as a matter of fact she had better mend her ways in that respect. He says:

"We have reduced our national debt from £886,672,087 in the year 1817 to £634,435,704 in 1898, a net amount of £252,236,383 in the eighty-one years, or an annual average of slightly over £3,000,000. If the burden had been spread equally over this period, we should have paid off in the last twenty-two years rather more than £68,000,000. As a matter of fact, we have reduced the capital debt since 1876 by £136,470,979, so that we have paid out of taxation about £70,000,000 in excess of what might reasonably have been taken as our share. For every £100 of consols that we pay off now we have to pay an extra £10, although we can pay off as many hundreds as we like in 1923 without any premium at all. So far, therefore, as reduction of capital liabilities is concerned, we should do better by keeping the money in our pocket until the price falls than by taxing ourselves in order to make a present to people who can afford to compete for the pleasure of holding government securities. It cannot be ignored, however, that though the technical 'national' debt has been so enormously reduced, our imperial liabilities are in many ways extending. Our Indian public debt now amounts to upward of £230,000,000. The rest of our colonial debt has increased very rapidly during this century till it now stands at about £340,000,000. And our municipal debt, which in 1877 was £106,045,465, is now £252,135,574. It is probable that a more imperial view will gradually be taken of these British liabilities, and that the guarantee of the empire will be spread

over a larger area than that with which our 'national' debt is at present identified."

WANTED—A NEW JEWISH ST. PAUL.

Mr. Oswald John Simon, writing on "The Unity of the Religious Idea," returns to his favorite thesis that the Jews are the prophet race of the world, to whom has been intrusted, by divine ordinance, the instruction of humanity in the true religion. He sighs for a new St. Paul who would rise to the height of the situation and teach mankind the unity of the religious idea. Such a man must be a Jew. Mr. Simon says:

"Since the time of St. Paul there has been no definite attempt on the part of an Israelite to apply the religious inspiration of his race to the spiritual needs of other races. The people of Israel, as a people, are most fitted to teach mankind God and to disseminate the enthusiasm for righteousness. As silver is refined in the furnace, so has Israel been refined by a process of tribulation so long, so varied, so exceptional that the race stands out to-day in conspicuous contrast to every other race on the face of the earth. There is no other people whose existence through a period of thirty-three centuries, under every conceivable condition of human contingency, speaking every language, inhabiting every clime, allied to all nations and yet absorbed by none—who has stood firm, like a rock, in bearing witness to the one truth of all others which most profoundly concerns the world at large. This brings us to the proposition of the unity of the religious idea. All racial histories, all human philosophies, point to one common hope—one crying necessity which lives and grows in the human soul. Everything which was narrow or local has gone from Israel, leaving only what is universal. Whatever abides in the fabric of the Hebrew sanctuary is that only which is necessary to preserve the unbroken continuity of the mission of Israel. And this preservation has but one significance—the union of all races in the worship of the Supreme Being."

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

MR. CONYBEARE contributes to the *National Review* for April an article on the later development of the Dreyfus case, in which he points unmistakably to the fact that people are now beginning to believe that General Boisdeffre himself was the man who sold army secrets to Germany, using Esterhazy as his agent.

"It is impossible, then, to survey all the facts and not conclude that Esterhazy, as he was acquitted to order, so also was a traitor to order. He has all along had a lien upon Boisdeffre, which obliged the latter to shield him at all risks and by any and every means. The only possible explanation is that Boisdeffre, the chief of the War Office and the bosom friend of Père du Lac, the courtier of the Czar and signatory for France of the Franco-Russian treaty of alliance, is a traitor, who was selling military secrets to the Germans and using Henry and Esterhazy as his instruments. And it is his influence that has drawn so many French officers and civilians into the vortex of guilt. One can hardly say that Gonse, Du Paty, Mercier, Billot, Roget, Zurlinden, Chanoine, Pellieux, Lauth, Gribelin, Junk, Ravary, Luxer, Tavernier, Torcy, and among civilians Dupuy, Faure, Drumont, Judet, A. de Boisandré, Méline, Rochefort, and a host of others are not his accomplices *ex post facto*."

HOW TO REFORM THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Lord Henry Cecil, who recently proposed to give the heads of the nonconformist bodies seats in the House of Lords, discusses what should be done to save the established Church of England from disestablishment. He deplores the present anarchy in the Church, but sees no way of escape excepting in the restoration of the authority of ecclesiastical courts:

"Let Parliament pass an act empowering convocation to reform the ecclesiastical courts by canons made in the ordinary way under royal letters of business and with the consent of the crown. Here the crown—that is to say, a ministry responsible to Parliament—has an absolute veto on the proceedings of convocation. The effect of this would be that the constitution of the courts would be settled in consultation between the ministry and the bishops or others who represented the majority of convocation. If this be not thought a sufficient security for the rights of the state, the royal assent to the canons might by a familiar process be delayed until they had been laid for thirty or forty days before Parliament, and only given if neither house sent up a hostile address.

"So by passing only a very short bill, without dislocating the constitution of church or state, without revolutionary innovation, by ancient constitutional means, without anything like disestablishment, the great grievance might be redressed.

"If the evangelicals will coöperate, courts whose authority will be generally respected may be set up. If they refuse, the present anarchy will continue. The jurisdiction of the archbishops and the influence of the bishops may make that anarchy tolerable. But the courts can only check ritualism if they can speak with the authority of the Church."

OTHER ARTICLES.

"A Conservative M. P." proves that the legend that Mr. Balfour is idle is a fiction. Mr. G. L. Jessop gives "hints to young bowlers." Sir F. Pollock publishes his Royal Institution address on "King Alfred."

The Hon. George Reel, in a brief paper entitled "A Disease in Imperial Finance," complains of the votes in aid of the rates. He says the total taxation raised in the United Kingdom for local purposes by local authorities must at the present time be about £44,000,000. To this the imperial exchequer adds the immense donation of £18,500,000—extravagantly and, perhaps, even unjustly appropriated.

CORNHILL.

"CORNHILL" for April is an unusually good number, as excerpts elsewhere attest. Lieutenant Hopkinson recounts his experiences with the Sidar's Camel Corps and gallantly comes to the defense of the much-maligned camel. He speaks with enthusiasm of its proudly carried neck and its beautiful eyes. The camel's eye in his judgment far surpasses that of the historic gazelle. He says he never heard of any one being sea-sick through riding a camel; he has never known a really vicious camel except during the "rutting" period; and it is a fallacy to suppose he is better without water.

A paper headed "Conferences on Books and Men" contains a whimsical endeavor to read current political history in the apocalyptically interpreted "Shepherd's Calendar of Spenser." "The fair but disdainful Rosalind can point to nothing but the Church of England."

BLACKWOOD.

THE pearl of the April *Blackwood* is Louise Lorimer's narrative of her tour in Galicia under the title "At the Back of Beyond."

There is a prospect held out of the Thames as a game-fish river, if not for salmon and sea trout, then certainly for brown trout and lochevens. The writer expresses the earnest hope that Londoners will at last awake to the splendid playground they possess in their great river, and to the possibilities of relieving by improved river steamers the congested traffic of London streets.

A grim document of war is presented in a letter by a young French officer describing his experience of the retreat from Leipsic in 1813.

"Looker-on" speaks more seriously of efforts to promote international good-will, but avers that they recur about every seven years and that "there will be no United States of Europe and America till the wildwood savagery . . . is trained." That he thinks will not be until "the Christian nations, having no more barbarous hinterlands or effete empires to civilize, begin to civilize each other." He objects to the insistent cry, "Why not an agreement with Russia?" He is sure that Lord Salisbury desires it and has made overtures to that effect. The proposal should never be heard of again until it comes from St. Petersburg. "A year's diplomacy in Peking" is summed up as "a public confession containing the germ of amendment."

THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN REVIEWS.

REVUE DE PARIS.

BY far the most interesting of the contributions to the always admirably edited *Revue de Paris* are a number of extracts from Alphonse Daudet's notebooks, published in the March numbers.

FROM DAUDET'S NOTE-BOOKS.

The author of "*Tartarin*" during the whole of his working life was in the habit of noting down his fleeting impressions, any clever, epigrammatic, or striking phrase overheard by him in the street or in a drawing-room—in a word, anything and everything which might help him in his work of story-writing. Now and again the phrase noted down by him owes the fact that it has been recorded to a picturesque turn of expression or to a pretty idea neatly expressed; but in the great majority of cases Daudet, who was so essentially a thinker, was attracted by thought rather than by form. "The fools to whom our laws confide the education of children are too apt to forget that to learn is not to understand. How many professors really understand Latin? A great many know the language; very few realize what it contains." "How many people there are in the world over whose library might be written the words, 'for external use only.'" Occasionally, but on the whole very rarely, Daudet registers a plot or an idea for a new book. "A rather amusing book to write might be called 'The Next-Door Neighbors,' describing a family who spend their whole time criticising what goes on next door while doing exactly the same things themselves." Here and there are shrewd remarks about the literary man's failings. "Every writer," he says in one place, "goes through a period of hobbledehoyhood, or at least there are very few who escape." "Perpetual contact with death either elevates a soul or has a bestial effect." Now and again we catch a glimpse of the novelist's faithful friend and *alter ego*, his wife. "My wife declares that she would like to write her books with the invisible ink which is only seen when you hold it up to the fire; but she would like her ink to be of the kind that can only be read by the kindly, familiar heart and by those who instinctively understand." Occasionally the bitter and satirical side of Daudet's nature becomes apparent; thus he quotes with bitter joy a lady, whom he seems to have known, and who, when given a present of mushrooms, prepared a dish of them for her children in order to see if

they were of the non-poisonous kind before she cared to venture on them herself. From one point of view Daudet certainly differs, to an extraordinary extent, from many writers—there is scarcely an allusion to himself or his own immediate surroundings; it seems to have always been his object to see life as it really was, and in a larger sense than that which could be found just round his own circle. Now and again his dislike and dread of Paris becomes apparent, for he remained to the end profoundly Provençal. His own literary tastes come out but little; he seems to have always enjoyed real life in any form, and he had an enormous admiration for H. M. Stanley, whom he called the modern Napoleon.

KIPLING IN FRENCH.

In interesting juxtaposition to these extracts is an elaborate and really fine study by M. Chevillon of the peculiar genius of Rudyard Kipling. The writer evidently knows his author by heart, and what is more, he possesses to a singular degree the really difficult art of translation, for his renderings of Kipling's prose and verse are very remarkable.

FRENCH COLONIAL POLICY.

Anonymous articles have become the fashion—they may mean so much or so little. However, an eloquent defense of and apology for France's colonial policy is a feature of the first March number of the *Revue*. The writer considers that France owes to herself and to the world the possession of a colonial empire. He points out that too often the French man of business prefers to invest his money anywhere rather than in a colonial enterprise. The peasant prefers to invest his hard-earned savings nearer home, "where he can see the cabbage growing." The writer also touches, but more lightly, on what seems to an impartial observer familiar with France and French life a really difficult anomaly—the utter lack of what may be called the emigrant spirit. There is probably no village in the United Kingdom which has not sent out sons to Greater Britain; there are very few towns in France which can boast of even one colonist, and this although both Algiers and Tunis offer splendid chances to the energetic, sober, and intelligent Frenchman of the lower class. In yet another matter this article, so ably and thoughtfully written, may be criticised: the author, though writing with a moderation rare in the French politician

of the moment—thus he scrupulously refrains from repeating any of the time-worn accusations as to British perfidy and greed—praises again and again certain colonial enterprises which, no one knows better than the French themselves, have been carried out at a great loss of men and a quite unnecessary amount of treasure.

COMMERCIAL SCHOOLS.

In the second March number of the *Revue* is another anonymous contribution concerning the management of the great commercial and industrial schools to which France owes so much, and which are now to be found all over the country, very properly encouraged by the government, but often owing their first start to private enterprise. Every one interested in commercial education should carefully study this really admirable account of how the young Frenchman is taught his business. The writer discusses the whole system in the frankest manner. He has evidently been very much impressed with the great German establishments of the kind.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM.

The only really political article, if that on France's colonial policy be excepted, is entitled "American Imperialism" and is written by M. de Rousiers. France has always had many affectionate links with Spain; accordingly French politicians feel with regard to the late Spanish-American conflict very much inclined to sympathize with the defeated nation. Still the writer is fair to American energy of character, and though he evidently considers that the Spaniards have only themselves to thank for their utter rout, he declares that even had Spain been better prepared, America would have carried on the struggle to the bitter end, raising new levies and showing as much energy in war as she admittedly does in business. "A Lieutenant Hobson and six sailors were found to lead a forlorn hope; had they not been there or had they perished, there would have been any number willing to run the same risks; men of this type are not lacking in the United States." M. de Rousiers considers that if America really desires to found a colonial empire she will have to reorganize her public services.

NOUVELLE REVUE.

THE two March numbers of the *Nouvelle Revue* are very much above the average and contain a number of general articles, including some lively gossip concerning the more notable personalities of the Second Empire, an excellent account of how the art of advertising as understood in France, and some historically valuable pages descriptive of the various houses inhabited by Madame de Sévigné.

ANGLO-FRENCH RELATIONS.

Apropos of the relations of England and France, not without interest at the present moment, is the excellent account of Napoleon III.'s one-time ambassador to London, Count Walinsky; but strange as it is to think that an illegitimate son of Napoleon I. should have held that position, there seems to be very little doubt that the Count was the son of the great Napoleon and of the Polish Countess, who must have been one of the few women to whom he ever showed real tenderness. Count Walinsky was representing France in London at the moment of the *Coup d'Etat*, and it was in a measure owing to his extraordinary intelligence and tact

that Napoleon III. was so quickly recognized by the British nation. M. Guyho, to whose clever pen these sketches are due, considers that Walinsky remained to the end nothing but an amateur. If so, it only proves that an amateur diplomat can sometimes succeed where a man trained to the work fails completely.

THE FRENCH BUDGET.

The French budget of 1899 is severely criticised by M. de Saint-Genis. In England, Italy, Germany, and Spain the representatives of the people are elected in order to defend and not to empty the public purse of their constituents. In France the deputies have usurped a rôle which does not appertain to them, and vote away public money in the most reckless and reprehensible manner; and the writer quotes with pain the fact that since 1874 France has immensely augmented her public debt, while Great Britain has diminished hers considerably.

THE HORRORS OF WAR.

A very striking couple of pages extracted from a forthcoming book, which seem to have been actually written by Prince Bibesco while a prisoner at Coblenz in 1870, are not the least interesting of the contents of the *Nouvelle Revue*. They afford a terrible commentary on the horrors of war as seen by an eye-witness. "The battle of Sedan has cost us 3,000 men by death and 14,000 wounded—that is to say, 18,000 dead and injured of 70,000 engaged in combat;" the Germans on their side had 2,000 deaths and 7,000 wounded of 200,000 soldiers. Prince Bibesco speaks highly of the way in which he was treated by Baron Wedell, the commandant of Coblenz, who seems to have shown him kindness and courtesy, and this though the French prisoner was at one time suspected of taking part in a plot.

ADVERTISING IN FRANCE.

No one who travels in France can fail to have been struck by the comparative lack of advertisements on walls and fences. The extraordinary extension of advertising methods which has taken place of late years in Great Britain and in America finds no parallel on the continent, and this in spite of the fact that the artistic posters which are quite a feature of modern life really owed their inception to French ingenuity; even now the best of those seen in London and New York being in many cases the work of Parisian artists. As most people interested in the subject know, Jules Chéret was the first artist to discover the æsthetic value of the poster, and he is still the acknowledged master as regards pictorial advertisements, though he has many rivals as well as disciples.

The French advertiser proceeds on a rather different basis, his object being not so much to stun by variety and number as to arrest the attention of the passer-by either by a startling effect or by attracting the eye by a beautiful and artistic design. But it must be admitted that what the French lose in quantity they make up in quality, and the business instinct of the French people is strikingly shown in the way in which they utilize their public streets and boulevards by putting up elegant little buildings which are simply erected with a view to showing off as many advertisements as possible. In France every advertisement exposed in a public place involves the payment of a small tax to the government. This has probably restricted the output of advertisements.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

THE article on "The Invasions of England," noticed elsewhere, naturally somewhat overshadows the other contents of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for March. The other articles, however, maintain its high reputation.

SOCIAL JUSTICE.

M. Fouillée writes in the first March number, with all the authority of a member of the Academy of Moral Sciences, on the idea of social justice according to contemporary schools of thought. He shows us that there are three main theories which nowadays control both thought and action in economics. The first, which may be called individualist naturalism, has taken root mainly in England, and its effect is to promote the omnipotence of the individual; the second, or collectivist naturalism, is mostly German, and it tends to the omnipotence of society; the third, which is mostly French, is a kind of moral and social idealism, and by the extension of the idea of justice it promotes the development of the individual and of the state simultaneously.

CHINA AGAIN.

M. P. Leroy-Beaulieu continues his study of the Chinese problem, dealing this time with the relations between China and the powers. There is a great deal about the insatiable appetite of England for concessions, territory, and similar advantages, and the events of the last few years are naturally related from a Franco-Russian point of view. M. Leroy-Beaulieu believes, however, that the powers realize the great dangers involved in the extreme instability of the Chinese Government, even to the extent of limiting their demands. He does not venture to prophesy what the future may have in store for China, but he regards the sharing up of her territory as the most deplorable and most dangerous of possibilities, which no one really desires and which each one fears to see realized by his rivals.

POLITICAL ELOQUENCE.

M. Faguet's paper on political eloquence, though it deals largely with minor French politicians of the last generation whose names are hardly known outside of France, does nevertheless deal with a few of the great names of French statesmanship. Gambetta, he says, never used metaphors, yet he had the manner of 1790 and recalled Danton, Robespierre, and Mirabeau; indeed, he had all the defects of the latter's style. As for M. Feret, M. Faguet regards him as in no sense an orator. His speeches were destitute of a properly conceived plan, and though effective to their immediate purpose, inasmuch as he could always see clearly what he wanted, they hardly deserved the title of eloquence. As to parliamentary eloquence in general, M. Faguet notes the obvious change which the greater haste and stress of modern life has brought about—namely, the taste for very short informal speeches.

In the second March number M. Bellessort contributes some travel notes gathered in Ceylon. He says that Ceylon is not in any sense a country capable of arousing the patriotism of its inhabitants; it could no

more be a nation than a *table d'hôte* at a hotel resembles a family.

CRIMINAL VAGRANTS.

M. Fourquet, apropos of the horrible murders committed by the shepherd Vacher, deals at considerable length with the social danger created by the large number of criminals who wander about France. M. Fourquet has interviewed one of these itinerant vagrants, apparently an aristocrat of the class, for he had never been convicted of murder or theft, and being firmly resolved never to steal, would, nevertheless, allow himself in case of need to have a meal at an eating-house and forget to pay. This vagabond philosopher said that the cure for the evil was to be found in the colonies, where the vagrants could be established and dealt with individually according to their particular needs and aptitudes.

THE ITALIAN REVIEWS.

THE sagacious and moderate words of the supreme pontiff are frequently interpreted in opposite senses by interested parties. This is what is happening in Rome to-day over the recent papal encyclical on "Americanism." Both sides deduce a moral victory from his words. The *Civiltà Cattolica*, the organ of the Jesuits, who from the first have been among the adversaries of Mgr. Ireland, announces (March 18) that Americanism has been condemned root and branch and rejoices accordingly. On the other hand, "Monachus," writing in the *Rassegna Nazionale* (March 16), carefully distinguishes between Americanism of native growth and Americanism as it has been interpreted in France, and more especially by the Abbé Maignen in his volume "*Le Père Hecker est-il un Saint?*" True Americanism, he asserts, can only gain by being cleared from misrepresentation; it has been substantially approved by the Pope, and it will now flourish more than ever.

On "Italy in China" and the "yellow peril" Professor Lombroso has some weighty words of warning for his countrymen in the *Nuova Antologia* (March 16). He maintains that the Chinese are the one nation in the world uninfected by militarism—hence their inferiority in the arts of war; but that they constitute not only the vastest, but also the most politically compact, body in the world. China, he asserts, has been able to avoid the four great social evils—feudalism, militarism, sacerdotalism, and capitalism. To-day the great Chinese nation is asleep; but when it awakes the European nations will have on their hands more than they bargained for. The interference of Italy he declares to be unpardonable, for she has not even the excuse of any commerce in the far East. She will only be playing the game of England as she played it at Kassala; and that "eminently egotistic" nation will carry off all the plunder.

Two new Italian reviews have made their appearance since the new year. The *Rivista di Scienze Biologiche* is learned and well printed, and boasts such eminent names as those of Lombroso, Haeckel, Lubbock, and Richet among its contributors. *Flegrea*, which is issued fortnightly, is mainly literary and artistic, and promises to give voice to the newest aspirations of modern Italy.

THE NEW BOOKS.

RECENT AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

HISTORY AND POLITICS.

Harper's Pictorial History of the War with Spain.

With Introduction by Nelson A. Miles. 32 parts, folio, 16 pp. each part. New York: Harper & Brothers. Paper, 25 cents per part. Sold only by subscription for the entire work.

Those who followed the graphic and stirring accounts of the Spanish war which appeared in *Harper's Weekly* last year are in position to appreciate in advance the sumptuously illustrated history of the war now being issued in parts by the house of Harper. The remarkable success of the history of the Civil War issued by the same house more than thirty years ago seems to demonstrate the permanent value of pen and pencil sketches made on the field. At any rate, the publishers have acted on this theory, and as soon as the war with Spain was declared their special artists and correspondents were engaged to go to the front with each division of the army and each squadron of the navy. It was hoped by some that photography would play a much more important part in illustrating battles of the war with Spain than it did in the Civil War. Such hopes, however, were not destined to fruition. With very few exceptions, photography was found impracticable in illustrating actual battle scenes. The man with the pencil was as much in demand as ever. The corps of able and brilliant artists employed by the Harpers produced a remarkable series of drawings, many of which must be in years to come the main reliance of all who will seek to live over again the thrilling episodes of 1898. The colored lithographs reproduced in the work give variety and picturesque effect. The text accompanying these pictures has been prepared with great care, and in the twelve parts thus far issued is comprised a clear and readable narrative of the events leading up to the mobilization of our troops a year ago.

The Rescue of Cuba. An Episode in the Growth of Free Government. By Andrew S. Draper. 12mo, pp. 186. Boston: Silver-Burdett & Co. \$1.

President Draper treats the Spanish war as a chapter in the history of free institutions. One purpose that he had in view in writing the book was to picture the qualities of heroism and manliness displayed by our soldiers and sailors, and thus to plant in American youth higher ideals of civic service. In giving the war its place in history he is led to review the record of Spain's misgovernment in some detail. His book, therefore, is more than a mere sketch of the military and naval exploits. President Draper's exposition of his theme is clear and his conclusions sound. The book deserves to be widely read by the youth of our country.

The Story of the Rough Riders. By Edward Marshall. 12mo, pp. 320. New York: G. W. Dillingham Company. \$1.50.

Mr. Edward Marshall was the heroic young correspondent of the *New York Journal* who, when in the fierce brush at Las Guasimas he was hit by a Mauser bullet, shattering his spine, continued to write, between the fits of paralysis, a long dispatch to his newspaper, telling the story of the battle. The book now before us does not end with Mr. Marshall's fall on the field of battle, but is a complete story of the Rough Riders, from the inception of the idea to their discharge at Montauk Point. It is written in lively style, with a fresh point of view, and the impartial and undismayed judgment of a newspaper correspondent. Naturally, the most valuable and the most vivid portions of the book are those which deal with the experiences of the Rough Riders

which Mr. Marshall himself shared, that is, until he was wounded at Las Guasimas. But the rest of the volume, too, is by no means inaccurate, and has been based on material which Mr. Marshall had the opportunity of getting from firsthand sources. Mr. Marshall was one of the three men outside of the Rough Riders proper that Colonel Roosevelt selected to bear the medal of the regiment, the others being Richard Harding Davis, and Captain McCormick, of the regular army.

Spain. By Frederick A. Ober. 16mo, pp. 295. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 60 cents.

Mr. Ober's book on Spain in the series of "History for Young Readers" is deserving of a more extended notice than we are able to give it. It has often been remarked that no good short history of Spain has been available for American readers. Mr. Ober has made Spain and her colonies the subject of his study for many years. His present work, therefore, is not merely the result of incidental effort, but is based on a serious and well-grounded understanding of the subject. His literary style is well adapted for young readers, as has been fully demonstrated in the success of his numerous young people's travel books. It brings the history down to the conclusion of the treaty of peace in December last. A few outline maps would have distinctly improved the book.

A Short History of Spain. By Mary Platt Parmele. 12mo, pp. 167. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 60 cents.

Mrs. Parmele has condensed the whole history of Spain, from ancient Iberian times down to Dewey's victory at Manila Bay, into 167 small pages. For convenience of reference, as well as for that literary quality which is said to be the soul of wit, Mrs. Parmele's book is to be cordially commended.

The Story of Geographical Discovery. By Joseph Jacobs. 16mo, pp. 200. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 40 cents.

In Appleton's "Library of Useful Stories" Mr. Joseph Jacobs tells the story of geographical discovery. The difficulties of compressing what in one sense may be regarded as the history of the world into a narrative of two hundred pages must have been great. The author, however, has not attempted more than to construct a skeleton of the subject, supplying abundant references and bibliographical notes for the use of students. A very helpful supplement to the book consists of a chronology of discovery, including all the important dates of voyages and explorations. The book has a number of useful maps and illustrations.

The Story of the People of England in the Nineteenth Century. By Justin McCarthy. Part I, 1800-1835, 12mo, pp. 280. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

In the "Story of the Nations" series Justin McCarthy contributes the story of the people of England in the nineteenth century. The first volume, just published, covers the period from 1800 to 1835. In this work Mr. McCarthy is able to describe more fully the course of England's development than was possible in his more comprehensive "History of Our Own Times." His previous researches in this period have abundantly qualified him for the present task. The volume is illustrated with portraits of the leading figures in British statesmanship.

European History: An Outline of Its Development. By George Burton Adams. 8vo, pp. xxviii-577. New York: The Macmillan Company. Half leather, \$1.40.

Professor Adams of Yale has written an outline of European history for use in high schools and colleges. The references and bibliography are very complete. In the text only the most important events, of course, could be treated. The volume is illustrated, and supplied with a number of good maps.

Memoirs of Sergeant Bourgogne, 1812-1813. Compiled from the Original MS. by Paul Cottin. 12mo, pp. xvii-356. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. \$1.50.

This is one of the most vivid accounts ever written of the memorable Russian campaign of the French army. Sergeant Bourgogne belonged to Napoleon's Old Guard. His memoirs were published in full for the first time in the *Nouvelle Revue Rétrospective*, in 1896. The writer had died, an octogenarian, in 1897. His manuscript was edited by M. Paul Cottin.

The History of South America, from Its Discovery to the Present Time. Translated from the Spanish by Adnah D. Jones. 8vo, pp. 345. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$3.

This is a translation from the Spanish of one of the very few general histories of South America in existence. It purports to have been compiled from the works of the best authors and from authentic documents in various archives in public and private libraries in America and Spain. It begins with Columbus' discovery, and is brought down as late as 1870. The translator has provided maps and an index.

Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada. Edited by George M. Wrong and H. H. Langton. Vol. III., Publications of the Year 1898. 8vo, pp. 225. Toronto: Published by the Librarian of the University of Toronto. Paper, \$1.

The third volume of the annual review of the Canadian historical publications has just been issued. Reviews of leading works have been prepared by the editor, Professor Wrong, by Professor Goldwin Smith, and others.

The Story of Rouen. By Theodore Andrea Cook. 16mo, pp. xvi-409. London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.

The Story of Perugia. By Margaret Symonds and Lina Duff Gordon. 16mo, pp. xii-326. London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

These stories of mediæval towns may be made to serve as historical guide-books. The reader's first sensation is one of amazement that so much material of the antiquarian sort could be collected. All travelers who possess the historical sense will certainly appreciate the contributions to their entertainment made by the authors of this little series.

The Downfall of the Dervishes; or, The Avenging of Gordon. By Ernest N. Bennett. 12mo, pp. 267. New York: New Amsterdam Book Company. \$1.40.

Mr. Ernest N. Bennett, an Oxford fellow and lecturer, and the special correspondent for the *Westminster Gazette* during the Sudan campaign of 1898, has written a personal narrative of his experiences and observations in that campaign, accompanied by a photogravure portrait of Lord Kitchener, and a map and plans. Mr. Bennett's style is vivid, and he has succeeded in drawing a very realistic picture of scenes before, during and after the battle of Omdurman. Some of Mr. Bennett's statements regarding the alleged barbarities of the British and Egyptian troops have been called in question in England, and we observe

that the more sensational and extreme of these statements have been omitted from the present volume.

Roman Africa. By Gaston Boissier. Translated by Arabella Ward. 8vo, pp. xv-344. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.75.

This volume contains Boissier's account of his important archaeological researches in that part of Africa which came under Roman rule. These researches cover not only ancient Carthage, but many smaller cities and towns, whose history, customs, language and literature, mode of living, and government have been reconstructed, as it were, by M. Boissier. Several maps and plans accompany the text.

The Federation of the World. By Benjamin F. Trueblood. 12mo, pp. 172. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.

Dr. Trueblood's little book is a plea for the abolition of war between the nations, and for the establishment of a general federation of the race. His argument is largely the historical one. The treatment is original and suggestive. An appendix contains a reprint of the Czar's rescript on the reduction of armament, and a bibliography of the peace movement.

World Politics. 12mo, pp. 206. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. \$1.

This work, the author of which is unknown, is an attempt to formulate a foreign policy for the United States. The author evidently believes that there will be questions of foreign policy for this nation to settle long after the disposition of the Philippines problem is decided. He advocates the establishment of a permanent international court, provided with means to enforce its decisions.

American Colonial Handbook. By Thomas Campbell-Copeland. 16mo, pp. 181. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company. Flexible cloth, 50 cents.

Mr. Campbell-Copeland, the statistician, has compiled a wonderfully compact account of the history, geography and material resources of the new American dependencies. The information is arranged on an original plan, and ingenious typographical devices serve to facilitate reference. The compilation is based on the best European authorities, and the compiler has taken special pains to exclude all random or hearsay assertions of fact.

Our Island Empire. A Hand-Book of Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands. By Charles Morris. 12mo, pp. 488. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. \$1.50.

This is a convenient compendium of facts about Cuba and the more distant lands recently annexed to the United States. Its author is well known as the compiler of several useful historical and descriptive works. He has given special attention to questions related to our late war with Spain.

The Federal Census. Critical Essays by Members of the American Economic Association. 8vo, pp. 516. New York: The Macmillan Company. Cloth, \$2.50; Paper, \$2.

A most timely publication of the American Economic Association is the volume of critical essays on "The Federal Census," written by members of the association and collected and edited by a special committee. The monograph thus prepared covers nearly every important topic related to the scientific work of the national census bureau. All the papers are the work of specialists, several of whom, we are glad to note, are to be associated in the work of compiling the twelfth census. The association deserves great credit for its enterprise in gathering and publishing this material at this time. The committee entrusted with the work consisted of Professors Richmond Mayo-Smith, Walter F. Willcox, Roland P. Falkner, and Davis R. Dewey, and the Hon. Carroll D. Wright.

Rhode Island and the Formation of the Union. By Frank Greene Bates. 8vo, pp. 220. New York: The Macmillan Company. Paper, \$1.50.

The investigation which led to the publication of this monograph was begun for the purpose of learning the facts of Rhode Island's action from 1765 to 1790, with a view to explaining that commonwealth's long delay in the matter of the ratification of the federal Constitution. Both printed and manuscript sources of information were consulted, and new material bearing on the subject was brought to light. The result is a suggestive study in the early development of the doctrine of State sovereignty.

Lectures on the Fourteenth Article of Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. By William D. Guthrie. 8vo, pp. xxviii—265. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$2.50.

In these lectures the scope of the Fourteenth Amendment is outlined, together with a general introduction to the study of that branch of constitutional law. In the annotation of the Constitution the author has examined every volume of the Supreme Court reports. There is also an analytical index of the Constitution, which makes this feature of the book especially useful.

BIOGRAPHY.

General Sherman. By Manning F. Force. 12mo, pp. 353. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

In the "Great Commanders" series Gen. M. F. Force, who was one of General Sherman's division commanders, contributes a volume on Sherman. It is understood that General Force was Sherman's own choice for his biographer. It is believed that this volume contains, among other features, the most accurate and complete account of the Battle of Shiloh—in which Sherman played such an important part—that has appeared in print. Owing to the author's temporary loss of health, several of the concluding chapters of the volume were written by Gen. J. D. Cox. Readers of General Cox's published writings on the Civil War will readily understand that the Sherman biography lost nothing by this arrangement. Both General Force and General Cox were perhaps as fully acquainted with the details of the Atlanta campaign and the March to the Sea as any living men. They not only knew Sherman himself, their beloved commander, but they knew all the circumstances in which he was placed, and hence were qualified to fairly estimate his achievements. The frontispiece of the volume is a steel reproduction of the portrait that General Sherman preferred. There are six well-executed maps of the most important battlefields in which General Sherman was a participant.

Theodore Roosevelt. By Will M. Clemens. 12mo, pp. 218. New York: F. Tennyson Neely. Paper, 50 cents.

Mr. Clemens, whose facility as a biographer of noted men has been more than once tested, has brought out a sketch of that well-known American, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt. Mr. Clemens has discovered a great many interesting anecdotes in which his hero figured, and the narrative of an unusually crowded period of public service, such as Mr. Roosevelt's has been, forms the thread of an attractive and not unpicturesque story. Of few public men at forty could so varied and interesting a biography be written.

Lord Clive. The Foundation of British Rule in India. By Sir Alexander John Arbuthnot. 12mo, pp. xxiii—318. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.50.

While we are discussing expansion and anti-expansion it would be profitable for Americans to study the admirable series of "Builders of Greater Britain," now in course of publication. The latest volume to appear in this series is devoted to Lord Clive, the founder of British rule in India. Like the other volumes of the series, this is less a personal

biography than a history of the times in which its hero lived and wrought. The author does not pretend to have discovered new facts which would justify the publication of another life of Lord Clive, but he holds very properly that a series which deals with the builders of greater Britain would be incomplete if it did not include a memoir of the man who gave to England her greatest dependency.

How Count L. N. Tolstoy Lives and Works. By P. A. Sergeyenko. Translated from the Russian by Isabel F. Hapgood. 8vo, pp. 100. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. \$1.25.

The author of this sketch first knew Tolstoy in 1882, and since that time has come into intimate relations with the family, both at Moscow, and also at the Count's country estate. He is therefore qualified to give a fair account of Tolstoy's daily life. In view of the countless exaggerations and baseless rumors about Tolstoy's habits that are continually gaining currency in this country, it is fortunate that we have an authoritative statement at last.

Elizabeth, Empress of Austria. A Memoir. By A. De Burgh. 8vo, pp. 383. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. \$2.50.

This, we believe, is the first biography of Austria's late eccentric empress to appear in the English language. It contains a full account of the assassination and funeral obsequies. There are eighty illustrations, many of which are very interesting.

Danton: A Study. By Hilaire Belloc. 8vo, pp. xv—440. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.

This volume sums up the results of the latest researches by modern French historians, and gives a complete picture of the second period of the French Revolution. The author seems to be wholly in the spirit of the German historical school to which reference is made in the article by Baron de Coubertin, appearing elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and the Cosmopolitan Spirit in Literature. By Joseph Texte. Translated by J. W. Matthews. 8vo, pp. xxvii—393. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$3.

This volume is not primarily biographical. It is published as a study of the literary relations between France and England during the eighteenth century, Rousseau typifying the cosmopolitan spirit in literature. The author is professor of comparative literature at the University of Lyon. This study of Rousseau from the modern French point of view will be novel to most English readers. Rousseau is held up as the man who has done most to create in the French nation both the taste and the need for the northern literatures.

Under Three Flags; or, The Story of My Life. By George W. Pepper. 8vo, pp. 542. Cincinnati: Curtis & Jennings. \$2.

Dr. Pepper's experiences as preacher, captain in the army, chaplain and consul, afford sufficiently varied material for a biography of more than ordinary interest. During his lifetime the author has had acquaintance with many prominent men, and has preserved the record of many interviews with these. Copies of the book may be obtained from the author at 1021 Madison Ave., Cleveland, O.

ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY.

Fields, Factories and Workshops. By P. Kropotkin. 8vo, pp. 315. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. \$3.

Prince Kropotkin has written an interesting description of modern economic tendencies, as he has observed them in both hemispheres, particularly in Great Britain, France and Germany and the United States. His attention has been directed especially to the decentralization of industries and

to agricultural possibilities. In an appendix of his volume he presents important statistical matter relating to the topics treated in the body of the work. What he has to say about intensive agriculture and horticulture is especially suggestive to Americans. The subject of market-gardening and fruit-growing is very fully-discussed.

Irrigation in Utah. By Charles Hillman Brough. 8vo, pp. 227. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. Paper, 50 cents; cloth, \$1.50.

Mr. Brough has thought rightly that his study of irrigation in Utah should prove of interest in other portions of the arid region of which Utah is the geographical center, and where present problems are not dissimilar. An added reason for reviewing Utah's experience is to be found in the fact that in that State both the coöperative and the capitalistic methods have been applied in the reclamation of arid land, and an opportunity is given for comparing the results of the two methods. Utah's experience certainly ought to throw a light on the question of dealing with the lands now in the hands of the United States Government, and by it to be ceded to the different States and Territories in which they are situated. Mr. Brough has important sources of information in the manuscript and historical records of the Mormon Church, as well as in the files of Utah newspapers. His monograph forms an "extra" volume in the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.

Value and Distribution. By Charles William Macfarlane. 8vo, pp. 317. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. \$2.50.

Professor Macfarlane has attempted to give permanent form to much of the recent scattered literature on the subject of value, especially as embodied in the treatises of the Austrian school of economists. The book is far more than a compilation, however, since the author advances theories of his own, which may have been suggested, but not fully stated, heretofore. He has wisely adopted the topical form of treatment.

Money and Bimetallism. By Henry A. Miller. 12mo, pp. 316. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.25.

The exposition of the money question continues to be a popular theme among economic writers. The latest accession to the long list of books relating to bimetallism is a work by Henry A. Miller, in which he analyzes the theories of bimetallism, symmetallism, and a tabular standard of value.

The Shifting and Incidence of Taxation. By Edwin R. A. Seligman. Second Edition, Completely Revised and Enlarged. 8vo, pp. 349. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$3.

So many changes have been made in the second edition of Professor Seligman's "Shifting and Incidence of Taxation" as to constitute practically a new volume. The work has been completely revised, rewritten and enlarged so that it has been nearly doubled in size, and a bibliography and index have been added. These alterations and additions are to be found in both the historical and the positive parts. A more careful study of early English literature brought to light much interesting material on the theory of taxation.

The Theory of the Leisure Class. By Thorstein Veblen. 12mo, pp. 400. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.

Mr. Veblen, who is one of the instructors of political economy at the University of Chicago, has brought out a book dealing with the leisure class as an institution. While the subject is discussed from the economist's point of view, the author has avoided technicalities, so far as possible, and has constructed an argument which will appeal to the general reader. The tracing of the economic relations of certain elements in modern culture involves the author in statements which are likely to be controverted. The positions taken are so novel to most minds that the reader's attention is firmly held throughout the treatise.

Friendly Visiting among the Poor. A Handbook for Charity Workers. By Mary E. Richmond. 16mo, pp. 237. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.

Miss Richmond, of the Baltimore Charity Organization Society, has written a little book about friendly visiting among the poor, based on her own experience of ten years. Considering first the various aspects of life within the family, two chapters are devoted to the bread-winner, the citizen, employee, husband and father. A chapter is devoted to the home-maker, and another to the children. Then follow chapters on the health of the family, their spending and savings, and their recreation. The concluding chapters treat of the principles of effective relief-giving, of church charity, and of friendly visiting. The book closes with a number of illustrative cases, and these latter form not the least important part of the work. All beginners in charitable work, members of the Order of King's Daughters, and, in fact, all who come in contact with poverty and need, will find this little volume extremely suggestive and helpful.

The Development of Thrift. By Mary Willcox Brown. 12mo, pp. 222. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.

Miss Mary Willcox Brown, who is engaged in children's aid work in Baltimore, has written a little treatise embracing such topics as the thrift habit, thrift in the family, savings agencies, building and loan associations, people's banks, provident loan associations and industrial insurance. Miss Brown has given much time and thought to the study of these subjects, and her treatment of them is both comprehensive and thorough. The book is full of suggestions for charitable workers.

Suggestions toward an Applied Science of Sociology. By Edward Payson Payson. 12mo, pp. 246. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.25.

This writer's endeavor is to formulate a system of what he terms "physical sociology," as distinguished from animistic. He believes that much evil in the world heretofore viewed as intangible, has really a physical character, and hence may be reached and grappled with by the state. He draws illustrations of the practical application of this proposition from criminal law and public philanthropy.

The Negro in America, and The Ideal American Republic. By T. J. Morgan. 12mo, pp. 203. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. \$1.

General Morgan's grandfather was a slaveholder, and his father an abolitionist. During the Civil War General Morgan himself organized four regiments of negro soldiers, commanded the First Colored Brigade of the Army of the Cumberland, and participated in numerous engagements with both white and black soldiers. In very recent years, as executive officer of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society, General Morgan has had occasion to study the conditions of the negroes in the South with great care. His deductions and conclusions relating to the negro race in America are thus based on experience and observation. This little volume includes essays on "Slavery and Freedom," "Negroes in the Civil War," "Education of the Negroes," "The Higher Education of Negro Women," "Religious Life Among the Negroes," "Negrophobia," and "The Negroes Under Freedom." General Morgan has also appended, very properly, an essay on "The Ideal Republic," which sets forth what, in his view, are the essential principles underlying the relation of eight million negroes to their fellow citizens of the Republic.

EDUCATION.

Discussions in Education. By Francis A. Walker. Edited by James Phinney Munroe. 8vo, pp. 347. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$3.

This collection of the addresses and papers of the late President Walker, relating to education, has been made in accordance with the expressed intention of the author.

The papers have been edited by Prof. James P. Munroe. Naturally, the papers deal very generally with the problems of education brought forcibly to the attention of President Walker during his administration of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. They discuss questions in technological education, manual training, the teaching of arithmetic, and a few distinctively college problems, as for example, athletics, the study of statistics, and the relations of the secondary schools and higher education. The volume as a whole is a strong presentation of the scope and dignity of technological education, and its relations to other forms of culture.

German Higher Schools. By James E. Russell. 8vo, pp. 467. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$2.25.

Professor Russell's volume is perhaps the first full presentation of the subject of German secondary education that has been made in English. Professor Russell began a thorough investigation of the subject as long ago as 1893, when he served as European commissioner of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, for the special purpose of investigating secondary education. He was also the special agent of the United States Bureau of Education for the same purpose. He spent two years in Germany and visited more than forty towns and cities, in order personally to acquaint himself with school affairs. Thus his book is not based on the reading of other books, but on personal familiarity with the facts. It can hardly fail to prove suggestive to American educationists.

Essays on the Higher Education. By George Trumbull Ladd. 12mo, pp. \$1.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.

Professor Ladd's little book includes essays on "The Development of the American University," "The Place of the Fitting School in American Education," "Education, New and Old" and "A Modern Liberal Education." These essays have already been published in different magazines.

Talks on Education and Oratory. By Silas S. Neff. 8vo, pp. 76. Philadelphia: Neff College of Oratory.

The president of the Neff College of Oratory in Philadelphia has compiled a book of extracts from his lectures and magazine articles, containing a general statement of some of the principles upon which the work of that institution is based.

NATURE STUDY.

The Butterfly Book. By W. J. Holland. 8vo, pp. xx+382. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. \$3.

There is probably no branch of natural history to which the new processes of color photography are so well adapted as the study of insects, and especially of butterflies. The Doubleday & McClure Company had already published two very successful bird books illustrated by this process before the "Butterfly Book" was ready for the press. In the matter of color illustration this "Butterfly Book" is the best of the series. Besides the 48 full-page plates in color photography, there are many other text illustrations presenting most of the species found in the United States. The volume forms a popular guide to North American butterflies. The author, Dr. W. J. Holland, director of the Carnegie Museum at Pittsburgh, is regarded as perhaps the foremost American authority on this subject, and it is said that he has the finest existing collection of the North American varieties, many of which are reproduced for the purposes of this book. Dr. Holland has prepared this volume with a view to popularizing the study of butterflies, and the text is very far from a dry, scientific classification. Many helpful hints to the amateur collector are included, and it seems as if the author had done everything possible to assist the student in identifying and collecting species. It goes without saying that this work must be, for some time to come, the standard American treatise on this subject.

Elementary Botany. By George Francis Atkinson. Ph.B. 12mo, pp. 444. New York: Henry Holt and Company. \$1.25.

The method of this text-book of botany is to first study some of the life processes of plants, especially those which illustrate the fundamental principles of nutrition, assimilation, growth and irritability. In studying each of these topics plants are chosen, so far as possible, from several of the great groups. Members of the lower plants as well as of the higher plants are employed in order to show that the process is fundamentally the same in all. It will be seen that this scheme of study is a radical departure from the old method based on the "analysis" of flowers. The recent progress in the knowledge of orthology and physiology of plants has led to a demand for a more thorough study of the lower plants, and to meet this demand such books as this have been prepared.

A Text-Book of General Physics. By Charles S. Hastings and Frederick E. Beach. 8vo, pp. 776. Boston: Ginn & Co. Half leather, \$2.95.

This book is adapted to the use of all students who have acquired a knowledge of trigonometry. An unusually large proportion of the book is devoted to the elements of economics. An attempt has been made to make a clear distinction between the physical and physiological phenomena and the treatment of sound and light.

LANDSCAPE GARDENING AND HOUSE-BUILDING.

How to Plan the Home Grounds. By S. Parsons, Jr. 12mo, pp. 249. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. \$1.

Mr. Parsons gained eminence as a landscape architect during the period of his superintendency of parks of New York city. He has not been less successful, however, in the treatment of private grounds,—as many people in the regions round about New York would thankfully attest, and some other people not so near the metropolis. The present little volume on the planning of the home grounds will be gratefully received. It is not prepared for the millionaire with a vast country place,—for such a man, instead of reading a little book, will naturally employ a landscape artist like Mr. Parsons at the very outset,—but it is a book for the thousands who have small places and who wish to understand the way in which to lay them out and to plant them with trees and shrubbery. Mr. Parsons remarks in his preface that "it is just as simple and just as difficult to lay out a small yard 25 x 100 feet as a gentleman's country place of many acres." The volume covers in the most compact way almost every question that a person having a house and lot would naturally raise as to grades, roads and paths, the proper kinds of trees and shrubs, the question of the treatment of fences, streams and water fronts, and the plants best adapted for general use on home grounds. A second and smaller part of the book tells of the principles of park-making, the laying out of church-yards and cemeteries, of seaside lawns, of city and village public squares, and of the grounds of railroad stations.

Successful Houses. By Oliver Coleman. 8vo, pp. 165. Chicago: Herbert S. Stone & Co. \$1.50.

When Chicago takes up culture she makes it hum. That dictum has long ago gone 'round the world. It is certainly true that Chicago and all the Central West have taken up most hopefully the art of building and arranging pleasant and convenient houses, with charming grounds if those houses happen to be in suburbs or the country. It is not necessary, of course, to make any comparison between East and West, for there is at the present time in all parts of the United States an impulse such as has never been known in modern times in any other country, to put real taste into the things that pertain to domestic life. Mr. Coleman in the little volume before us not only writes entertainingly and soundly about the interior and decoration of houses, but he

adds greatly to the value of his book by including a great number of photographic reproductions of charming interiors. This little book in its own way supplements exceedingly well Mr. Parsons' book on the planning of the home grounds.

Quarter Acre Possibilities. By Frank H. Nutter and Walter J. Keith. Oblong 8vo, pp. 88. Minneapolis, Walter J. Keith. \$1.

A slimmer volume, in long pamphlet form, comes from that enterprising and skillful designer of small houses (and some not so small), Mr. Walter J. Keith of Minneapolis, with whom is now associated Mr. Frank H. Nutter, landscape architect. Their booklet is called "Quarter Acre Possibilities." It contains a number of excellent house plans, and very admirable suggestions on landscape architecture, illustrated by charming little half-tone glimpses that bear out the text.

Electricity in Town and Country Houses. By Percy C. Scrutton. 12mo, pp. 148. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.

This is an English book, and at certain points it is perhaps not perfectly adapted in the practical sense for American use. Its general discussions are, however, excellent and well worth reading. It has a great number of illustrations. It sets forth, first, the advantages of electricity, then the mode of producing it in town stations, next the means of producing it by means of an independent plant for a large house, and the last two chapters deal with the interior fitting of a house for the use of electricity and the question of cost.

ART, MUSIC, AND POETRY.

How to Enjoy Pictures. By M. S. Emery. With a Special Chapter on Pictures in the School-Room by Stella Skinner. 8vo, pp. Boston: The Prang Educational Company. \$1.50.

This volume meets the needs of persons who cannot hope to see the original paintings of the great masters in the galleries and cathedrals of Europe, but who are able to possess reproductions of these works in the form of photographs and other inexpensive prints. The book is addressed primarily to the reader unschooled in art criticism, and the writer's aim is not so much to direct the learner along the beaten track usually followed by the critics as to stimulate to intelligent and appreciative individual study. In arrangement the familiar classification by schools of painting has been disregarded; so, too, has chronological sequence; the pictures chosen for study are grouped according to subject simply. The nationality and time of the artist are noted in the indexed list of these illustrations. A chapter is devoted to modern magazine illustration and another to the mechanical processes of etching, photo-engraving, etc. There is also a special chapter on "Pictures in the School-Room," contributed by the director of art instruction in the New Haven public schools.

The World's Painters and Their Pictures. By Derishte L. Hoyt. 12mo, pp. xvi+272. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.40.

This work sets forth the points of interest in the career of each representative artist, together with a brief analysis of the distinctive characteristics of his work, a list of his principal paintings, and notes indicating where the paintings, if now in existence, are to be found. Much other important information on cognate topics is included.

American Art Annual: 1898. Edited by Florence N. Levy. 8vo, pp. 540. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$3.

This Art Annual contains a complete record of American painters, their works for 1898, the reports of art museums, art schools, galleries, societies, and foreign exhibitions. There are half-tone reproductions of important pictures of the year, portraits, etc. The directory of art schools published in this volume is believed to be the first list of such schools in the United States published. The editor's aim is to make this Annual a full and authentic record of the progress of art, and of the more important interests directly connected with art in America.

The T Square Club Exhibition, and Architectural Annual for the Year 1898. Edited by Albert Kelsey. 8vo, pp. 185. Philadelphia: T Square Club. Paper, 60 cents.

The illustrated catalogue of the recent annual exhibition of the T Square Club at Philadelphia is noteworthy for a series of letters contributed by representative American architects on the subject, "An Unaffected School of Modern Architecture in America—Will it Come?" Messrs. Louis H. Sullivan, John M. Carrere, Ralph Adams Cram, Daniel H. Burnham, Ernest Flagg, Russell Sturgis, Cass Gilbert, Prof. William R. Ware, Prof. Charles Eliot Norton, Prof. Warren P. Laird, and Prof. John V. Van Pelt give their views on this important question.

Music and Musicians. By Albert Lavignac. Translated by William Marchant. Edited, with Additions on Music in America, by H. E. Krehbiel. 8vo, pp. 512. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$3.

This book is sure of attaining at least one distinction; it will take its place at once as the most comprehensive reference work on music published in a single volume and accessible to readers of English. M. Lavignac is professor of harmony in the Paris Conservatory and the author of "Wagner and his Music Dramas," while Mr. Krehbiel is one of our best-known American musical critics and the author of several popular works in this field. The American editor has had an important part in shaping M. Lavignac's book for an American constituency such as it can hardly fail to find among our music-lovers, both "professional" and amateur. The subjects of sound, instrumentation, orchestration, harmony, composition, improvisation, and the history of the art of music, are treated in detail.

Robert Browning's Complete Works. "Camberwell Edition." Edited, with Introductions and Notes, by Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clarke. 12 Vols., 18mo. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Cloth, 75 cents per volume, \$9 per set.

This series of twelve small volumes is the first complete, fully annotated edition of Browning's works. It contains even the fugitive poems neglected by Browning and not commonly found in collected editions, and also some verses not found in any other edition. The editors have been engaged in work on various Browning publications for some years. An important part of their work on the present edition is the preparation of a terse digest of every poem. Each volume has a photogravure frontispiece and specially designed title page. The type is legible and the binding attractive. The volumes may be purchased separately if desired.



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- Labor Problems in France, W. F. Willoughby, JPEcon.
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Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index.

[All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

AHR.	American Historical Review, N. Y.	Dub.	Dublin Review, Dublin.	NatR.	National Review, London.
AJS.	American Journal of Sociology, Chicago.	Edin.	Edinburgh Review, London.	NEng.	New England Magazine, Boston.
AJT.	American Journal of Theology, Chicago.	Ed.	Education, Boston.	NIM.	New Illustrated Magazine, London.
ALR.	American Law Review, St. Louis.	Eng.	Engineering Magazine, N. Y.	NW.	New World, Boston.
AMonM.	American Monthly Magazine, Washington, D. C.	EM.	España Moderna, Madrid.	NineC.	Nineteenth Century, London.
AMRR.	American Monthly Review of Reviews, N. Y.	Fort.	Fortnightly Review, London.	NAR.	North American Review, N. Y.
ANat.	American Naturalist, Boston.	Forum.	Forum, N. Y.	Nou.	Nouvelle Revue, Paris.
Annals.	Annals of the American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, Phila.	FrL.	Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y.	NA.	Nuova Antologia, Rome.
APB.	Anthony's Photographic Bulletin, N. Y.	Gent.	Gentleman's Magazine, London.	OC.	Open Court, Chicago.
APS.	Appleton's Popular Science Monthly, N. Y.	GBag.	Green Bag, Boston.	O.	Outing, N. Y.
ARec.	Architectural Record, N. Y.	Gunt.	Gunt's Magazine, N. Y.	Out.	Outlook, N. Y.
Arena.	Arena, Boston.	Harp.	Harper's Magazine, N. Y.	Over.	Overland Monthly, San Francisco.
AA.	Art Amateur, N. Y.	Home.	Home Magazine, N. Y.	PMM.	Pall Mall Magazine, London.
AI.	Art Interchange, N. Y.	Hom.	Homiletic Review, N. Y.	Phil.	Philosophical Review, N. Y.
AJ.	Art Journal, London.	HumN.	Humanité Nouvelle, Paris.	PhoT.	Photographic Times, N. Y.
Art.	Artist, London.	IJE.	International Journal of Ethics, Phila.	PL.	Poet-Lore, Boston.
Atlant.	Atlantic Monthly, Boston.	IntS.	International Studio, London.	PSQ.	Political Science Quarterly, Boston.
Bad.	Badminton, London.	IA.	Irrigation Age, Chicago.	PRR.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review, Phila.
BankL.	Bankers' Magazine, London.	JAES.	Journal of the Ass'n of Engineering Societies, Phila.	PQ.	Presbyterian Quarterly, Charlotte, N. C.
BankNY.	Bankers' Magazine, N. Y.	JF.	Journal of Finance, London.	QJEcon.	Quarterly Journal of Economics, Boston.
Bib.	Biblical World, Chicago.	JMSI.	Journal of the Military Service Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y. H.	QR.	Quarterly Review, London.
BSac.	Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O.	JPEcon.	Journal of Political Economy, Chicago.	RasN.	Rassegna Nazionale, Florence.
BU.	Bibliothèque Universelle, Lausanne.	Kind.	Kindergarten Magazine, Chicago.	RefS.	Réforme Sociale, Paris.
Black.	Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh.	KindR.	Kindergarten Review, Springfield, Mass.	RRL.	Review of Reviews, London.
BTJ.	Board of Trade Journal, London.	LHJ.	Ladies' Home Journal, Phila.	RRM.	Review of Reviews, Melbourne.
BB.	Book Buyer, N. Y.	LelsH.	Letsure Hour, London.	RDM.	Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris.
Bkman.	Bookman, N. Y.	Lipp.	Lippincott's Magazine, Phila.	RGen.	Revue Générale, Brussels.
BP.	Brush and Pencil, Chicago.	LQ.	London Quarterly Review, London.	RPar.	Revue de Paris, Paris.
Can.	Canadian Magazine, Toronto.	Long.	Longman's Magazine, London.	RPP.	Revue Politique et Parliementaire, Paris.
Cass.	Cassell's Magazine, London.	LuthQ.	Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, Pa.	RRP.	Revue des Revues, Paris.
CasM.	Cassier's Magazine, N. Y.	McCl.	McClure's Magazine, N. Y.	RSoc.	Revue Socialiste, Paris.
Cath.	Catholic World, N. Y.	Mac.	Macmillan's Magazine, London.	Ros.	Rosary, Somerset, Ohio.
Cent.	Century Magazine, N. Y.	MA.	Magazine of Art, London.	San.	Sanitarian, N. Y.
Cham.	Chambers' Journal, Edinburgh.	Men.	Menorah Monthly, N. Y.	School.	School Review, Chicago.
Char.	Charities Review, N. Y.	Met.	Metaphysical Magazine, N. Y.	Scrib.	Scribner's Magazine, N. Y.
Chaut.	Chautauquan, Meadville, Pa.	MRN.	Methodist Review, Nashville.	SelfC.	Self Culture, Akron, Ohio.
CAge.	Coming Age, Boston.	MRNY.	Methodist Review, N. Y.	SR.	Sewanee Review, Sewanee, Tenn.
Contem.	Contemporary Review, London.	Mid.	Midland Monthly, Des Moines, Iowa.	Str.	Strand Magazine, London.
Corn.	Cornhill, London.	MisH.	Missionary Herald, Boston.	Sun.	Sunday Magazine, London.
Cos.	Cosmopolitan, N. Y.	MisR.	Missionary Review, N. Y.	Temp.	Temple Bar, London.
Crit.	Critic, N. Y.	Mon.	Monist, Chicago.	USM.	United Service Magazine, London.
Dem.	Demorest's Family Magazine, N. Y.	Month.	Month, London.	West.	Westminster Review, London.
DH.	Deutscher Hausschatz, Regensburg.	MunA.	Municipal Affairs, N. Y.	Wern.	Werner's Magazine, N. Y.
Dent.	Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart.	Mun.	Munsey's Magazine, N. Y.	WWM.	Wide World Magazine, London.
Dial.	Dial, Chicago.	Mus.	Music, Chicago.	WPM.	Wilson's Photographic Magazine, N. Y.
		NatGM.	National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C.	Yale.	Yale Review, New Haven.
		NatM.	National Magazine, Boston.	YM.	Young Man, London.
				YW.	Young Woman, London.

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW.

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OLIVER CROMWELL.
(From the painting by Lely.)

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Review of Reviews.

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No. 6.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

How Good Times Come and Go. There is a great deal of fiction in the distinctions that men commonly make between what they call good times and bad times. The really good times are not always recognized or admitted until they have gone by. The times that men look upon as the beginning of a period of good times and as highly encouraging on that account are not infrequently the periods of danger, because they lead to overconfidence, rash investment, and the undue extension of credit. Such times are marked by the floating of ill-considered and over-capitalized undertakings and by speculations that are doomed to react disastrously. For several years past the farmers of the West have had good prices for their crops, and have been paying off old indebtedness and generally solidifying their positions. They had been compelled for some years previous to exercise the most rigid economy under very trying and difficult circumstances. It will be well for them to consider that these more recent seasons of good crops and good prices have constituted for them a period of reasonable prosperity. We may hope certainly that no sharp reaction is to overtake the business world at once; nevertheless this is exactly the right time to take account of stock and make ready for the worst that could possibly happen.

Advancing Prosperity The prosperity that began with the farmers some three years ago has at length fully overtaken the merchants and manufacturers. Long-continued depression had made prices extremely low; and even with a reduced output there had been more than enough staple goods manufactured, because the purchasing power of consumers was limited. The revival of agricultural prosperity, coupled with the inducement to buy that the low prices afforded, gradually heightened the demand for all kinds of useful wares. The merchants were obliged to replenish their stocks and the idle factories began to fire up the rusty furnaces. Abundance of work for idle operatives and

artisans in its turn made these working people larger purchasers of clothing and current supplies. And so the demand increased to the extent of justifying better prices for manufactured goods, while better prices permitted the payment of normal wages.

Restored Wages. There had been a very general reduction of wages in all lines of manufacture. Now that the mills are busy and there is work for everybody, the old scales of wages have been very generally restored. Mills and factories are crowded with orders at remunerative prices, and employers could not afford to face protracted strikes. It is at such times that close and careful labor organization seems to be beneficial to workingmen. In very dull times, when the market is glutted with iron and steel products, for example, and prices are abnormally low, there are no means by which labor unions can secure for their members steady employment at high wages. For the employer has always the alternative of shutting down his works and going off to Europe to enjoy himself. But in lively times, like those that we find in the present season, it is profitable for employers to keep their mills running at high wages. Under such conditions it is easy to see that a thorough-going organization of labor may hold a very considerable latent power without seeming to assert itself at all. There is fierce denunciation of labor unions and their methods in some quarters, and there are even men who would be glad to suppress all labor organizations by law. Certainly at times the methods of labor unions are high-handed and even tyrannical. The non-union worker has rights, and the employer of non-union labor is entitled under the laws to protection. Labor unions have often needlessly sacrificed the sympathy of the public by their harsh treatment of men who do not belong to their organizations. But it does not follow, however, that trades unionism is not both justifiable and advantageous.

The Combination of Capital. If the organization of labor, even to the extent of the complete and monopolistic control of a great many important trades, is defensible and is a part of the natural and unavoidable movement of economic society in our age, it may be none the less true that the combination of capital engaged in a given line of industry is also in the main trend of our economic development, and therefore not to be prevented either by denunciation or by enactments. Up to a certain point the old-fashioned competitive system was not wasteful, but, on the contrary, afforded a useful regulation of production and of price. The whole tendency, however, of business progress—especially in a country like ours where vastness of natural resources and the rapid growth of population promote the growth of small businesses into enterprises conducted on a large scale—seemed to render the competitive system inadequate and wasteful.

Railroad Amalgamation. In the case of particular enterprises protected by the patent laws, for instance, the economies of production on a large scale, and also of distribution freed from the special expenses that competition entails, were very readily apparent. In railroad management competition beyond a certain point proved to be costly for the patrons of the roads as well as disastrous for the owners. Consolidation came to be the order of the day, with the result of the evolution of a few large systems. Under the operation of these methods freight rates became lower and lower, so that the general public, far from being the victims of transportation monopoly, have been its most obvious beneficiaries. This remark, of course, is to be taken with many modifications when applied in a specific way. Individual patrons of railroads have suffered wrong through favoritism shown toward their business rivals. Particular communities, also, have suffered through an arrangement of rates which favored the up-building of competing centers. The railroad systems of the country have by no means been perfectly administered in this new era of consolidation. Nevertheless there are few people who would not be ready to admit that railroad service is much cheaper and better now than it ever was before in the United States, and that it is cheaper and better here than in other countries.

Advantages of United Management. It would seem good for everybody to have railroad transportation removed almost or quite wholly from the sphere of competitive business. The public is not benefited in the long run by rate wars between great trunk lines. Joint traffic agreements of a pooling

nature may indeed be contrary to both the letter and the spirit of the interstate commerce act; but the actual maintenance of non-competitive rates and a certain amount of coöperation in the distribution of business is not only better for the holders of railroad shares, but it is also better for the shippers of goods and the traveling public than rate-cutting, secret rebates, and the administration of railroad systems in a spirit of warfare against other systems. The fact is, of course, that the old-fashioned competitive system, carried to a logical extreme, is closely analogous to warfare; and the whole tendency of our civilization is away from Ishmaelitic methods, and is moving nobly and wholesomely in the direction of coöperative and peaceful methods. The worst about our railroad system in times past was not the danger of its drifting into monopoly, but the unnecessary and speculative construction of competing lines, the kindred evil of over-capitalization, and the mischievous issues of securities that represented neither actual investment nor developed value. These methods were bad, of course, for the country at large; but probably the worst sufferers from them were not the communities through which the railroads passed, but the people who were deluded into buying the fictitious stocks and unsafe bonds.

Public Welfare Not Menaced. For many years the railroad systems of the country have been going through the stage of financial reorganization as a penalty for the reckless and improper methods of the 60s and 70s. The clear tendency of the times is to knit together yet more closely the whole texture of the country's railroad system. It is not at all impossible—so swift is the movement nowadays of industrial and financial combination—that all the railroad systems of the country might, in the not very distant future, be amalgamated into one great corporate whole. Nor is it to be taken for granted without careful thought and study that such a consummation would be deplorable. The legislative power to regulate railroad rates has become established in practice and is firmly upheld by the decisions of the courts; and the State also possesses the power of taxation. It is not easy to see, therefore, how the community can be in danger of losing its liberties through the further reduction of the railroad network of the country to a complete and unified system under one harmonious control. Nor would it seem to matter very much whether this issue came about through the legalization of pooling contracts or through the actual consolidation of railroad properties. This will seem a hard saying to many readers holding the old anti-monopoly views.

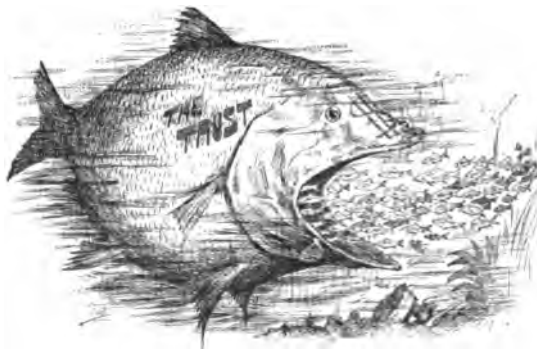
Public Ownership a Subsequent Issue. It would be so much the easier for the Interstate Commerce Commission to secure uniform, accurate, and intelligible railroad accounting; and with perfect publicity the rate-making and tax-levying authority of the State and nation could exercise all needful control. Under such conditions, if the time should ever come when public ownership and direct operation of the railroads should be deemed desirable, the transfer could be brought about in a very simple way on some such plan as the exchange of government bonds for railroad securities at an agreed market value. The thing to be desired is the elimination from the railroad business of all speculative elements, so that after expenses of operation and maintenance are paid, and the managers and employees receive fair salaries and wages, there should remain just enough profits to pay interest and dividends upon an honest capitalization. This process seems to be working out through natural business laws. When it is pretty well completed it will be soon enough, in the United States, to consider whether or not the State ownership of railroads is desirable; and when that time comes it may perhaps make no very great difference whether the Government of the country manages the railroads directly or whether it leaves them to be managed by a private monopoly subject to public control, regulation, and taxation.

Transitional Disturbances. All great transitions in the business world are fraught with many incidental grievances and with much temporary inconvenience. Thus most thoughtful men would hold it to be utterly fallacious to take the ground that it can be harmful to the community to introduce labor-saving machinery. On the contrary, it is agreed by most sound thinkers that the invention and use of appliances for saving labor must inevitably add to the general prosperity, and ought therefore to be en-

couraged in every possible direction. Nevertheless, at the moment when the labor-saving device is introduced in any given trade, there results no little hardship to many individuals. It is similarly true in the business world that the growth of production on a large scale and a rapid extension of the sphere of combination has crowded many small capitalists, manufacturers, and traders to the wall and caused no little loss and confusion. This, however, involves no new principle. Competition has never at any stage been a merciful or considerate system of business organization; and it is by the methods of competition that the modern combination crushes out those who do not cooperate with it.

Origin of the "Trust." The new combination popularly called a "trust" is ruthless in its opposition to surviving or incipient competitors, but its methods in the main are not very different from those that a powerful business man fifty years ago would have used to break down his weaker rivals. These methods are not admirable, but it is well to remember that they belong not to the new system of cooperative capital, but to the old competitive system that the new methods are proposing to supersede. The word trust as applied to this new method of amalgamation in industrial production is not accurate or well chosen. Some years ago, it is true, the name fairly applied to several combinations. Their plan was not to consolidate what had been competing properties, but to escape the wastefulness of the competitive methods and gain numerous advantages that would accrue from union and harmony. The respective owners did not give up the ownership of their properties, but they assigned their holdings of stock to a common board of trustees, which was authorized to operate the plants as one system, although separate corporations were nominally maintained. This arrangement, which constituted a trust in the literal sense, was assailed on legal grounds and was abandoned.

The Rights of Monopoly. The method that came to be substituted was that of selling the properties outright to a new corporation. Property rights are secure under our national and State constitutions, and one of the most vital of property rights is the right to sell what one possesses. If a corporation may be formed for the purchase of one sugar refinery, it will in practice be difficult, if not impossible, to prevent its purchasing or building other sugar refineries; and there would seem no constitutional method by which its progress might not result in a monopoly. Such monopolies might, of course, pursue measures which would be harmful to the



A CASE OF THE BIG FISH SWALLOWING THE SMALLER ONES.
From the Herald (New York).

community and against which laws could properly be made. The devices of public regulation and taxation could always be brought to bear; but against the mere fact of monopoly *per se* there would seem to be no successful form of legal opposition. The government Patent Office every day grants control over certain inventions with the avowed object of promoting for a term of years strict monopoly. If, in some field of industry not dependent upon the protection of the patent laws, a monopoly should arise by reason of the fact that a single individual or firm or corporation had come into control of the entire production of a given article, it would not follow necessarily that there was any greater impropriety in this particular monopoly than in those especially fostered by the Government under its patent laws.

**Freedom
with
Regulation.**

In a free country there must be freedom to combine and to coöperate, just as there must be freedom to compete. On the other hand, the regulation and control of monopoly is permissible and necessary, just as the regulation of competition at certain points has been found desirable. Thus in the field of competition the laws now protect the good employer from the unfair competition of bad employers by regulating the character of factories, the time conditions under which women and children are employed, and in various other ways. The tendency now shown in a number of our State Legislatures to enact laws striking directly at the formation of monopolies is readily explained, but does not indicate very mature consideration. A, who is a grocer in the town of B, would naturally be glad to be the only grocer in the town; and if he could form a part-

nership with C and D, his principal competitors, and the new firm could then buy out or crowd out their smaller competitors, there would emerge a monopoly. The methods used in obtaining that monopoly might not have been very kindly or polite, but they might, nevertheless, have been strictly within the pale of the law; and it is conceivable that the monopoly might be maintained indefinitely through the economical and careful conduct of the business and through the policy of sharing with customers the benefits derived from doing business on a large scale.

**Magnitude
of the
Monopoly
Movement.**

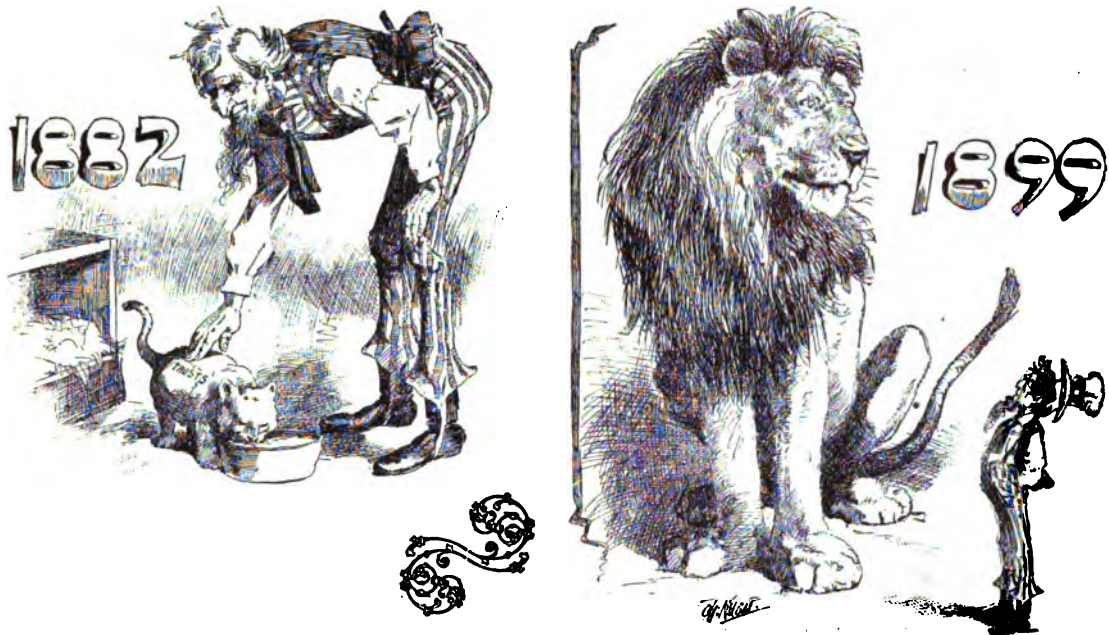
This illustration of the grocery store applies well enough to most of the monopolies that pass nowadays under the title of "trusts." It does not follow, however, because the principle of amalgamation is the simple one of bringing rival properties under a common ownership, that the movement is any the less stupendous in its volume or revolutionary in its consequences. It is entitled to all the attention that is being drawn to it, and to a great deal more. It would be strange indeed if a movement that is changing the whole face of the business world should not be reflected in any manner in political and legislative discussions. We publish elsewhere a very interesting article on this recent enormous movement for the aggregation of capital, from the pen of Mr. Byron Holt, a careful student of the subject. At the present stage the public needs information; and the things to encourage are study and inquiry, rather than the attitude of furious hostility. The laws that have been enacted with the intention of checking the aggregation of capital have certainly had no decisive effect of that sort. The opposition to the old form of trust has simply stimulated the formation of those more complete aggregations that involve the *bona fide* transfer of the property to a new company that thus absorbs the old corporations.

**Cohesive
Power of
the "Trusts."**

The cordage trust was one of the earlier combinations which went to pieces a time or two, and which gave the public the impression that the combination movement in itself was contrary to natural economic tendencies and might therefore be thwarted. But if the rope trust indeed was held together by ropes of sand, it was a marked exception. The industrial monopolies, for the most part, show signs of great stability. It is likely enough, of course, that where they have been recklessly and foolishly over-capitalized—with the idea that monopoly means the opportunity to advance prices and oppress the public—they will come to financial grief and be compelled to reorganize. But



EVERYTHING SEEMS TO BE COMING HIS WAY.
From the Herald (New York).



THE GROWTH OF THE TRUST IN AMERICA THE MARVEL OF THE CENTURY.—From the *Herald* (New York).

reorganization in such cases means nothing very different from railroad reorganization. Where a railroad has gone into the hands of a receiver, the trains continue to run and the shippers and passengers see no difference. The reorganization is a matter of finance. A great number of so-called trusts have been floated upon absurd over-issues of preferred and common stock, and the "water" will sooner or later have to be squeezed out. It does not follow, however, that the combination will dissolve into its original elements, and that its parts will go back to the old system of competing with one another as independent concerns. The probability, on the contrary, is that the advantages of monopoly production and distribution will be firmly retained. It is to be regretted that the laws in this country are not as rigid as those of some foreign countries as respects capitalization of joint stock enterprises. But the trick of over-capitalization, although intended to aid in fleecing the public by making it pay prices that would earn dividends on fictitious stock, is likely to react in the end upon the shareholders.

Trusts and Great Fortunes. The period through which we are passing, in which the competitive economics of large production drives capital inevitably to seek the security of combination, abounds in those uncertain elements which give opportunity for the formation of immense fortunes, due rather to abnormal conditions than

to relative superiority in the management of business enterprises. This phenomenon of the rapid growth of colossal fortunes will doubtless continue until the transition is fairly complete and the great industries settle down to steady-going methods under strict public regulation. The tendency will then be for labor, on the one hand, and the State through taxation, on the other, to absorb everything except a reasonable profit upon the capital employed in the monopolized enterprises. The speculative element in the so-called "industrials" will have a tendency to disappear as in the case of the railroad systems; and it may be expected that there will come about a gradual diffusion of ownership in these great enterprises through the investment of the savings of the people in their stocks and securities, quite as in France, where the real owners of most great undertakings are working people and small investors. It is altogether too soon to say that the tendency to the accumulation of great fortunes will not be squarely offset by other and even more potent tendencies. The next census, in so far as it may carry out a special inquiry into the wealth of the country, is not likely to find that the past decade has put an increased proportion of the national wealth in the hands of the millionaires. It has certainly produced the phenomenon of a larger number of multi-millionaires. But the advance in general prosperity of more than 70,000,000 people easily counterbalances the abnormal growth of individual fortunes.

*A Type
that May
be Multiplied
in Future.*

An illustration of what it is not unreasonable to expect in the management of great business enterprises in the future, including many of the so called trusts or industrial monopolies, is afforded in the career of a remarkable man who died May 2 in New York. Mr. Henry B. Hyde was the founder of the Equitable Life Assurance Society forty years



THE LATE HENRY B. HYDE.

ago, and he was its president at the time of his death, as he had been for many years. He was in the very first rank of influential business men, and he had built up one of the greatest corporations the world has ever seen. The directors of the Equitable adopted a minute respecting him, from which we take the following extract :

We mourn the loss of the founder of the Equitable Life Assurance Society. We are thankful that he lived to enjoy its marvelous success. He laid its foundation and was both its architect and builder. He entered the field with many competitors. Most of them failed or retired from business. In the race for strength, influence, world-wide connections, solvency, and beneficence Mr. Hyde put this company in the front rank among those which survived. The history of the society is the story of his life. He effaced himself for the institution he loved so dearly and served so faithfully. The same intuition, skill, and energy devoted to his private affairs would have given him position among the few superlatively rich men of the world. The interests of the Equitable were always of infinitely greater care with him than his private business. He deliberately chose to foster, expand, and strengthen the Equitable rather than make or leave a large fortune for his family. He was in a high sense a philanthropist and benefactor. His company, during its forty years of

existence, has paid to those who trusted to it their savings for the safety of their families \$377,000,000, and it holds \$265,000,000 for its many policy-holders. This unparalleled result was the work of Henry B. Hyde. No fortune of \$200,000,000 was ever piled up in a single life. But our president, from the age of twenty-five to sixty-five, accumulated for the society \$572,000,000. This sum far exceeds the greatest fortune of the most famous financiers.

It is true that Mr. Hyde drew what may be considered a very large salary for directing the affairs of the Equitable ; but this salary was by no means large when compared with the almost unthinkable magnitude of the business for the success of which he was chiefly responsible. When his will was probated later in the month it was found that he had left a fortune of only about \$500,000. His great business talent had been at the service of the Equitable ; and his business success was not to be measured by the size of his private accumulations, but by the colossal success of the company which he personally had founded and had to the day of his death principally conducted. There is no more reason in the nature of things why the successful management of a railroad system or a gas company should be somehow associated with the accumulation of an immense private fortune than the successful management of an insurance company. The tendency in the future is likely to be toward a wide dispersion among investors of the shares of stock in the great majority of industrial enterprises, with the active management, as in the case of the late Mr. Hyde, in the hands of capable men contented to receive the reward of a good salary along with high reputation.

*The
Carnegie
Fortune.*

When the changing conditions have progressed a little further toward stability on the new lines, it is not unlikely that we shall discover that many, at least, of the colossal fortunes were accumulated, not by virtue of the formation of trusts, but through the bad working of the competitive system at a time when business on a large scale had made competition ruinous to all save a few who happened to possess either the natural advantages or the superior ability to win supremacy in the business struggle. Particular attention has been called during the past month to one of these vast fortunes, through the retirement of Mr. Andrew Carnegie from the business of making iron and steel. Mr. Carnegie was at the head of a system of closely connected establishments, with headquarters at Pittsburg, which had become the most extensive and probably the most complete and perfect plant in the whole world for the supply of iron and steel in large quantities. So gigantic was the scale upon which the Car-

negie business was conducted that it could earn large profits while easily underselling most of its competitors. In order to meet so formidable an antagonist, many other iron plants had recently united and formed what are known in newspaper parlance as trusts. The general drift of the iron and steel business of late has been rapidly in the direction of huge consolidations, and the air has been full of the talk of one mammoth union in the United States which should be capitalized at perhaps \$800,000,000, or even more. At such a moment Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who is reputed not to like trusts and combinations, retires from active business and sells to his business associates his controlling interest in the various establishments that compose the Carnegie iron and steel plant. The report, apparently authorized, has been that Mr. Carnegie receives for his interests \$100,000,000 in the form of first-mortgage 5-per-cent. bonds covering the whole system, besides half as much more in another form, either cash or stock.



MR. ANDREW CARNEGIE.

Five Millions a Year to Spend. Mr. Carnegie, of course, has large wealth in other directions; but apart from all that, he is to be in receipt henceforth of an actual cash income of \$5,000,000 a year, without being obliged to give any of his time or energy to the management of the enterprises from the success of which this income

must accrue. It is probable that for a good many years past Mr. Carnegie's yearly profits from the iron business have been a much larger sum than the five millions of interest that will come to him from his bonds; but he is scarcely likely to feel any keen hardship or discomfort from a sudden diminution of revenues. There is a good deal of loose talk and writing about the fortunes of multi-millionaires, and occasionally some very grotesque estimates appear in the newspapers of the amount of the wealth of particular individuals. There are variable factors in most great fortunes, due to the nature of the enterprises in which the wealth is invested. Barney Barnato, for example, two or three years before his death, was commonly accounted as worth a great deal more money than Mr. Andrew Carnegie. But he was not a substantial millionaire, and when he died the residue of assets that could be realized upon was very small. There may be, here and there, a richer man than Mr. Carnegie. But it may be doubted whether there is any other man in the world who has accumulated \$100,000,000 and put it into a form at once so safe and convenient that the principal need give him no thought or concern, so that his time and energies may be devoted freely to the problem how best to expend in the service of his fellow-men an income of say \$100,000 a week.



MR. HENRY C. FRICK.

(Who becomes head of the amalgamated Carnegie-Frick companies.)

Carnegie as Philanthropist. Mr. Carnegie is not a man who will be like a fish out of water through the sudden acquisition of unaccustomed leisure. It is now a good many years since he began to practice as well as preach the

gospel of well-employed leisure, public spirit, and the social responsibilities of wealth. He may in his earlier years have been a slave to the exactions of his business ; but a number of years ago he adopted the plan of turning over the detailed management of affairs to his junior partners, who shared liberally in the rewards of success. This plan gave him freedom for travel, study, writing, and the carrying out of philanthropic projects. It enabled him to spend a good deal of his time abroad and to cultivate the acquaintance of men of all professions and callings whom he cared to know. What he now proposes is simply to give still more of his time and money to philanthropic and public pursuits, in the cultivation of which he has already become a veteran. Thus far Mr. Carnegie's favorite form of philanthropy has been the founding of free libraries. Those theorists who consider that all philanthropy is pernicious, and that it is demoralizing to a community to have a rich man do anything for it, are at least, as a rule, ready to admit that libraries, art galleries, and schools for the study of applied art and technical matters are not as bad a form of philanthropy as some others. Allusion was made a month or two ago in these pages to Mr. Carnegie's recent addition of more than \$1,000,000 to the Carnegie Institute at Pittsburg, which has now received from him all told about \$7,000,000. He gave \$250,000 last month toward the development of scientific education in the Midlands University at Birmingham, England, and very sensibly advised



MR. CHARLES T. YERKES.

the Birmingham people to look into the scientific work of Cornell University as being far ahead of anything that was to be found in Great Britain.

*Combining
Local
Monopolies.*

The tendency to combination which has affected so great a number of American industries of late has shown itself with equal strength in the management of municipal supply services. Street railroads, gas



CARNEGIE LIBRARY, MUSIC HALL, ART GALLERY, AND MUSEUM OF PITTSBURG.

companies, electric power and lighting plants, and such local corporations have been steadily eliminating competition and forming themselves into great monopolies. Thus it is reported from Chicago that Mr. Yerkes has sold out his large street-railroad interests to a syndicate, whose purchase will make for a still larger aggregation of the transit services of Chicago under one central control. One of the principal factors in the movement for the combination of municipal supply services in the Greater New York was the Hon. Roswell P. Flower, ex-governor of the State, who died suddenly last month. An immediate result of Mr. Flower's death was something like a panic on the stock market, for the shares of companies in which he was regarded as the controlling spirit dropped in some cases as much as 30 per cent. or more. This fact showed how, in the transitional stages from the one system to the other, the individual counts in a very important way. If the programmes upon the execution of which ex-Governor Flower was supposed to be engaged—involving as they did some spirited struggles with rival corporate interests—had been fully carried out, his death would have had no such effect upon the stock market. The depression, of course, was only temporary.

*The Late
R. P. Flower.*

The quick recovery of what were known as the Flower stocks was in large measure a tribute to the great confidence of the business world in Mr. Flower's sagacity as well as his integrity. It was reported that the great insurance companies and other substantial interests came forward and offered the firm of Flower & Co. the sum of \$100,000,000 if they should need it to protect the Flower interests against the needless break in the market. Mr. Flower worked his way up as a country boy in Jefferson County, N. Y., and obtained success in the business world through his qualities of industry, persistence, and integrity. After coming to New York City he entered politics as a Democrat, and served in Congress for several terms. He was elected governor of the State in 1891, and his political opponents have always since acknowledged that his administration was that of a conscientious and capable business man. It was not until after his retirement from public office that he threw himself with all his energy into Wall Street life as the acknowledged leader of the activities of that feverish locality. He possessed a vast fund of homely common sense, and had the fashion of being nearly right in most of his judgments and estimates. He had not the appearance of an overworked man, but it is probable that his sudden death may have been due to the heavy strain of great business projects which

had occupied him for several years. He was supposed at the time of his death to be possessed of properties worth about \$25,000,000. Mr. Carnegie seems to have taken sixty years as the retiring-point. It is quite possible that if Mr. Flower had retired a year or two ago he might



THE LATE ROSWELL P. FLOWER.

have lived to enjoy many more years of usefulness and honor. It would have been quite as easy for Mr. Flower to turn his energies into the philanthropic channel as it had been for him to develop the habit of accumulation. He was naturally a man of exceptional public spirit and of instinctive generosity. To be sure, he could not have retired, like Mr. Carnegie, with a hundred millions; but a man may be a great philanthropist on a basis of twenty millions, or even of ten. It has been said since his death that Mr. Flower's current benevolence had for years been on a generous scale, never falling below a tenth of his income. His wealth was probably overestimated.

*A Millionaire
Tax
Reformer.*

A considerable amount of newspaper discussion has attended the retirement from active business of another American millionaire, Mr. Tom L. Johnson, of Ohio, equally well known in the three spheres

of business, practical politics, and social and economic reform. Mr. Johnson made his way to great wealth as a practical inventor who had the gift—so rare among inventors—of business sagacity. He applied his improvements in street railroads in such a way as to reap the benefit himself. His street-railroad operations in Western cities are well known. He had also made himself a factor in the business of passenger transit in Brooklyn, where Governor Flower's energies at the time of his death were rapidly bringing about something like a complete union of the street-railroad lines. Mr. Johnson was in Congress from Ohio for several years, where he distinguished himself as a representative of the theoretical free-trade wing of the Democratic party. He became a convert to the doctrines of the late Henry George; and—showing in a characteristic way the courage of his convictions—cast in his lot with the single-taxers with the utmost enthusiasm. The announcement of his retirement from business is coupled with the further announcement that he expects to devote the remainder of his life and the bulk of his fortune to the promotion of taxation reform. Of Mr. Johnson's good faith and public spirit there can be no doubt. He declares his conviction that the single tax is the only remedy for existing evils, and avows his purpose "to dedicate the balance of my life to advocating the cause and in showing that this philosophy is the only solution of our vexed labor problems."

*The Socialist
View of
Monopoly.*

Mr. Johnson remarks that although one minor question after another catches the public notice, there never elapses any great period of time without the fundamental problems of taxation coming up for discussion. "Each successive step," he says, "brings more people to view calmly and quietly Mr. George's simple and beautiful problem of destroying monopoly and privilege by taxing them out of existence." Several schools of reformers, indeed, are looking on at the present extraordinary movements in the business world with a high degree of complacency; and among these groups are the single-taxers and the socialists, although they profess to represent antipodal views. The single-taxers do not like private property in land, and the socialists do not like private property in anything. The socialists, in particular, are of the opinion that the wide diffusion of private ownership is adverse to their cause, for the plain reason that such diffusion gives to the evil they are trying to overthrow the stability of a pyramid resting upon a broad base. When private ownership, however, becomes concentrated in monopoly, it is much easier to at-

tack. Socialism asks nothing better, therefore, than to have everything come under monopolistic private management, as the surest preliminary to their advocated transfer of everything to public management. They would crowd things into the shape of trusts and combines on the same principle which governed the practice of the phy-



HON. TOM. L. JOHNSON.

sician who knew how to cure fits, and who therefore always threw his patients into fits before proceeding further.

*Johnson,
Pingree, and
the Detroit
Situation.*

Although Mr. Johnson professes to believe in destroying monopoly and privilege by taxing them out of existence, he has been willing, so long as monopolies were the order of the day, to make what he could from their exploitation. For example, it is no other than this Mr. Johnson who is the chief owner of the street-railroad monopoly of Detroit, the purchase of which, as reported in these pages last month, has been made a policy of the municipal authorities. According to those Detroit newspapers which do not favor the municipal acquisition of the lines, Mr. Johnson and his colleagues failed in their attempt to obtain an extension of their franchises on the terms that they desired, and thereupon hit upon the plan of selling out the roads to the city itself for a price which included not only the amount of the capital invested, but some millions of dollars for the franchise which had been freely given to the street-railroad company. The negotiations be-

tween the company and the city were reported last month to have come to a deadlock through a difference of \$1,000,000 or more in the price to be paid. One or two of the Detroit papers which were not in favor of the municipal purchase have attempted to criticise the account of the matter published by the REVIEW last month; but even taking their versions of the affair as correct, we are not able to find any material error in our own comments, which were merely intended to convey information as to the facts. Those facts were that Governor Pingree had taken the lead in pushing through the Legislature an enabling act under which the municipal council of Detroit actually proceeded to name a commission of three men clothed with the authority to buy up the local street railroads and operate them as a municipal department. A few weeks ago it appeared entirely probable that the project would be promptly carried to consummation. Since then the negotiations seem not to have proceeded in a very promising way, and much opposition among the citizens of Detroit to the plan of municipal purchase is reported by the newspapers. A good many people thought that so important an innovation ought to have been referred to a direct vote of the people. This is a view which would seem to us entirely reasonable on general principles. What particular objection there may have been in Detroit we do not know.

*The
Value of
Franchises.*

The rest of the country would look on with immense interest if Detroit should set about operating the passenger transit system as a municipal department. It does not necessarily follow that it would be for the interest of the people of that city to afford the country the benefit of this particular kind of object-lesson. There is evidently no dearth in Detroit of advocates able to deal adequately with their respective sides of the discussion. If the municipality should not, after all, buy up the street-railroad system, the citizens of that town will at least henceforth have a perfectly clear idea of the commercial value of street-railroad franchises. They would expect at the end of the existing franchise period to sell extensions or renewal privileges for something like what they are worth. Thus the statement has come to be a commonplace in Detroit and in all the Michigan press that of the \$17,500,000 demanded by the owners of the Detroit street railroads, \$10,000,000 represents the worth of the franchise freely given by the people through their municipal representatives. By some plan of taxation, rental, or payment of percentages, the people would expect under future grants to be reimbursed for the value of such franchises.



HON. JOHN FORD, OF NEW YORK.

*Taxing
Franchises in
New York.*

A kindred question has been the absorbing one in New York during the past month. The most important street railroads of the city of New York, unlike those of Detroit and the Western cities, hold franchises which have been granted to them in perpetuity. These franchises, through the development of the city, have come to have a very large earning capacity. If the municipality had them back in its control it could obtain enormous rentals for them. Meanwhile the owners of real estate in New York have been much perturbed through the fact that the public expenditures have so increased as to necessitate a higher rate of taxation than ever before, the very great bulk of this taxation falling upon realty. The Hon. John Ford, a New York City member of the State Senate, came forward in the Legislature several months ago with a measure for the taxation of the franchises of street railroads, gas companies, telephones, and like corporations, as if they were real estate. His argument was devoted to showing in a very ingenious way, first, the justice of levying increased taxes upon such companies and their general ability to bear taxation; and, second, the close analogy in many respects between the value of their franchises and the value of municipal real estate.

*Enactment
of the
Ford Bill.*

It was shown that the market prices of many of the securities of these companies afforded a very ready means by which to ascertain the proper valuation for tax purposes. Senator Ford's bill was natu-

rally opposed by the representatives of the interests that would be most directly affected ; but, nevertheless, it passed both houses by a very considerable majority before the adjournment of the regular session of the Legislature on April 28. Governor Roosevelt had not concealed his intention to sign the bill if it should be passed. He consented, however, to give its opponents a careful hearing before affixing his name and thus making the measure a law. Some of the criticisms of the bill led the governor to the conclusion that its best features could be retained, while in other respects it could be amended with advantage. Thus he reached the view that it would be better to have the assessment of such corporations made by a State board, rather than by the local assessing officers. The governor at length decided to call the Legislature together again in extra session on Monday, May 22, in order to act upon certain suggestions which he was prepared to offer for the amendment of the bill. It was intimated that if the Legislature should not agree to amend the measure in the ways which would be regarded by the governor as improving it, he would on the 27th affix his signature to the bill as originally passed. Thus in one shape or another it was certain that the Ford bill would become a law. Whether or not this measure presented the best theoretical method by which the community should obtain remuneration for the privileges accorded to private companies using valuable public franchises was not the question at issue. The advocates of the Ford bill were dealing with the more practical question, What method might, under existing circumstances, be put into operation at once to divert a part of the burden of taxation now borne by real estate to a class of corporations deriving their prosperity from the enjoyment of lucrative privileges ? The passage of the Ford bill, against the protests of many of the corporations which it proposes to tax, illustrates in a striking way the plain fact that the tendency toward monopoly combinations does not of necessity lessen the power of the community to assert its own interests through the prerogatives of regulation and taxation.

America and the World at Large. The international relations of the United States have been more free from friction in the past month—if one may venture so sweeping an opinion—than in any previous month since the United States came into existence. There has not been a single cloud on the horizon. It is true that reports were circulated that the Quebec conference on questions at issue between Canada and the United States would not resume its sessions on account of the confessed impossibility of reaching any



THE JOINT COMMISSION.

UNCLE SAM (to the Canadian premier): "Say, Wilfy, you give me two bites of yours and I'll give you one bite of mine."
SIR WILFRED LAURIER: "Aren't you a little bit greedy, Sammy?"—From the *Daily Witness* (Montreal).

agreement ; but that statement has lacked confirmation. Moreover, the relations between Great Britain and the United States are of the most cordial character, and there is now nothing in these Canadian questions to endanger peace. Senator Fairbanks, the chairman of the American group of conferees, has gone to Alaska to study the boundary question on the ground. It would seem far better to take up one question at a time and settle it on its merits than to keep all of them open with the idea of trading and striking balances. Thus the sealing question should be settled, without reference to any other dispute, by an agreement for buying out the pelagic sealers. Then the boundary question should be settled, as in previous instances, by arbitration. The alien labor frictions should be removed by the mutual withdrawal of all annoying restrictions. The fisheries question might be adjusted on some broad-gauge plan as an experiment for a fixed period. The question of tariff reciprocity ought always to stand by itself and to be treated in a purely business way, each country stating what privileges it wants and what concessions it is willing to make in return. The boundary question is the only vital one of them all.

The Coghlan Incident.

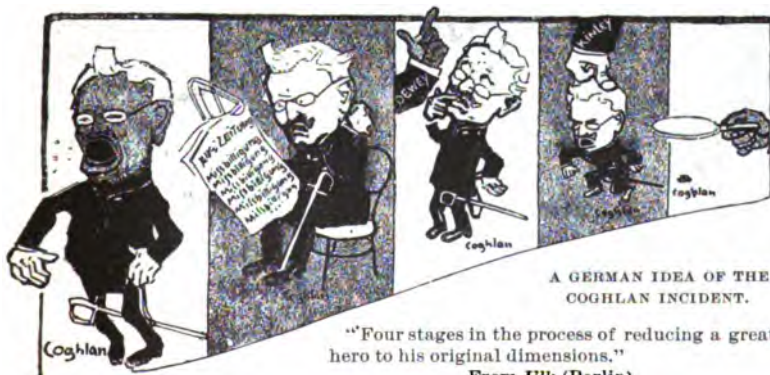
The desire of Germany to maintain good relations with the United States was amply shown last month by the attitude of the German press as well as the government toward an incident which under other circumstances might have been disagreeably magnified. The *Ruleigh* having returned from Manila, its officers and men were welcomed with great enthusiasm; and Captain Coghlan was *fêted* and lionized in New York and elsewhere throughout the East. In a speech at a dinner in his honor at the Union League Club in New York, Captain Coghlan, regarding the occasion as a strictly private one, was so unguarded as to give a very straightforward account of the manner in which the German ships in Philippine waters had conducted themselves toward the American blockade of Manila after the destruction of the Spanish fleet. The gallant captain's remarks, as they leaked out and appeared in the newspapers, were as uncomplimentary to the Kaiser as to Admiral von Diederichs. The European press took the matter up most greedily, and seemed determined to magnify it into an incident of importance and a ground of serious dispute between Germany and the United States. But the German Government was entirely calm about it, and the German press quickly learned that the United States Government assumed no responsibility for the unfortunate accident of the publication of an officer's free talk in the privacy of a club. German self-respect was satisfied with the assurance that Captain Coghlan had been reprimanded and that President McKinley deeply disapproved of his remarks. Meanwhile nobody in the United States has any doubt as to the substantial truth of all that Captain Coghlan said about the outrageous manner in which German ships for some time annoyed Admiral Dewey. No possible good can come, however, from dwelling upon that episode, since the Germans themselves prefer to have it forgotten and are disposed to be friendly at all points.

American Meat and Life Insurance in Germany. It is true that the Reichstag has rejected a measure providing for a reasonable method of inspecting American meat that had been carefully worked out between the imperial cabinet and our ambas-



CAPTAIN COGHLAN.

sador, Mr. White. But the cabinet policy in the end is likely to win against the prejudices of the Agrarian leaders in the Reichstag, who, after all, are not moved by hostility to the United States so much as by their interest as agricultural protectionists in obstructing the import of outside meats and breadstuffs. The exclusion of American meats on unfair pretexts is certainly annoying; but we shall never try to force the "great American hog" into Germany at the point of the bayonet. Unfortunately the army beef scandals have given a fresh argument to the German agrarians. The exclusion of American insurance companies from Germany has been a matter of discussion between the two countries for some time past. This difficulty seems now to be on the point of a satisfactory solution. Prussia has just sent special commissioners here to inquire into the general methods pursued by the principal life insurance companies. The commissioners are gentlemen no less distinguished than Marshall von Bieberstein, formerly the German minister of foreign affairs, and Herr von Kne-



"Four stages in the process of reducing a great hero to his original dimensions."
From Ull (Berlin).



BARON MARSHALL VON BIEBERSTEIN.

(Now in this country.)

bel-Doeberitz, an able administrator and financier who is especially familiar with insurance matters. Concessions are evidently going to be made on both sides. The American companies are coming around to the opinion that the German strictness in the matter of public reports and the like is, after all, not unreasonable; while the Germans after a study here on the ground may conclude that it is not necessary to compel the standard American companies to invest any considerable part of their assets in Germany as the price of a license permitting them to issue policies in that country. The coming of this commission at the expense of the Prussian Government ought to be taken here as a mark of consideration and courtesy.

After the appointment of the international commission the contending parties in Samoa agreed to keep the peace until the commissioners had arrived, and dispatches received in the middle of May were

Samoa
Quiescent.

to the effect that all was quiet at Apia. The discussion of the Samoan question in Germany has ceased to be acrimonious, and every one expects a solution that will remove the danger of serious friction between the three great powers whose joint protection has been so overwhelming a failure. The British illustrated papers have made a good deal out of the standing together, shoulder to shoulder, of the British and American sailors in the Samoan fighting, as illustrative of the growing intimacy between the two countries, both in sentiment and in policy. The Philippine strain between Germany and the United States was relieved when the German Emperor superseded Admiral von Diederichs, and instructed his brother, Prince Henry, to show every possible courtesy to the American fleet. The incident was completely closed when the German ships sailed away from the Philippines and the German interests there were expressly placed under the protection of the United States. The Coghlan incident, on the other hand, never assumed any really serious aspects. The Samoan difficulties might, like the earlier ones in Manila Bay, have provoked naval hostilities; but the good temper and sensible behavior of the two governments soon relieved the question of all elements of danger.

Relations
with
Spain.

Nothing would seem to stand in the way of the early resumption of very cordial relations between the United States and Spain. The last installment of the



THE CRISIS IN SAMOA—COMPANIONS IN ARMS.

(This illustration shows British and American bluejackets in the trenches defending the British consulate in Apia. The Gatling gun was in charge of two Americans.)
From the *Graphic* (London).

\$20,000,000 Philippine indemnity has been duly paid over by our Government. Spaniards and Spanish interests in Cuba are looking to the United States for justice and fair play, with a full sense of security and with no ill-feeling whatever. Among the good results of the war and the peace treaty must be mentioned the wiping out of all claims on the part of the citizens and government of the one country against the other arising out of the circumstances of the Cuban war of rebellion. Thus Spain is debarred from making any claims against the United States on the score of filibustering and the fitting out of unlawful expeditions analogous to our *Alabama* claims against England. American citizens who owned property in Cuba will not, on the other hand, bring claims against Spain for losses incurred by them in the period of the insurrection. The war liquidated all old scores, and the United States and Spain begin their new account on a clean slate. As victors, the American people have no possible ground for cherishing any grudges; and Spaniards cannot afford to indulge any permanent ill-will. The Spanish press has for the most part entirely dropped the subject of the war, although Uncle Sam's tribulations in the Philippines form the theme of an occasional sarcastic paragraph or jeering cartoon.

*The Spanish
Prisoners
in Luzon.*

It is rather to their credit than otherwise that the one surviving war question that has not lost interest for the Spanish people has been the situation and fate of the Spanish prisoners held by Aguinaldo and the insurgents. The motive of the Filipinos in refusing to give up these Spanish prisoners has been to arouse the sympathies of Europe, if possible, to the point of prevailing upon the United States to end the war by granting terms of peace more favorable to the so-called Filipino government than might otherwise be hoped. As a secondary motive, it was thought by Aguinaldo and his coterie that they might in the end obtain a large ransom for the Spaniards. Apparently the insurgents have compelled the Spanish prisoners to assist them in engineering operations and in the use of artillery. While the Anti-Imperialist League, headed by tireless spokesmen like Mr. Edward Atkinson, has been assuring the country that we should not be able in long centuries to bring the war in Luzon to an end, the more sanguine advocates of President McKinley's policy have been quite as confident in their declaration that the war could not last thirty days. Certain desultory guerrilla operations, indeed—rather in the nature of brigandage than of warfare—may be carried on for a good while. But for several weeks past the authentic news

has seemed to point to a very early collapse of all pretense of organized combat.

*Slandering
Our Army.*

The same gentlemen who have predicted the continuance of the war for centuries to come have also spread abroad many tales to the effect that our officers and men have conducted the fighting against the Filipinos in a wanton manner, with needless sacrifices of life and with general disregard of the rules and principles of civilized warfare. We shall consider all this to be baseless slander until some evidence can be brought forward to prove the charges. There have been assertions, furthermore, in various quarters that our soldiers in the Philippines have been suffering needlessly and have been ill provided for. The best evidence obtainable goes to show that no troops at a distance from home and engaged in actual warfare were ever so well supplied with food, medicine, clothing, and hospital care and facilities as our army now in the Philippines. The conditions of campaigning in Luzon subject our men to no little hardship in spite of everything that can possibly be done; and the end of the war will be welcomed by all thoughtful and sensible people with a deep sense of relief and gratitude. But while we have business of that kind on our hands it is not well to exaggerate the dark side of the picture. And it is folly that approaches criminality to plot schemes for hampering our Government in its efforts to end quickly an unhappy business that nobody enjoys.

*Peace
Prospects.*

The operations of our army in the Philippines through the last days of April and the first half of May were energetic and tireless, and the Filipino forces were driven from one point to another with an unchanging record of disaster. Their failure to resist American troops, however, will not deprive them of the right to be considered, upon the whole, a race of remarkable courage. After the easy occupation by General Lawton's troops on May 17 of San Isidro, where the Filipinos had intrenched themselves with the intention of making their last desperate resistance, the Government at Washington expressed the opinion that the war was practically at an end. In confirmation of this view came the telegraphic news from Manila that Aguinaldo had appointed commissioners, who had authority to arrange with General Otis and the American commission the terms of a complete and unqualified submission. The commissioners reached Manila on the 20th. Aguinaldo was reported as completely disheartened, and the Philippine people in general were thought to be eager to have hostilities cease.

The most remarkable qualities of *A New Hero.* personal prowess have been shown by Colonel Funston, of the Twentieth Kansas Regiment, who has been made a brigadier-general for his valorous conduct, and who has in the popular mind become one of the foremost heroes of the entire war period. Funston, it should be said, was showing precisely the same fine qualities as an officer in the Cuban army several years ago—at a time when many superior persons in the United States were denying that there was any Cuban army, while still more were wholly skeptical as to there being any fighting timber under the command of Gomez and Maceo. So great is the popularity of General Funston in Kansas that his fellow-citizens are preparing to offer him any sort of public place that he may prefer. It has been proposed, indeed, in Kansas, that the entire Twentieth Regiment—officers and privates, to the last man—should be elected or appointed to public office. The suggestion is to make Funston governor, fill the other State offices and the Legislature with members of the Twentieth, and parcel out to the remaining heroes of the regiment the county and city offices, until every man is a mayor, a sheriff, a chief of police, or something of that sort. On sober second thought Kansas will probably conclude not to carry out this entire programme.



BRIG.-GEN. FREDERICK FUNSTON.



HEROIC DEEDS FOR FUNSTON YET TO PERFORM.
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

The suggestion, however, indicates in an extreme way a tendency that *The Home-Coming of Dewey.* will be very marked in our politics this year, and especially next year. The people of the United States like to show their substantial appreciation of a brave man of sound character who has stood the test of battle. The mere announcement last month that Admiral Dewey was about to return to the United States on board his flagship, the *Olympia*, touched the popular interest and awakened the national enthusiasm a hundred times more than any other item of news. The entire West was clamoring to have Dewey return by way of the Pacific Ocean and the overland route, rather than by an all-sea voyage to the Atlantic seaboard. All sorts of projects were discussed for showing Dewey honor on his arrival. Various committees were formed to arrange for substantial testimonials of the nation's good-will. The more important of these committees agreed at length upon the plan of purchasing and fitting up a fine home for Admiral Dewey at Washington. The Democratic party would be delighted to nominate him for the Presidency, although there is some reason to suppose that Dewey has been a lifelong Republican. So strong and pervasive is this Dewey sentiment that one might expect free-silver men to vote for him on a gold platform.

or Wall Street to support him on a platform written by Bryan himself. It is, however, a part of Admiral Dewey's good sense that he will not for a moment entertain the idea of political office. He is *en route* for New York via Suez.

The Last of the "Beef" Controversy. The report of the army beef inquiry board pronounced the canned roast beef, so called, an unfit ration; but

found that the refrigerated beef furnished to the troops was almost or quite the same in preparation as the meat that the great Western packers furnish in cold storage to every large town in the country. It was a very grave mistake, certainly, if nothing worse, to have supplied the army with such quantities of the nauseating canned roast beef. Fortunately the evidence taken before the commission was fully reported day by day, and thus the country was able to form its own conclusions. The commission reflected somewhat on General Miles, but it cannot be truthfully said that in so doing it carried public opinion along with it. Commissary-General Eagan did not fare well at the hands of the board. The whole subject seems to have been dropped for good on both sides. Our army in the Philippines, certainly, is not being supplied with bad beef, but, on the contrary, is being cared for in fine style.



UNCLE SAM'S VERDICT.

UNCLE SAM: "Well, close the thing and take it away. It may be O. K., but the whiffs I have had have been very unsavory."—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



M. DE BEAUFORT, DUTCH FOREIGN MINISTER.
(Who opened the conference at The Hague.)

The Conference at The Hague.

The peace conference duly assembled at The Hague on May 18, where it was received with every mark of attention by the government of the Netherlands, and was organized, as by previous understanding, with M. de Staal, the Russian ambassador to England, as president. The nations represented were the six great European powers, some eight smaller European states, four Asiatic governments, and the United States. The European states apart from the six great powers were Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, Servia, Roumania, and Turkey. The four Asiatic were China, Japan, Persia, and Siam. The Vatican urgently sought an invitation to the conference, but Italy's objection prevailed. Bulgaria desired an invitation, but Turkey's nominal suzerainty stood in the way. Montenegro was represented by Russia.

South American Arbitrations.

It is somewhat surprising that the omission of invitations to the South American republics should not have occasioned more comment. Señor Calvo, of Buenos Ayres, who died in 1893, was regarded as the very highest authority of our times on international law; and there are not a few surviving statesmen and publicists in Brazil, Chile, Argentina, and the other Latin-American states highly qualified to aid in such an international conference. The South American states have afforded some instructive instances of the settlement among themselves of international disputes



MEETING OF THE ARGENTINE AND CHILEAN PRESIDENTS ON BOARD THE CHILEAN BATTLESHIP "O'HIGGINS."

by arbitration. The delegates from the United States, of course, have no authority directly or indirectly to speak for Mexico and South America. They can, however, very fittingly set forth the important plan for Pan-American arbitration which was the chief work of the Pan-American conference at Washington, and which was adopted by the delegates on April 18, 1890. The manner in which the Venezuela-Guiana boundary is about to be settled by arbitration is well worthy the notice of The Hague meeting. A fortunate instance of the settlement of a serious difficulty by arbitration has just now been afforded by the two progressive republics of Argentina and Chile. They were on the very verge of war; but in September they concluded negotiations for arbitrating the points of difference. It required a good deal of self-restraint to arbitrate a boundary question that both sides considered almost vital. The United States legation at Buenos Ayres was made the meeting-place for the international conference, the work of which was concluded with an award given on March 24. The line as decided upon gives each country a part of what it claimed.

*Our Relations
to the
Southward.*

There was a strong racial feeling in South America for Spain last year; but the best conviction of the South American republics undoubtedly recognized the justice of the intervention of the United States in Cuba. Our naval victories and the fighting qualities of our troops made a marked impression in South America. The Monroe doctrine will henceforth mean a great deal more in the South American mind than it has ever meant before.

The time is favorable for pushing in every way the policies and projects that would extend the influence and trade of the United States in the Western world. Our Mexican relations remain as cordial as ever, and Mexico has shown a particularly strong appreciation of the reception accorded by President McKinley and Secretary Hay to Mexico's new ambassador at Washington, Señor Aspiroz. This distinguished successor to the lamented Romero has played an important part in the history of his country, and he was one of the men who was responsible for the condemnation and execution of Maximilian. Certain European diplomats at Washington undertook on the score of Maximilian's fate to make the new ambassador's position uncomforta-

ble, if not impossible; but this attempt to boycott him was easily checkmated by the administration. 'In Mexico (*vide* cartoon below) they are proud of the ambassador's record as a republican patriot.



SEÑOR ASPIROZ, THE NEW MEXICAN AMBASSADOR AT WASHINGTON, AND HIS CREDENTIALS.

From *El Hijo del Ahutzote* (Mexico).

The Canal Report and Central American Affairs.

Apropos of our interests to the southward, it is to be noted that the Walker-Haupt commission has at length completed a harmonious report on the Nicaragua Canal, which is likely to play an important part in the future settlement of the question. The report fixes a route, advocates a canal adapted to the largest warships, and estimates the cost at \$125,000,000. American merchants in Central America have of late, more than ever before perhaps, been subjected to annoyance by reason of the chronic conditions of misgovernment that prevail in those military despotisms misnamed republics. The best thing that could possibly happen to Nicaragua in connection with the proposed canal would be its out-and-out annexation to this country. The United States cruiser *Detroit* was sent to Bluefields, on the Nicaraguan coast, several weeks ago to protect American merchants. The rebellion against the government of President Zelaya, led by General Reyes, had for a time maintained a *de facto* government at Bluefields, and had compelled the American merchants to pay over to it the regular customs duties. Subsequently the government of President Zelaya overcame the rebellion, and the merchants were ordered to pay the duties a second time to the regular government. Their refusal to do so was about to result in the seizure of their storehouses and wares, when our Government sent the *Detroit* to their aid. It was subsequently arranged that the merchants should deposit the amount of the duties with the British consul-general pending the settlement of the question between the governments of the United States and Nicaragua. The water at Bluefields and along the Mosquito coast being too shallow for the *Detroit*, the converted yachts *Vixen* and *Viking* have now been sent to make the Central Americans familiar with the Stars and Stripes.

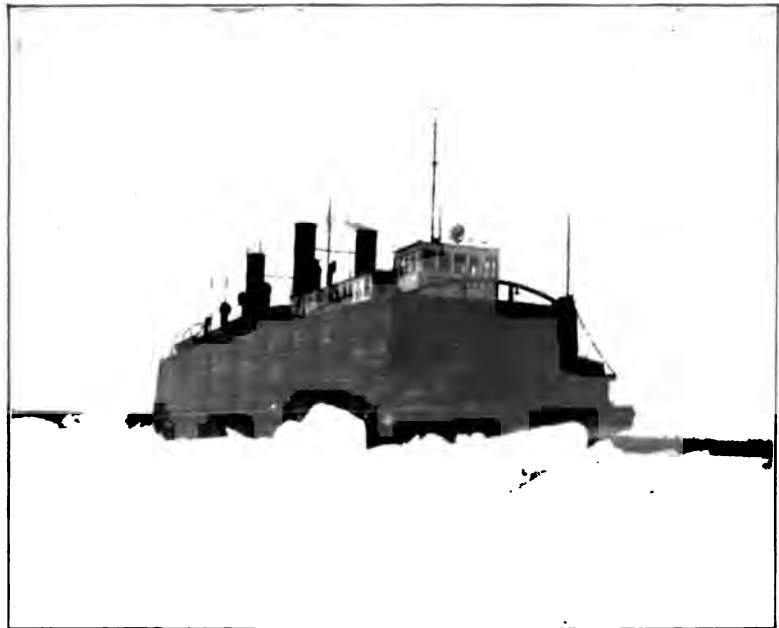
The Anglo-Russian Agreement About China.

The most auspicious of all the preludes to the peace conference at The Hague was the conclusion of an agreement between England and Russia that removes, for the present at least, all danger of serious controversy in respect to

their relative interests in China. The main basis of the agreement is very simple. England is not to interfere with the development of Russia's interests north of the Great Wall, and Russia is not to discourage, directly or indirectly, the development of British interests in the valley of the Yang-tse-Kiang. This means that England will harbor no more jealousy about Russian railroads in the north; and it explains the firm demand that Russia has just now made upon China for the privilege of constructing a branch line of the great trans-Siberian system down to Peking. Ultimately, the sphere of Russian "interest" may develop by degrees to the next stage, which would be called a sphere of "influence"—after which there might come a "protectorate," which would be the precursor to annexation. But at present the Anglo-Russian agreement is intended to maintain the Chinese empire, rather than to precipitate its break-up.

Russianizing an American Invention.

Allusion was made in these pages last month to the wide interest expressed in Europe over the successful construction of a great ice-breaking boat for the Russian Government upon the plans of Admiral Makaroff. It is now claimed in Detroit that the Russian boat has actually been built, virtually upon the plans of the *St. Ignace*, which was designed some ten years ago by Mr. Frank E. Kirby to keep the Straits of Mackinaw open the year around. Mr. Frank E. Robinson, of the



THE ICE-CRUSHER "SAINTE MARIE" CROSSING THE STRAITS OF MACKINAW.

Detroit *Journal*, reminds us of the great effectiveness of Mr. Kirby's invention. The *St. Ignace* was followed by the still more powerful *Ste. Marie*. The Detroit *Free Press* declares that Admiral Makaroff, accompanied by two expert members of his staff, inspected the *Ste. Marie* two years ago. The Russian authorities, it is said, first had their attention called to the *St. Ignace* through an article contributed by Mr. John Barr, of Detroit, to the London *Graphic* some years ago. Mr. Kirby was invited by the Russian Government to submit plans for an ice-breaking steamer to run on Lake Bakil, in Siberia, and his plans were approved; but he was unwilling to accept the terms of the proposed contract. These negotiations occupied several years prior to 1894. To what extent Admiral Makaroff and the Russian marine experts may have contributed original ideas to the plans of the *Ermack* we have no means of knowing.



MR. CECIL RHODES SPEAKING AT THE MEETING OF THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANY, LONDON.

The South African situation has been in the forefront of English discussion during the past month. Mr. Cecil Rhodes, the British South African Company, and various British mining syndicates have been doing everything in their power to arouse English feeling against President Krüger and the government of the Transvaal. There can be no doubt that every effort has been made to force a rupture between the British Government and the South African republic. The mining and commercial interests represented by Mr. Rhodes are simply in the position of having gone as aliens into a foreign country to exploit rich resources, where the domestic laws and institutions

are not to their liking and are not altered at their behest. The British Government has no more right to hold the South African republic to account for its naturalization laws and its other internal institutions than to make demands upon Switzerland as regards purely domestic questions. Such is the legal aspect of the case. It will not be wise, however, for President Krüger to stand too stiffly upon his legal rights, in the face of the plain fact that the Uitlander population, wealth, and influence are bound at an early day so to have outstripped the old-fashioned Boers that—laws or no laws—the Uitlanders will have their way. An Uitlander conspiracy was detected and broken up by President Krüger at Johannes-



PRESIDENT KRUGER RETURNING FROM THE RAAD ATTENDED BY HIS ESCORT OF THE PRETORIA MOUNTED POLICE.

burg last month, and a number of Englishmen were thrown into prison. This, however, caused no immediate rupture between governments, and did not interfere with plans which had been made for a conference between Sir Alfred Milner, England's representative at Cape Town, and President Krüger, under the auspices of President Stein, of the Orange Free State, at Bloemfontein. This meeting was to take place on the last day of May and the conference was to extend for some days into June.

*New Utensils
of War.*

The peace conference and its supposed sentiment against the further development of invention in the direction of utensils and engines of war has had the effect, apparently, of provoking an unwonted



THE PISTOL IN ITS CASE.

interest in all such new inventions on the part of European readers. Thus the French illustrated papers have been sharing the space devoted to the wonderful French submarine torpedo-boats with accounts of new and improved devices adopted by the German army. One of these is a very powerful automatic pistol, which is charged with ten cartridges at a time and which may be reloaded with great speed. The pistol is readily inclosed in a convenient protective case, which in turn may by the touch of a spring be attached to the handle in such a way as to serve the purpose of a carbine stock. This new weapon is being turned out at the Mauser factory. It affords a concrete illustration of the grim reality of militarism in Europe, by the side of which the discussions at The Hague seem like



THE NEW "TEN-SHOOTER" GERMAN ARMY PISTOL.

the mere shadows of hopes unattainable. And yet it remains true that idealism, after all, is the one great and all-conquering force in the world.

*Some Contrasts
Emphasized by
the Conference.*

The occasion of the peace conference is seized by all sorts of movements and causes as a favorable opportunity for contrasting the actual conduct of particular nations with the high standards that their presence at The Hague would seem to imply. Thus while Turkey joins in the discussion of means for lessening military cruelty and for promoting the gentle sway of law and justice, Armenian committees have gone to The Hague to beg the conference to consider the diabolical horrors of Turkey's military methods in that unhappy region. While the Czar was receiving the rather obsequious homage of the conference in resolutions of praise and congratulation, the people of Finland by the hundreds of thousands were calling upon the whole world to witness his violation of the compact under which when Finland became nominally subject to the Russian throne it was upon the pledge of the maintenance of the Finnish constitution and the virtual independence of the country. It is at least interesting to note the news that the Czar has decided to abolish the Siberian exile system.



THE CASE ATTACHED TO THE PISTOL TO FORM A CARBINE.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From April 21 to May 20, 1899.)

THE FIGHTING IN THE PHILIPPINES.

April 21.—Three companies of the South Dakota and three companies of the Minnesota volunteers drive back a rebel force of 500 men, between Manila and Malolos, inflicting heavy losses.

April 22.—General Lawton, in command of the North Dakota volunteers, two battalions of the Third Infantry, the Twenty-second Infantry, three troops of the Fourth Cavalry, and Gale's squadron, clears the country of rebels in the vicinity of Novaliches, about ten miles north of Manila.

April 23.—Near Malolos the Fourth Cavalry and the Nebraska volunteers encounter a strong force of rebels; Col. John M. Stotsenburg and Lieut. Lester E. Sisson, of the Nebraska regiment, are killed; 2 privates of the same regiment and 1 trooper of the Fourth Cavalry are killed and many are wounded; the Iowa and Utah volunteers also have a number of men wounded.

April 24.—General MacArthur's division begins the

siege of Calumpit, the new headquarters of the Filipinos, about eight miles northwest of Malolos; the Fourth Cavalry and the Nebraska and Iowa volunteers, under General Hale, occupy a position near Calumpit, commanding the ford in the river; Generals MacArthur and Wheaton, with the Montana volunteers, advance to the left of the railroad, and the Kansas volunteers move forward to the right, north of Malolos.

April 25.—General MacArthur's division advances through the jungle across the Bagbag River, with a loss of 6 killed and 28 wounded; the South Dakota volunteers pursue the Filipinos to the outskirts of Calumpit.

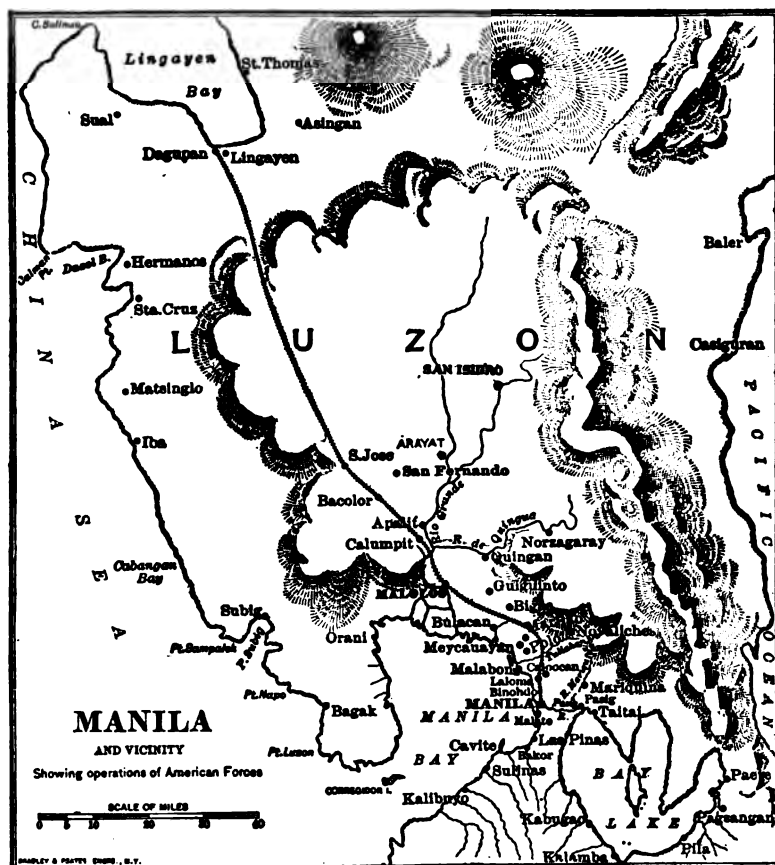
April 26.—Col. Frederick Funston, of the Twentieth Kansas, with volunteers from his regiment, crosses the Bagbag River by crawling along the iron girders of the bridge and disperses the Filipinos at that point; General Hale's troops approach on the right, following the north bank of the river nearest the town from the east,

with the First Nebraska Volunteers on the left and the First South Dakota and Fifty-first Iowa beyond; General Hale's right joins General Wheaton's left soon after noon; the insurgent losses are 70 killed and 350 prisoners; in defense of Calumpit the Filipinos make use of artillery for the first time; just before noon the Utah Battery shells the town; General Hale's brigade appearing on the right, the rebels retreat and the Americans enter the town.

April 27.—Colonel Funston, with 120 men of the Twentieth Kansas, crosses the river under a galling fire from the insurgents, and, reinforced by General Wheaton's brigade, drives back the entire insurgent forces with a loss of 2 killed and 12 wounded; 87 rebel prisoners are taken.

April 28.—The Filipinos ask for a cessation of hostilities until their congress can act on terms of peace; General Otis declines to recognize the Filipino government; President McKinley sends a message of congratulation and thanks to General Otis and the troops in the Philippines.

April 29.—General Otis demands of the Filipinos an unconditional surrender; their commissioners return to the insurgent lines.



Courtesy of the New York Independent.

MAP OF THE SEAT OF WAR.

May 1.—Admiral Dewey reports to the Navy Department that Lieutenant-Gillmore, of the *Yorktown*, and 9 of his men are prisoners at the Filipino headquarters; Secretary Long, in a speech at Boston, makes a defense of the administration's course in the Philippines.

May 4.—General MacArthur's troops begin a forward movement; General Hale's brigade, consisting of two



BRIG.-GEN. H. C. MERRIAM.

(In command of the federal troops sent to quell the Idaho mining riots.)

battalions of the Fifty-first Iowa Volunteers, the First Nebraska, and the First South Dakota Volunteers, with a Gatling gun detachment under command of Major Young, of the Sixth Artillery, and General Wheaton, with Hotchkiss and Gatling guns mounted on hand-cars, and the Twentieth Kansas and First Montana Volunteers deploying to the right and left, traverse a marshy country and meet with resistance near San Tomas; the insurgents retreat after burning the villages of San Tomas and Minalin; continuing the advance, General Wheaton's troops meet with a hot fire near San Fernando; the Filipinos retreat toward San Isidro; the rebels also try to force General Owenshine's lines at Malate, south of Manila, but are dispersed, with no loss to the Americans.

May 5.—General Lawton captures Balinag after hard fighting.

May 8.—The Filipinos attack San Fernando, but are repulsed by the Montana volunteers; a reconnoitering party from General Lawton's command, consisting of two companies from the Minnesota volunteers and two companies from the Oregon volunteers, advances to a point near San Miguel, about twelve miles north of Balinag; two American gunboats proceed up the San Fernando River, north of Manila, shelling rebel earthworks and capturing the village of Guagua.

May 10.—The Filipinos attack the American forces at Bacolor, but are repulsed.

May 14.—The town of San Miguel is taken by General Lawton's scouts.

May 15.—Filipinos near Calumpit attack our gunboats, but are driven back with heavy loss.

May 17.—General Lawton's advance guard, consisting

of the Minnesota, Oregon, and North Dakota volunteers and the Twenty-second Infantry, captures the town of San Isidora with slight opposition; the Filipinos are pursued to the mountains north of the town.

May 18.—The insurgents on General MacArthur's front withdraw to the northward; General Lawton's advance is resumed.

May 20.—Admiral Dewey sails from Manila on his return voyage to the United States.

THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF CUBA.

April 21.—General Brooke issues an order designating the use to which Cuban revenues shall be put.

April 24.—Much sickness, especially typhoid fever, is reported among the troops at Puerto Principe and Pinar Del Rio.

April 28.—Conferences are held at Havana with a view to revising the muster-rolls of the Cuban army.

May 2.—The military authorities issue decrees of reform in the Cuban laws.

May 9.—General Gomez makes a request for permission to organize a standing army of 15,000 Cubans.

May 14.—Large claims against the United States Government for property destroyed in the Cuban war are said to have been prepared by British, German, and French residents in the island.

May 15.—General Gomez withdraws from the work of distributing pay to the Cuban soldiers.

May 18.—General Gomez issues a manifesto concerning his part in the negotiations for the payment of the Cuban army.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

April 21.—Governor Stone, of Pennsylvania, appoints ex-Senator Quay to fill the vacancy which the Pennsylvania Legislature failed to fill.

April 24.—Major Lee sums up the case for General Miles at the last open session of the army beef court of inquiry.

April 26.—The New York Legislature passes a bill for rapid transit in New York City.

April 28.—The New York Legislature adjourns.

April 29.—The army beef court of inquiry finishes its work and adjourns....Brig.-Gen. George W. Davis is appointed military governor of Porto Rico, to succeed General Henry....Several hundred union miners from towns in the Cœur d'Alene mining district of Idaho capture a railroad train, arm themselves with guns and dynamite, and advance on Wardner, where they destroy property of mining corporations employing non-union labor to the value of \$300,000; Governor Steunenberg asks for federal troops.

May 1.—The Republican caucus committee of the House of Representatives finishes its work of framing a plan of monetary legislation.

May 2.—Thomas G. Hayes (Dem.) is elected mayor of Baltimore, over William T. Malster, the present incumbent, by a majority of 8,700....Senator Kyle, of South Dakota, resigns the chairmanship of the industrial commission.

May 3.—Some of Edward Atkinson's pamphlets, designed for the Philippines, are seized by the postal officials at San Francisco....United States troops arrive at Wardner, Idaho, under command of General Merriam, and begin making arrests of participants in the miners' riots; several hundred suspected rioters

are put under arrest and the district is declared under martial law.

May 8.—Orders are issued for the assignment of Rear Admiral John C. Watson to succeed Admiral Dewey in command of the Asiatic station.

May 11.—The industrial commission in Washington begins an investigation of trusts.... The Business Men's League of Pennsylvania issues an address relating to the anti-Quay movement.

May 16.—Attorney-General Monett, of Ohio, testifies before the industrial commission in Washington regarding the Standard Oil Company.

May 17.—Evidence is given before the Mazet committee in New York City of the existence of large numbers of pool-rooms and gambling-places.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

April 21.—A meeting of miners to demand the franchise is held at Johannesburg, South Africa.

April 23.—The senatorial elections for the new Spanish Cortes result in giving the government a larger majority in the Senate than in the Chamber of Deputies.... M. Hanatoux, former French foreign minister, testifies before the Court of Cassation in Paris that he has doubts of the guilt of Dreyfus.

April 25.—The Canadian Government estimates for the next year show a decrease of about \$1,500,000.

April 28.—The first Cretan government is formed under the autonomist *régime*.

April 29.—Tariff measures are passed in three of the Australian colonies discriminating in favor of British trade.

May 1.—In the British House of Commons it is announced that the government has failed to reach an agreement with Cecil Rhodes in regard to his Cape-to-Cairo railroad.

May 3.—The Italian ministry resigns, owing to its failure to receive support for its Chinese policy.

May 5.—Lord Rosebery makes two speeches in London criticising the government.

May 6.—M. de Freycinet resigns the portfolio of minister of war in the French cabinet; he is succeeded by M. Krantz, minister of public works; Senator Monestier succeeds M. Krantz.

May 10.—The Czarina gives 50,000 rubles for the relief of the famine sufferers in Russia and sends a commission to investigate their condition.

May 14.—A new cabinet is formed in Italy, with the sanction of King Humbert.

May 18.—The postmen of Paris go out on strike because of the refusal of the French Senate to pass a bill increasing their wages.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

April 22.—The King and Queen of Italy review the combined British and Italian fleets off Sardinia.

April 24.—The German ambassador at Washington directs the attention of our State Department to the recent speech of Captain Coghlan, of the *Raleigh*, in New York City.... Germany makes a conciliatory proposal to the Chinese Government regarding the Tientsin and Chin-Kiang Railway.

April 26.—Captain Coghlan, of the *Raleigh*, is reprimanded by the Navy Department for his Union League



HON. HERBERT W. BOWEN.
(Appointed minister to Persia.)

Club speech in New York City, at which the German Government took offense.

April 27.—Mataafa, the Samoan chieftan, accepts an armistice, the Germans declining to sign the proclamation.

April 29.—Correspondence between President McKinley and Emperor William of Germany on the project for a German-American cable is made public in Berlin.

May 1.—In the British House of Commons Lord Salisbury makes a statement regarding the Anglo-Russian agreement.... Secretary Hay delivers to Ambassador Cambon the warrants for the \$20,000,000 due from the United States to Spain under the terms of the peace treaty.

May 2.—Great Britain demands of the Chinese Government reparation for the recent attacks of Chinese rebels on the British authorities in the Kan-lung extension of Hong Kong.... Siam cedes to France the province of Luang-Prabang, France agreeing to withdraw from the so-called neutral zone.

May 3.—President McKinley appoints Herbert W. Bowen minister to Persia, Julius G. Lay consul general at Barcelona, and Stanton Sickles secretary of legation at Madrid.

May 4.—France protests against the reduction of interest on Spain's foreign debt.

May 5.—The United States gunboat *Vixen* is ordered to Bluefields, Nicaragua.

May 6.—The United States makes a temporary arrangement with Nicaragua regarding the claims of American merchants at Bluefields.

May 9.—The government of Morocco settles the claims of the United States and the cruiser *Chicago* sails from Tangier.



Porpoise. Royalist. Philadelphia.

THE BAY OF APIA, SAMOA—AMERICAN AND BRITISH WARSHIPS IN THE FOREGROUND.

May 14.—The Spanish authorities decide to withdraw all of Spain's soldiers from Philippine ports....The Chinese Government refuses Russia's demand for a new railroad concession.

May 16.—British troops take the city of Kow-Loon, disarming the Chinese forces.

May 17.—A proposal is made to submit the Alaskan boundary question to arbitration.

May 18.—The peace conference called by the Czar assembles at The Hague.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

April 22.—The Academy of Moral and Political Sciences in Paris awards Major Marchand the prize of 15,000 francs for "the greatest act of devotion of any kind"....The Kayser-Hausmann Bank of Palermo suspends payment, with a deficit of 2,000,000 lire.

April 24.—Signor Marconi successfully conducts a series of experiments in wireless telegraphy between a moving French warship, the *Ibis*, off the station at Wimereux, France, the South Foreland light-house, and the Goodwin Sands light-ship.

April 25.—The tercentenary of the birth of Oliver Cromwell is celebrated in England.

April 26.—Fire in Dawson City causes \$1,000,000 loss.

April 27.—A tornado causes great loss of life and damage to property in Kirksville and Newtown, Mo.

May 1.—The gas companies of New York City make a cut in rates to consumers from \$1.25 to 50 cents a thousand feet.

May 2.—The bodies of 252 soldiers who died in Cuba and Porto Rico are buried with military honors in Arlington Cemetery, opposite Washington.

May 3.—The Most Rev. Dennis O'Connor is installed as Roman Catholic archbishop of Toronto....Kentucky's monument to Union and Confederate soldiers is dedicated on the battlefield of Chickamauga.

May 5.—The transfer of the Yerkes street-railroad interests in Chicago to the Elkins-Widener syndicate is completed.

May 10.—Mr. Andrew Carnegie offers to give \$250,000 to the projected fund for the University of Birmingham....The annual reunion of Confederate veterans begins in Charleston, S. C.

May 11.—Pope Leo declares a universal jubilee in the year 1900.

May 13.—Twenty-eight persons are killed and 50 injured in a railroad wreck near Reading, Pa.

May 14.—The Rev. Dr. Charles A. Briggs is ordained to the priesthood of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York City.

May 17.—Queen Victoria lays the foundation stone of the Victoria and Albert Museum.



THE LATE MR. THOMAS ELLIS, M.P.

OBITUARY.

April 22.—Representative Samuel T. Baird, of Louisiana, 38....Sir John Robert Mowbray, father of the British House of Commons, 84....Ex-Gov. Frederick Smyth, of New Hampshire, 80.

April 24.—Ex-Gov. and ex-United States Senator Richard J. Oglesby, of Illinois, 75.

April 26.—Count Hohenwart Gerlachstein, former premier of Austria, 75.

April 27.—Rev. Alexander Huntington Clapp, D.D.,

editorial secretary of the Congregational Home Missionary Society, 80....Sheridan Shook, formerly a prominent Republican politician of New York, 77.

April 29.—Dr. Reuben Ludlam, of Chicago, one of the most eminent homeopathic physicians of the country, 67.

April 30.—Lewis Baker, a prominent journalist and politician, 66.

May 1.—Prof. Frederick Karl Christian Ludwig Büchner, the author of "Force and Matter," 75.

May 2.—Henry B. Hyde, president of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, 65....Dr. Martin Edouard von Simson, German jurist and politician, 89.

May 8.—Judge William Lawrence, formerly comptroller of the United States Treasury, 80....Gen. Manning F. Force, of Ohio....William H. Romeyn, of Kingston, N. Y., 88.

May 11.—Gen. William Porcher Miles, of Louisiana, 77.

May 12.—Ex-Gov. Roswell P. Flower, of New York, 64....Henry Becque, the French dramatic author, 62.

May 15.—Fancisque Sarcey, the French essayist, 71.

May 16.—Rev. Dr. William Nast, the founder of German Methodism in America, 92.

May 19.—Ex-United States Senator Charles R. Buckalew, of Pennsylvania, 77.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

THE following conventions were unintentionally omitted from the announcements published in our May number: The National Temperance Congress, at West New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y., on July 1-4; the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North America, at St. Paul, Minn., on June 9; the general convention of the Universalist Church in America, at Saratoga, N. Y., on July 29-August 7; the meeting of the officials of agricultural colleges and experiment stations, at San Francisco, on July 11-13; the American Institute of Instruction at Bar Harbor, Maine, on July 6-10; the second Capon Springs conference on education in the South, at Capon Springs, W. Va., on June 21-23; the American Manual Training Association, at New York City, on June 30-July 1; the National Association of the Deaf, at St. Paul, Minn., on July 11-14; the International Association of Factory Inspectors, at Quebec, on August 29; the Commercial Law League of America, at Asbury Park, N. J., on July 24-26; the National Prohibitionists' convention, at Pittsburg, on June 8; the National Sociological Convocation at Lake Bluff, Ill., on August 16; the convention of the New Jerusalem Church, at Boston, on June 1-6; and the Central *Schuetzenbund* of North America, at Dubuque, Iowa, on June 12-25.

Among the gatherings announced for the month of June in our last number are the National Social and Political Conference, at Buffalo, N. Y., on June 28-July 4; the meeting of the American Fisheries Society, at Niagara Falls, on June 28-29; the American Medical Association, at Columbus, Ohio, on June 6; the American Neurological Association, at Atlantic City, N. J., on June 14-16; the American Institute of Homeopathy, at Atlantic City, N. J., on June 20-24; the National Eclectic Medical Association, at Detroit, on June 20-22; the National Music Teachers' convention, at Cincinnati, on June 21-23; the meeting of the International Missionary Union, at Clifton Springs, N. Y., on June 14-20; the General Synod of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America, at Catskill, N. Y., on June 7; the National Association of Credit Men, at Buffalo, N. Y., on June 6-8; the American Railway Master Mechanics' Association, at Old Point Comfort, Va., on June 19; and the National Association of Railway Postal Clerks, at Indianapolis, on June 3.

SUMMER SCHOOLS.

In connection with our announcements of summer schools in our last number, we alluded to the fact that several of the leading universities are beginning to hold regular summer sessions. The University of Wisconsin announces such a session this year for the first time. More than half of the university faculty will be present, giving over one hundred courses in twenty departments, and several distinguished visitors from abroad will give lectures—for example, Prof. William Cunningham, of Trinity College, Cambridge, will lecture on the industrial revolution.

Clark University, at Worcester, Mass., will mark the close of its tenth academic year with brief courses of lectures on July 5-8 by such distinguished European scientists as Emile Pickard, Angelo Moeso, and Santiago Ramon y Cajal.

The Charity Organization Society of New York will conduct from June 19 to July 29 a training class in practical philanthropic work on the plan outlined in the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* for February by Dr. Philip Ayres. Two classes of persons will be received—graduate students from universities and colleges who desire to gain a practical view of social conditions, and the workers in the field of practical philanthropy who seek a wider knowledge of the methods that have been applied in improving the social situation.

The ninth Oxford summer meeting will be held from July 29 to August 23. The main courses of lectures will illustrate the history, literature, fine art, economics, and science of the period 1837-71. There will also be a special course of lectures on Hellenic studies in the nineteenth century, and special classes in the history and theory of education, the English language, Greek and Latin, moral philosophy, geology, and biology.

The Edinburgh Summer School of Modern Languages will be held during the month of August. The purpose of this summer school is to extend the knowledge and advance the teaching of modern languages by means of an international meeting for intellectual, educational, and friendly intercourse. For the present year French and English will be the languages of the meeting, but it is hoped that German, Italian, and other languages will be introduced in future years.



SOME CARICATURES OF THE MONTH.



THE WEST TO ADMIRAL DEWEY.

"Please come via San Francisco. All we ask is to sit on the fence and watch you go by."—From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).



UNCLE SAM VERSUS THE KAISER.

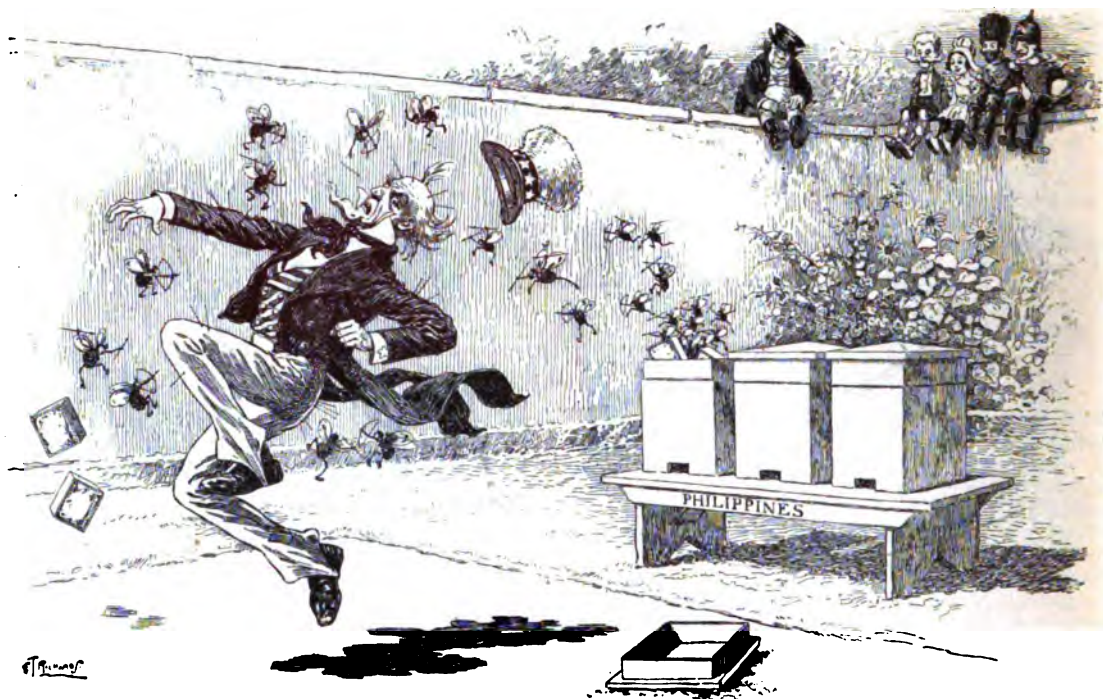
"One ahead, anyway, by jingo!"
From the *World* (New York).



**A VISION OF THE NEXT POLITICAL CAMPAIGN THAT GIVES
THE POLITICIANS A FILIPINO FRIGHT.**
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



HEADING OFF THE YANKEE PIG.
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



OH, YES, GIVE US EXPANSION! BUT MORE AS A NATURAL GROWTH—NOT TOO HOT AND SUDDEN AND IN SPOTS.
From *Life* (New York).



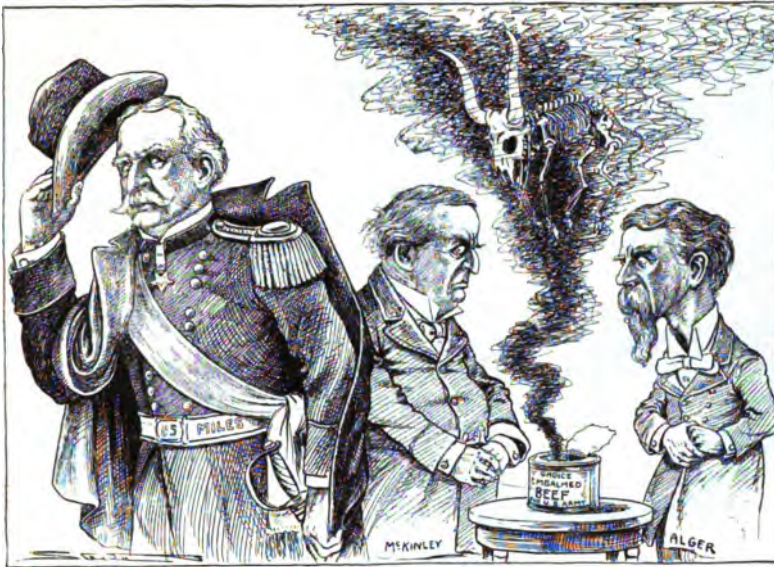
RECOMMENDED BY HOAR.

HOAR: "Give the child over to the nurse, uncle, and it will stop crying."—From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).



APROPOR OF CHICAGO'S PROTEST AGAINST THE METHODS OF THE "ANTI-IMPERIALISTS."

"Who will crush the copperhead? I will!"
From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).



THE END OF THE BEEF INQUIRY.

GENERAL MILES: "I've nothing further to say. Let those gentlemen 'explain' in 1900."—From the *Evening Post* (Denver).

The cartoonists have dismissed the beef question with rather contemptuous allusions to the findings of the board of inquiry. Public opinion seems to consider that the evidence goes at least a long way toward justifying the original allegations made by General Miles.



HOORAY!

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY: "What's this—a honeymoon?"
ST. PAUL: "Not hardly; but we come hand in hand to invite you to pay us a visit this summer."
MINNEAPOLIS: "Will you come?"
MCKINLEY: "Well, under the circumstances I can't very well refuse."—From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).



ANDREW JACKSON'S WAY.

"My God would not have smiled on me had I punished only the poor, ignorant savages and spared the white men who set them on."—*Andrew Jackson*.—From the *Journal* (New York).

The methods of propaganda employed by a few gentlemen at the head of what they call the "anti-imperialist" movement have come in for severe criticism during the past month. Their pamphlets have been excluded from the mails to Manila on the ground that they are intended to stir up a spirit of mutiny among our troops in the Philippines. It is not to be believed that the Boston pamphlets could have done any harm among our own soldiers; although it is undoubtedly true that this particular movement has lent much encouragement to the Filipinos.

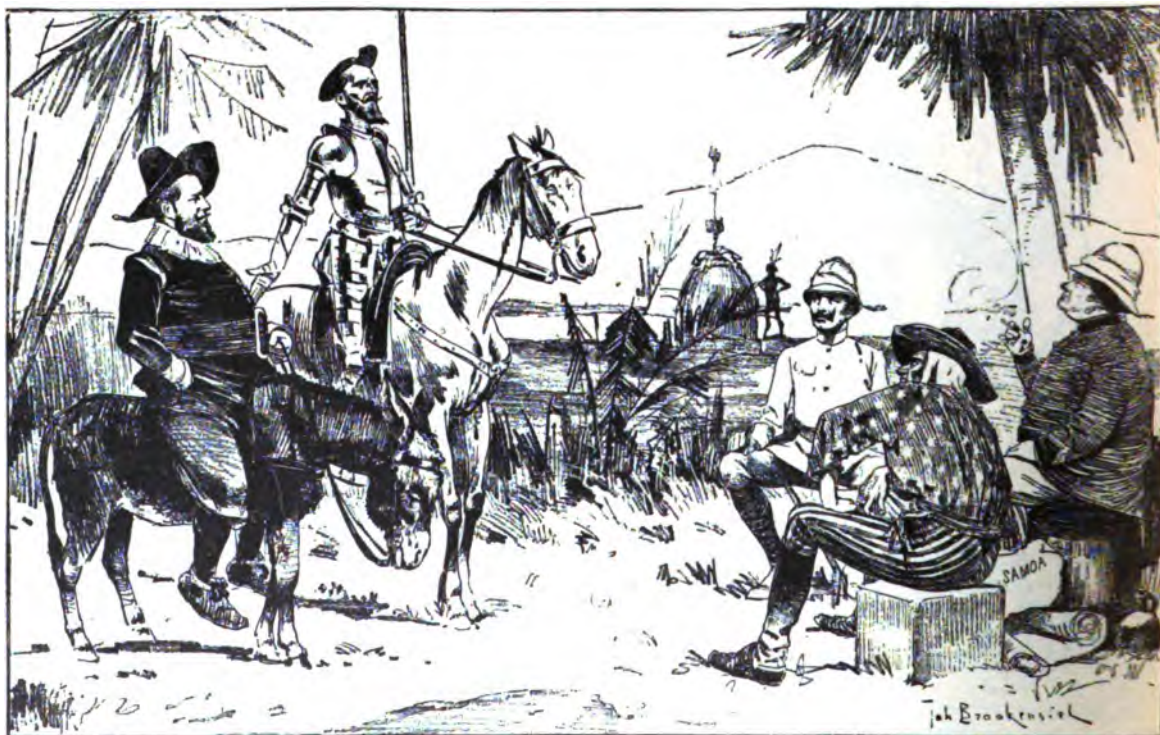


NO FURTHER PROCEEDINGS, THANK GOD.
From the *World* (New York).



QUITE COMFORTABLE AT PRESENT IN SAMOA!

JONATHAN: "Well, brother of my heart, haven't we thrown him out nicely?"—From the *Nebelspaller* (Zurich).



Henri d'Orleans.

Paul Déroulède.

A SOLUTION TO THE SAMOAN QUESTION?

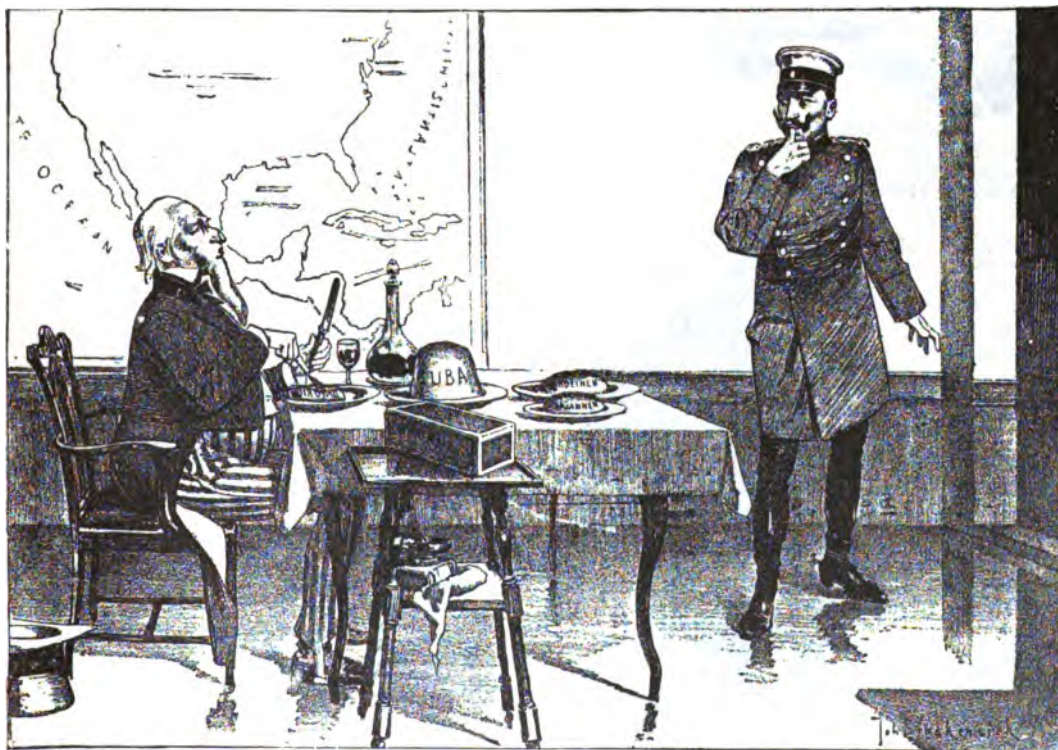
DON QUIXOTE (to the three powers): "Isn't it time for Sancho Panza to have his island?"—From the *Amsterdammer*.



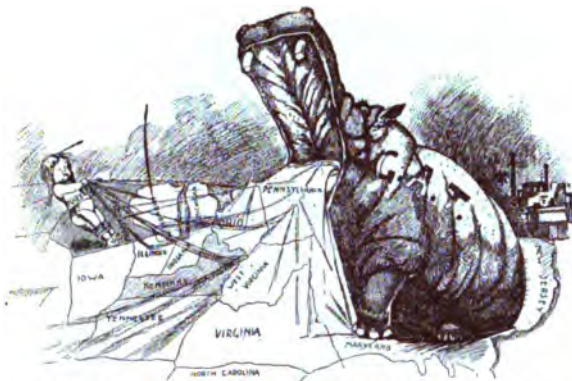
SHADE OF BISMARCK: "An understanding with England! Ah, times are altering."—From *Judy* (London).



THE LION'S RIDE.
(After the English-French African Convention.)
From *Lustige Blätter*.



THE COLONY-HUNGRY GERMAN AND GENEROUS UNCLE SAM.
WILHELM: "Your dish is so full and I am so hungry. May I not have one or two?"
UNCLE SAM: "Certainly, Willy, and even more!"—From the *Amsterdammer*.



THE GREAT AMERICAN TRUST (THE HIPPOGAT) FEEDS ON, UNSATED.—From the Times (Minneapolis).



ALSO THE BEEF TRUST.

The army court of inquiry has reported, much to the satisfaction of the army court of inquiry.

From the Tribune (Minneapolis).

Many of our readers will remember the cartoons reproduced in this department three years ago, during the campaign, by Mr. W. B. Stewart, then on the staff of the Washington (D. C.) Times, whose work on the Bryan side was remarkably forcible. Mr. Stewart is now drawing cartoons for the Minneapolis Times, and he is giving particular attention to what he calls the "Hippogot," the "Great American Trust" in the guise of a hippopotamus. Three



WHICH OF THEM NEEDS PROTECTION?
From the Times (Minneapolis).



IN THE MONSTER'S MAW—CAN HE DIGEST IT ALL?

Look out! look out! ye merchant-men all—
Look out for the HIPPOGAT,
Who eateth industries great and small
And waxeth so big and fat.

Cradles and coffins and babies' milk,
Oil, sugar, refined and raw,
Newspaper print and the beldame's silk
All go to the monster's maw.

From the Times (Minneapolis).

of his "Hippogot" cartoons appear on this page. With Stewart reinforcing "Bart" and Bowman, Minneapolis becomes the chief cartoon center of the country outside of New York.



UNCLE SAM'S NEXT DUTY.
From the Times (Los Angeles).

TRUSTS—THE RUSH TO INDUSTRIAL MONOPOLY.

BY BYRON W. HOLT.

EVERY kind of business is being done on a larger scale and in a centralized way. Department stores, theater syndicates, clearing-houses, mammoth mining, manufacturing, and transporting companies—all are the outcome of improved methods of production and distribution.

Evolution in these matters can scarcely go backward, while thousands of trained men—mechanics, electricians, engineers, chemists, bankers, economists—are devising better and less wasteful means of extracting metals; growing farm products; manufacturing, transporting, and selling goods; and of conveying thought.

Goods can be made and distributed cheaper on a large than on a small scale. Therefore we must expect syndicates and trusts to increase in size and extent as fast as competent managers can be developed and as we can adjust ourselves to new conditions. But the process of adjustment is an extremely difficult and painful one. Not only does it throw whole classes of men out of employment—as did the introduction of machines—but it necessitates a radical change in our methods of taxation and perhaps in our property rights and forms of government.

RECENT RAPID GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT.

But few people appreciate the extent to which prices and rates are fixed by monopolies and combinations. Outside of grains, vegetables, and fruits in manufactured forms and of live-stock, it is difficult to purchase any article upon which there is not an artificial price, fixed either by the producers of the article itself, by the producers of the raw materials used in making the article, by the dealers in it, or by agreements between any or all connected with the manufacture or sale of the article. Competition inside the different industries exists only to a limited extent, if at all. Outside competition (of one product with another) is becoming more and more important, and hence we see the great trusts in affiliated industries getting together.

Besides the incorporated trusts, which probably number more than 500 in the United States (and are capitalized at \$6,000,000,000 to \$8,000,000,000, although their actual capital is probably less than \$3,000,000,000), there are perhaps 500 more agreements and pools between competing manufacturers and transporters which, from the standpoint of the consumer, are as effective, in-

jurious, and obnoxious to just the same extent as are the great corporate trusts. These agreements are often, if not usually, kept secret, and the public has little or no knowledge of them until some competitor or former member announces the facts or brings suit against the trust. The steel rail, steel beam, nail, chemical manufacturers, anthracite coal, and insurance trusts are or were of this class. None of their agreements had or could have any legal recognition, and some of them were not even written agreements. And yet these have been among the most effective trusts as respects raising or sustaining prices.

Probably the most numerous class of trusts are those which are found everywhere in the trading world—the hundreds and thousands of agreements among wholesalers and retailers. Thus the drug trade is filled with national, State, county, and local “associations,” which fix wholesale and retail prices of hundreds of important articles, notably of proprietary medicines. Wholesale grocers in most States and cities, and often the retail grocers too, have many price agreements among themselves and with the manufacturers.

No list of trusts, at all complete in an absolute sense, has been or is likely to be published. The list of 353 “trusts and combinations” printed in the year-book for 1899 of the *Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin* of New York is probably the most complete and accurate list yet made, but it does not include those formed since March. These trusts show a capitalization of \$4,247,918,981 of common and \$870,575,200 of preferred stock, in addition to a bonded indebtedness of \$714,388,661, making a total of \$5,832,882,842. This list includes most of the important incorporated trusts, but only a few of the unincorporated ones. It includes none of the many great freight and passenger associations still in existence in the railroad world notwithstanding the Supreme Court decisions in the Trans-Missouri and the Joint Traffic Association cases declaring such rate-fixing associations illegal. It also contains only samples of the many municipal monopolies—those in street railroads, gas, electric light and power, telephones, etc.

The following list, carefully revised for this article up to May 20, 1899, includes only the industrial trusts having a capitalization and bonded indebtedness of \$10,000,000 or more:

IMPORTANT TRUSTS OR COMBINATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Present Name of Trust.	Formed.	When First Formed.	Where Incorporated.	Present Capitalization.*		Bonded Indebtedness.
				Common Stock.	Preferred Stock.	
American Agricultural Co. (forming with 23 fertilizer plants).....	1899		Connecticut	\$20,000,000	\$20,000,000	
American Alkali Company.....	1899		New Jersey	24,000,000	6,000,000	
American Beet Sugar Company.....	1899			15,000,000	4,000,000	
American Brick Company (to control the New York market).....	1899		New Jersey	4,000,000	6,000,000	
American Brass Company.....	1899		Connecticut	20,000,000		
American Bicycle Company (forming).....	1899		New Jersey	85,000,000	45,000,000	
American Car and Foundry Company (railroad cars).....	1899		New Jersey	27,600,000	27,600,000	
American Cotton Oil Company (123 properties).....	1893	1899	New Jersey	20,327,100	10,198,600	\$3,088,000
American Electric Heating Corporation.....	1893			10,000,000		500,000
American Fisheries Company (menhaden oil, 15 to 18 companies).....	1898		New Jersey	8,000,000	2,000,000	
American Window Glass Company (forming with majority in the United States).....	1890	1897	New Jersey	80,000,000		
American Gas and Electric Lighting Fixture Company (forming).....	1899			9,000,000	6,000,000	
American Hide and Leather Company (forming).....	1899		New Jersey	35,000,000	25,000,000	
American Ice Company (forming; to control ice output of Maine).....	1899		Maine	60,000,000		
American Linseed Oil Co. (82 plants, 85 per cent., all in country).....	1897	1898	New Jersey	14,250,000	14,250,000	
American Lithograph Company.....	1891	1892	New Jersey	3,000,000	3,500,000	
American Machine Company (sewing).....	1895		Ohio	+10,000,000		
American Maltng Co. (30 companies—nearly all in United States).....	1897		New Jersey	14,500,000	14,440,000	
American School Furniture Company.....	1892			+10,000,000		1,500,000
American Shipbuilding Company.....	1899		New Jersey	10,000,000	10,000,000	
American Silk Manufacturing Company (silk thread).....	1899		Connecticut	7,500,000	5,000,000	
American Smelting and Refining Company.....	1899		New Jersey	27,000,000	27,000,000	
American Spirits Manufacturing Company (whisky; 18 districts).....	1887	1895	New York	27,384,300	6,988,000	2,105,000
American Steel and Wire Company of New Jersey (controls wire industry, etc., in the United States).....	1898	1899	New Jersey	47,100,000	38,150,000	730,000
American Steel Hoop Company.....	1899		New Jersey	14,000,000	19,000,000	
American Sugar Refining Company.....	1897	1891	New Jersey	36,988,000	36,988,000	
American Thread Company (13 cotton thread companies).....	1898		New Jersey	6,000,000	6,000,000	6,000,000
American Tin Plate Company (290 mills—all in the United States).....	1898		New Jersey	28,000,000	18,000,000	
American Tobacco Company (plug business sold in 1898).....	1890		New Jersey	33,500,000	14,000,000	8,580,000
American Woolen Co. (men's woollens—mills in New England).....	1899			80,000,000	20,000,000	
American Writing Paper Company (forming).....				12,500,000	12,500,000	17,000,000
Anaconda Copper Mining Company.....	1891	1895	Montana	80,000,000		
Atlantic Snuff Company (all but 2 companies).....	1898		New Jersey	2,000,000	8,000,000	
Bessemer Ore Association.....	1892	1896		+20,000,000		
Bethlehem Steel Company.....	1899		Penna.	15,000,000		
Bolt and Nut (several associations—carriage, stove, tire, etc.).....	1898	1896		+10,000,000		
Borax Consolidated, Limited (absorbing Pacific Borax, etc., Company).....	1899			2600,000	2800,000	21,000,000
Boston Breweries Company.....				\$4,000,000	\$7,500,000	\$7,500,000
Brooklyn Wharf and Warehouse Company.....	1895		New York	5,000,000	7,500,000	17,500,000
California Winemakers' Corporation (allied with California Wine Association).....	1894		California	10,000,000		
Cambria Steel Company (owns Cambria Iron Company; plants in 5 counties in Pennsylvania).....	1896		Penna.	1,800,000		2,000,000
Central Lumber Company of California.....	1896			+70,000,000		
Chemical (pharmaceutical manufacturers' combine).....	1890			+50,000,000		
City of Chicago Brewing and Maltng Company (English and American companies).....	1891			2625,000	2625,000	23,166,000
Cleveland and Sandusky Brewing Company (all breweries).....	1898			\$3,000,000	\$3,000,000	\$6,000,000
Colorado Fuel and Iron (consolidated with Colorado Coal and Iron Company).....	1892		Colorado	11,000,000	2,000,000	7,657,000
Columbian Electric Car Lighting and Brake Company.....	1899		New Jersey	10,000,000		
Compressed Air Capsule Company.....	1899			13,500,000	1,500,000	
Consolidated Ice (10 or 12 companies in New York and Maine).....	1895		Maine	6,500,000	2,500,000	1,255,000
Consolidated Steel Car Company.....	1899		New Jersey	10,000,000	8,000,000	
Continental Cement Company.....	1899		New Jersey	5,000,000	5,000,000	
Continental Tobacco Company (7 plug companies and plug interests of American Company).....	1898		New Jersey	43,845,000	43,845,000	
Cotton Yarn (forming).....	1890			80,000,000		
Diamond Match Company (mills all over the United States).....	1899		Ill. & Eng.	11,000,000		
Electric Boat Company.....	1899		New Jersey	5,000,000	5,000,000	
Electric Storage Battery Co. (absorbed other companies in 1895).....	1893		New Jersey	13,000,000	5,000,000	450,000
Federal Sewer Pipe Company.....	1899		Delaware	10,750,000	10,750,000	
Federal Steel Company (owns many mills and properties).....	1898		New Jersey	46,484,000	52,767,600	28,334,000
General Chemical Company.....	1899		New York	12,500,000		
General Electric (pools with other companies).....	1892	1898	New York	18,276,000	2,557,200	5,710,000
Glucose Sugar Refining Company (nearly all in the United States).....	1897		New Jersey	24,027,300	12,619,000	
Granite Ware Trust (4 companies combining).....	1899			+20,000,000		
Havana Commercial Company (Cuban tobacco, etc.).....	1899		New Jersey	10,000,000	6,000,000	
Illinois Electric Vehicle Company.....	1899		New Jersey	25,000,000		
International Cement Company (forming).....	1899		New Jersey	25,000,000	25,000,000	
International Paper Company (25 news and printing paper manufacturers east of Chicago).....	1898			17,442,000	22,539,700	8,947,000
International Silver Company (24 companies—75 per cent. silver plate companies).....	1898		New Jersey	9,866,000	5,000,000	3,900,000
International Smokeless Powder and Dynamite Company.....				9,000,000	1,000,000	
International Steam Pump Company (5 biggest companies in the United States).....	1899		New Jersey	15,000,000	12,500,000	

* In incorporated trusts the capital issued and outstanding is usually given, when known, instead of the full amount authorized. + Capital estimated.

Present Name of Trust.	When First Formed.	When Re-formed.	Where Incorporated.	Present Capitalization.		Bonded Indebtedness.
				Common Stock.	Preferred Stock.	
Kentucky Distilleries and Warehouse Company (57 "bourbon" plants).....	1899		New Jersey.	\$18,500,000	\$10,500,000
Lake Carriers' Association (3 lines; pool prices).....	1898			+10,000,000		
Lake Superior Consolidated Iron Mines.....	1896			28,722,000		Canc'd '98
Manufacturers' Paper Company of Chicago (selling agency for many mills).....	1898			+10,000,000		
Marsden Company of Philadelphia (cellulose trust).....	1897			30,752,200	1,515,000	
Maryland Brew Company (17 brewery companies of Baltimore).....	1898			3,200,000	3,250,000	\$7,500,000
Milwaukee and Chicago Breweries Company (English and American companies).....	1894?			£775,000	£775,000	£3,500,000
Mississippi River Steamboat Pool (3 companies pool).....	1896			+10,000,000		
National Biscuit Company (90 per cent. large bakeries in the United States).....	1898		New Jersey.	29,200,000	\$23,200,000	\$1,729,000
National Carbon Company (all companies in the United States and three-fourths in the world).....	1898		New Jersey.	5,500,000	4,500,000	
National Carpet Company (forming).....	1899			25,000,000	25,000,000	
National Enameling and Stamping Company (consolidating 4 principal companies in the United States).....	1899		New Jersey.	20,000,000	10,000,000	
National Lead Company (26 white lead, etc., plants).....	1891		New Jersey.	14,905,400	14,904,000	12,608
National Salt Company.....	1899		New Jersey.	7,000,000	5,000,000	
National Screw Company.....	1899			10,000,000		
National Starch Manufacturing Company (20 plants; price agreement with other companies in 1898).....	1890	1898	Kentucky...	4,450,700	4,068,200	3,089,000
National Steel Company (expects to control 20 plants).....	1899		New Jersey.	32,000,000	28,000,000	
National Tube Company (forming with 17 companies).....	1899		New Jersey.	35,000,000	30,000,000	
National Wall Paper Company (23 companies in 1892, absorbing 2 or more in 1899; forming).....	1879	1899		27,981,500	7,500,000	
New England Electric Vehicle and Transportation Company.....	1899		New Jersey.	25,000,000		
North Carolina Pine Timber Association (fixes prices).....				20,000,000		
Otis (Passenger) Elevator Company (13 companies—85 per cent. product).....	1898		New Jersey.	6,000,000	4,000,000	
Pittsburg Brewing Company.....	1899			6,500,000	6,500,000	6,500,000
Pittsburg Plate Glass Company.....	1891	1896		9,850,000	150,000	
Pressed Steel Car Company (consolidates Fox & Shoen companies and has a monopoly).....	1899		New Jersey.	12,500,000	12,500,000	
Print Cloth Pool (30 mills; restricts production and fixes prices).....	1898			50,000,000		
Reading Company (Anthracite Coal Trust).....	1892	1896		+150,000,000		
Republic Iron and Steel Company.....	1899			30,000,000	25,000,000	
River Coal Operators' Company (Pittsburg to New Orleans).....	1898			+11,000,000		
Royal Baking Powder Company (consolidation all companies).....	1899		New Jersey.	10,000,000	10,000,000	
Rubber Goods Manufacturers' Company (consolidation mechanical goods companies).....	1899		New Jersey.	25,000,000	25,000,000	
San Francisco Breweries, Limited (agreement with other breweries).....				+20,000,000		
Sash and Door Combine (26 companies; fixes prices).....				+15,000,000		
Sperry Flour Company (California).....	1892		California...	10,000,000		
Standard Distilling and Distributing Company (whisky).....	1898		New Jersey.	16,000,000	8,000,000	
Standard Oil (controls petroleum refineries, etc., in the United States).....	1872	1882		97,250,000		
Standard Rope and Twine Company (sells through Union Selling Company).....	1896		New Jersey.	12,000,000		10,412,000
Steel Beams Association (fixes prices).....	1888	1897		+20,000,000		
Steel Rail Manufacturers' Association (all big companies agree).....	1891	1898		50,000,000		
Steel Steamers (forming with all manufacturers on Great Lakes).....	1899			+15,000,000	15,000,000	
Swift & Company (beef).....	1885		Illinois.....	15,000,000		2,500,000
Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Company (plants in Tennessee and Alabama).....	1887			20,000,000	1,000,000	9,700,000
Union Bag and Paper Company.....	1899		New Jersey.	16,000,000	11,000,000	
Union Steel and Chain Company (forming).....	1899			30,000,000	30,000,000	
Union Tobacco Company (absorbed Durham Company).....	1898		New York.	12,000,000	7,350,000	32,850
Union Typewriter (5 leading companies).....	1893		New Jersey.	10,000,000	8,015,000	
United Fruit Company.....	1899		New Jersey.	20,000,000		
United Lighting and Heating Company (8 companies; oil-lighting interests of the United States).....	1899		New Jersey.	6,000,000	6,000,000	
United Shoe Machinery Company.....	1899		New Jersey.	8,625,000	8,625,000	
United States Cast Iron Pipe and Foundry (18 companies—practically all in the South and West).....	1899		New Jersey.	12,000,000	12,000,000	
United States Dyewood and Extract Company (to unite all in the United States).....	1899		New Jersey.	4,000,000	6,000,000	
United States Flour Milling Company.....				35,000,000	5,000,000	75,000,000
United States Glue Company.....	1899		New Jersey.	20,000,000	15,000,000	
United States Leather Company.....	1893		New Jersey.	62,354,800	62,354,800	5,280,000
United States Rubber (controls boot and shoe output of the United States).....	1892		New Jersey.	23,666,000	23,525,500	5,000,000
United States Varnish Company (organizing with all in the United States).....	1899		New Jersey.	18,000,000	18,000,000	
Virginia Iron, Coal and Coke Co. (many properties in Virginia).....	1899			7,500,000		7,500,000
Western Elevator Association (40 leading in Buffalo).....	1897 ?	1897		+15,000,000		
Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company (pools with General Electric and owns the United States Electric Locomotive Company and Walker Companies).....	1872	1891	Penna.....	8,987,950	3,998,000	3,500,000
Wholesale Druggists' National Association (25 firms).....	1874			+25,000,000		
Wholesale Grocers of New England.....	1875			+75,000,000		
Window Glass Combine (outcome of American Window Glass Company; forming).....				30,000,000		
Writing Paper Trust (forming with 35 mills in the Connecticut Valley).....	1899			+40,000,000		

NO PRACTICAL SOLUTION.

To most thinkers and writers the trust problem is apparently without practical solution, though nearly all hold theories which, if adopted, would in their opinions not only avoid any grave economic and social results from the concentration into the hands of a comparatively few of the control of our industries, but which would enable us to realize the benefits, without being subjected to the evils, of production on a gigantic scale. Some, indeed, think that the problem will solve itself, that trusts are but great mushrooms instead of substantial monopolies, and that the trust craze will prove to be as evanescent as was the tulip craze. Most men holding this latter theory have implicit confidence in free competition and think that it must finally succeed in overturning even such national, State, and municipal monopolies as railroads, telegraphs, telephones, and gas, electric-light, power, and water plants.

SOME OPINIONS AS TO EFFECTS AND DANGERS.

A quotation from the *Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin* of March 22, 1899, may convey some idea of the alarm and consternation with which the unprecedentedly rapid formation of trusts is viewed by some of those who give special attention to commercial, financial, and economic events.

After calling attention to the list of 353 trusts about to be published in its commercial year-book, this great commercial authority said:

The change is the most stupendous revolution ever accomplished in the history of the world's industrial growth. Its suddenness is as remarkable as its magnitude. It has come with none of the careful deliberation that usually attends the investment of great aggregations of capital. It has been guided by no precedent experience. It is no gradual result of a natural evolution. . . . It is a reversal of all that economists have accepted as fundamental axioms of trade. It is an undeliberated revolt against the most essential force in the regulation of production, distribution, and values—the natural law of competition. It amounts to a complete disruption of the relations between the industrial forces and classes of society. It is an extinguishment of the voluntary exchanges between the producing and merchanting interests, and the creation of one exclusive producing organization for each industry, to which all other material interests must yield subjection. Industry at large is organized into a system of feudalized corporations, each one of which enjoys absolute power within its special branch of production, while taken in the mass the system constitutes itself the supremest trade power in the nation. These innovations upon the fixed methods of industry, though fundamentally affecting the citizen's free access to the opportunities of industrialism, take little account of legalities, equally ignoring the law as it stands and as it may possibly be changed to meet the case. This headlong precipitancy has pursued its purpose almost without forethought, certainly with slight consideration for trade moralities

or for the weightiest of human liberties, and with little regard for the perils of public order which the outworkings of the system are too liable to evoke.

In advance of the event, it would not have been deemed possible that the most important class among our trained and responsible capitalists could at one bound take such a daring leap into the dark. The change is at best a stupendous experiment. . . . The change, however, is now a fixed fact. It places nearly our entire industrial system upon the monopolistic basis. That is a venture unparalleled in the history of material civilization; and not merely the manufacturing interest, but the still vaster interests thereon dependent, can but await the outcome with an expectancy that must grow more intense as the trial progresses.

Many similar quotations from important and reliable news, trade, and financial papers and journals might be cited. That the subject forms an important public issue is apparent from the fact that the politicians in several States are passing severe anti-trust laws or are investigating trusts. The Industrial Commission at Washington is also beginning what is likely to prove a long and interesting inquiry into the subject, with a view to possible remedial legislation.

TRUST PROMOTERS AND THEIR PROFITS.

A new industry has had a great development during the last year—that of trust-promoting, in which hundreds—perhaps thousands—of men are now engaged. While there are many failures in this new industry, a dozen men have during the last eight months made enough money to buy up all the claims in the Klondike. One unusually successful man is said to have received between \$30,000,000 and \$40,000,000 in stocks for his work in organizing trusts. Out of this amount he has had to pay the expense of securing options and charters and, in some cases, to share with other promoters. His net proceeds, however, at present market prices of stocks, probably exceed \$10,000,000, and may be twice that sum.

While there is no fixed percentage of stocks allowed to promoters or claimed by them, 3 per cent. of each kind of stock is often allowed and is apparently about the minimum ever received. This percentage is said to have been paid to the promoters of the International Silver Company and will be received by the promoters of the United States Vinegar Company should they succeed in getting underwriters for it.

The promoters of the Republic Iron and Steel Company are said to have received \$5,000,000 of common stock. Those of the National Tube Company and of the American Steel and Hoop Company are also said, in each case, to have received \$5,000,000. The promoter of the American Tin Plate Company received \$10,000,000 in common stock, now worth over \$4,000,000. He is said to have virtually purchased the plants

with his own capital and at prices unknown to the various members of the trust. So that while \$18,000,000 each of common and preferred stock were set aside with which to purchase plants, it may be that he made even more than the \$10,000,000 of common stock allowed to him. Rumor says that the promoters of the American Steel and Wire Company received \$15,000,000 in stock. This is probably exaggerated. On November 22, 1898, Gerritt H. Ten Broeck, of St. Louis, sued John W. Gates and Elbert H. Gary for \$1,875,000, the amount which he would have received had he and others not been displaced as promoters. He was to get half of the profits.

THE BUSINESS ALREADY OVERCROWDED.

Of course such profits are alluring to men of ambitious minds, and hence it has come about that more men are now prospecting in this field than in Western gold mines. Manufacturers not yet in trusts are being pestered by promoters and are saying to their office-boys, in stereotyped language: "Tell him I'm too busy to see him to-day. Confound that fellow! He's been here every day this week."

Several sets of promoters are often at work in one industry. Three sets have for some time been preaching the benefits of consolidation to the piano manufacturers. Once this trust was nearly formed; but several big fellows refused to "come in" at the last moment and the scheme collapsed. In this, as in many other industries, men hesitate to part with a business and "good-will" established by many years of hard and honest effort. Some refuse to consider any offers, but their number is small.

It is more than probable that the trust promoter is largely responsible for the recent trust craze. His smooth talk, flattering promises, and too often his false statements or insinuations concerning competitors who are represented to have given options and are "coming in" have brought many men into trusts against their wills. There is, however, no retracing of steps for any one who has joined a corporate trust.

BANKERS RESPONSIBLE FOR OVER-CAPITALIZATION.

The bankers also are responsible for a part of the trust craze and for most of the over-capitalization. Promoters can accomplish nothing without the aid of bankers to underwrite and float the trusts. While bankers may have intended to hold the preferred stock of trusts down to the actual value of the properties consolidated—a share of "common" stock going as a bonus with every share of preferred and the surplus common going to the promoters and underwriters—they have made great departures from this principle.

In not a few cases the face value of the preferred stock has been two or three times the actual assets. In one case the assets, excluding "good-will," are said to be only about \$500,000, although the capital is \$20,000,000, one-half of which is preferred stock. But in this case the "good-will" has been acquired by the expenditure of millions of dollars in advertising and is a very valuable asset. The preferred stock is selling close to par and is probably worth that price.

The trust movement in its aspects as a promoters' craze will subside when the bankers refuse financial support to trusts which are paying three or four prices for plants and which are capitalized—as most recent ones have been—with little reference to first cost or to cost of duplication, but almost entirely with reference to the earnings as calculated from present high prices. This the bankers are now said to be doing. As a consequence scores of would-be trusts are pigeon-holed. Some of them, after being examined by search-lights, will get through. In most cases they will be held up until the options on the plants expire, when the promoters will start afresh and try to obtain new and more reasonable options.

SOME OF THE TRUSTS NOW FORMING.

The *Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin* of May 19 contains a list of 18 big trusts with a proposed capitalization of \$1,312,000,000 now in process of incubation. The list is as follows:

	Capital.
Carnegie Steel Company	\$325,000,000
National Tube Company.....	65,000,000
American Bicycle Company.....	80,000,000
American Hide and Leather Company.....	70,000,000
United States Worsted Company.	70,000,000
Silk Ribbons.....	50,000,000
National Woolen Company.....	50,000,000
National Carpet Company.....	50,000,000
Union Steel and Chain Company	60,000,000
American Window Glass Company.....	30,000,000
Fertilizers.....	84,000,000
United States Chair Company.....	25,000,000
American Plumbing Supply and Lead Company..	35,000,000
American Railway Equipment Company	22,000,000
National Car Equipment Company.....	10,000,000
Gas Fixtures.....	15,000,000
Mineral Paint.....	12,000,000
Chewing Gum	9,000,000

*Stated by H. C. Frick, May 20, as \$250,000,000.

Some of these trusts have been held up for months and are not likely to pass inspection. The bankers are said to be declining to finance consolidations where the owners of the various plants appear simply to desire to sell out for cash, and where they have not sufficient faith in the new company to enter it and help to manage its affairs.

EFFECT OF TRUSTS UPON PRICES AND LABOR.

Beyond a doubt many trusts can, if at all well managed, produce at less cost than individual concerns. They should give us cheaper products and thus enable consumers to share the benefits of production on a large scale. As yet it is a moot question whether any trust has given us lower-priced products than we would have received from independent producers. Perhaps the prices most frequently quoted by trust advocates are those of sugar and refined oil. And yet there is no justification for their claims in either of these cases. Sugar would certainly, and oil probably, have been cheaper had there been no trust in either of these industries.

It is perhaps unfair to credit all of the rise in prices during the last eight months to the hundreds of trusts formed during this time. We were just passing from depression to business prosperity and the natural tendency of prices was upward. A candid man, however, must credit the greater part of many price advances to the trusts which have gained control of certain industries and, in some cases, have shut down mills and advanced prices. The prices of wire nails have been advanced about 100 per cent. since the trust was formed, and some mills have been closed. The village of Duncansville, Pa., is almost ruined by the action of the wire and cotton tie trusts, which have closed all of the factories in the place.

The effects upon the workingmen, however, will be more manifest when business prosperity begins to slacken and demand for goods to fall off. Then the trusts will be compelled to close mills by wholesale to sustain prices. Of this there can be no doubt.

The prices of nearly all manufactured articles have advanced from 10 to 50 per cent. during the last eight months. Chemical experts tell us that adulterations are on the increase. The recent slight advances in wages are perhaps insufficient to offset the great advance in prices, so that as yet wage-earners, except that more are employed, may not be as well off as they were a year ago. But wages always rise slower than prices, and the wage-earners may soon be getting their share of prosperity.

VARIOUS FORMS OF TRUSTS.

Trusts exist in different forms, from the "association" which meets seldom or not at all to the steel-clad monopoly corporation which owns all of the plants in an industry and which perhaps also controls the source of supply of the raw materials used. It is not easy to say which form of trust is most effective or which is hardest to break up by law.

The steel rail manufacturers maintained a most effective organization for many years by "friendly agreements" as to prices. They had no natural monopoly, but were aided somewhat by patents and very materially by a high-tariff duty on imported rails. Their combination was possible partly because of the large capital required to construct steel mills. The same reasons have greatly assisted the sugar refiners in maintaining a partial monopoly.

The virtual monopoly which Armour, Swift, Morris, and Hammond have had in cattle and meats comes less from any formal agreement as to prices which they will pay for cattle or at which they will sell beef (though they fix prices in both directions) than from the centralization of the business, the great capital invested, and the advantages which such immense dealers and shippers have in obtaining freight rates and in the distribution of meats and meat products.

The big manufacturers of pharmaceutical chemicals and the anthracite coal producers and carriers have for years fixed prices for each month—the coal agents at monthly meetings in New York and the chemical men by "understandings," arrived at perhaps by telephone or by mail in advance of the publication of their price-lists.

More formal agreements are made in writing when forfeits of some kind may be required as pledges for maintaining prices. A pool is often made by putting a share of the earnings into a common fund. This fund is divided at certain times, according to previously made agreements, among the faithful. Union selling agencies have been found useful in restricting production, in lessening the cost of distribution, and in securing better terms or higher prices for certain lines of goods. A more complete identity of interests was established by the "trust" form adopted by many combinations from 1882 to 1890, of which the Standard Oil Trust and the Sugar Trust were the leading instances. The corporate form is the last and most substantial of all forms of trust organization.

LEGISLATION VERSUS TRUSTS.

Nearly all kinds of agreements to restrict production or control prices having been declared illegal by common law, if not by federal and State statute, capitalists have practically been driven to the corporate form of trust. It is recognized as legal—providing it makes no agreements with other corporations in regard to production or prices—and is considered safe by conservative investors.

Trusts may be interfered with by anti-trust legislation, as has been the case and is now the case in Arkansas, Missouri, and other States and

by the United States—for the very interesting case of the Addyston Pipe Company is now pending in the Supreme Court. Trusts may be declared illegal and certain ones may even cease to be operative for a while. Practically, however, the trusts, in one form or another, will continue to exercise monopoly powers and enjoy monopoly profits until the people decide to take away the special privileges of all kinds which alone enable them to reap unearned profits or to injure the public.

FUTURE ANTI-TRUST LEGISLATION.

Besides the anti-trust laws now on the statutes of nearly thirty States, many severe laws are certain to be passed during the next year against trusts, department stores, insurance companies, etc. It is probable that most of these laws will be mischievous and harmful to business interests, as is the recent Arkansas law, which is handicapping business in that State by preventing cheap and safe insurance. Under this law, as interpreted, no insurance company is permitted to operate in the State if it enters into any rate-fixing agreement in Arkansas or any other State. As all big and safe companies are operating under such agreements in nearly every State and city, they have been compelled to withdraw from further business in Arkansas and to let the people there bear their own fire losses. Business interests are suffering and mass-meetings have been held to protest against the severity of this law. Just now the people of Texas are greatly agitated over the adoption there of an anti-trust law exactly like that of Arkansas. Missouri has just enacted a law to abolish department stores by heavily taxing stores in her three largest cities which sell several lines of goods.

These laws are similar to those of our forefathers which were intended to regulate values, prices, and trade. They prevent the free and beneficial exchange of products and interfere with progress. The better way is to remove all obstructions, such as come from special privileges and natural and legal monopolies, and to open the natural opportunities to production.

STEAM POWER BRINGS FACTORIES, CORPORATIONS, AND COMBINATIONS.

With the introduction of steam power came improved machinery, factories, steamships, and railroads. Greater capital being needed to conduct business in the most economical way, corporations began to take the place of partnerships just as partnerships had often taken the place of individual ownership and management. The present agitation against trusts and combinations is scarcely greater than was, seventy-five or one

hundred years ago, the agitation against some kinds of corporations.

But there came a time in the economic evolution of our industries when even ordinary corporations were inadequate to conduct business on a sufficiently large scale to do it most cheaply and efficiently. Great capitals were necessary to build and operate railroads and telegraphs. Advantages of union, cooperation, and consolidation being greatest in these natural monopolies, it was to be expected that working agreements, pools, consolidations, and great combinations should first appear in these lines and in the express companies operated in connection with the railroads.

RAILROAD AND TELEGRAPH POOLS AND CONSOLIDATIONS.

About 1870 the numerous great railroad pools, practically fixing rates and dividing freight in all sections of the country, began to disturb the farmers and shippers. What most aroused the people, however, was the discriminating rates given to big or favored shippers, especially during the intervals when pooling agreements were not in force and when a rate war was on between two or more railroads, as was often the case when one set of railroad magnates wished to gain control of the properties of another set. The "granger laws" of 1874 compelling railroads to make freight rates proportionate to distance, and the interstate commerce law of 1887 prohibiting pooling and establishing a commission with power to regulate rates, have been successful only to a limited extent in preventing the evils complained of, and in some ways have led to new evils.

Pooling by steamship and steamboat companies and the merging of numerous small express and telegraph companies into larger ones was proceeding rapidly in the 70s and 80s. Insurance associations for fixing the rates for fire insurance in different States and localities became general during this period. Consolidations of gas companies and of street railroads also began early, but have flourished most since the use of electric power and light became more general.

RISE OF MODERN INDUSTRIAL COMBINATIONS.

The great industrial trusts about which we are so greatly concerned just now began to appear in 1872, when the anthracite coal combination was formed by an alliance of producers and carriers, and when the interests which now compose the Standard Oil Trust first began to work in harmony. Previously, however, many associations and pools for fixing prices and distributing profits had been in operation in various important industries and lines.

ORIGIN OF THE WORD "TRUST."

The word "trust" was not applied to capitalistic combinations and monopolies until the Standard Oil Trust was formed, on January 2, 1882. By the agreement a majority of the certificates of stocks were placed in the hands of trustees, who took full charge of all of the oil-refining corporations, partnerships, and individual properties which went into the trust.

The American Cotton Oil Trust, formed in 1883, the Distillers' and Cattle-Feeders' Trust, formed May 10, 1887, and the Sugar Refineries Company, completed November 1, 1887, were the three other most important combinations formed as "trusts" in the original meaning of the word.

The violent agitation which sprung up against trusts in 1887 and 1888 resulted in investigating committees, State and federal anti-trust laws, and in slight changes in the forms and names of these and other combinations. Since then our greatest combinations are monopoly corporations, called companies instead of trusts, and are managed by directors instead of trustees. These companies own the plants and therefore are much more solid and permanent than were the original "trusts," in which only a majority of stock certificates of certain concerns was held. The present form is also more difficult to reach by law.

Since 1887 the word "trust" has, by popular usage, if not by general consent, become generic and now covers any agreement, pool, combination, or consolidation of two or more naturally competing concerns which results in a complete or partial monopoly in certain territory. It is, perhaps, fortunate that there should be a single word by which consumers can designate any monopoly combination with power to fix prices or rates; it may, however, be unfortunate that the word "trust," which has so many other legal meanings, should have been selected for this purpose.

THE STANDARD OIL TRUST.

I will attempt only a brief account of some of the present industrial trusts.

The Standard Oil is not only the original, but it is the largest and most successful trust yet formed. Moreover, it still practically maintains its trust form, though it pretends to be obeying the orders of the court given several years ago and to be buying up the properties originally (and still) managed by trustees. The last investors' supplement of the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* contains the following:

STANDARD OIL.—This company controls petroleum oil refineries in all the principal Northern cities of the

United States and produces about 65 per cent. of the country's total output of refined oil. Also controls oil wells in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia, and has pipe lines for transmitting its oil to tidewater. The trust certificates are issued against a deposit in trust of the stocks in the various refining, producing, and transportation companies controlled by the trust. Trust certificates (originally \$97,250,000) are being canceled and the trustees are assigning to the beneficial owners the legal title to the stocks which were formerly held in trust. An "assignment" therefore represents a share in the legal ownership of the combined properties, whereas the old trust certificates represent a beneficial interest in the same. Both receive the same dividends and are quoted alike.

How far the "assignment" process has gone is known to but few persons, as the books of the trust are closed to ordinary stockholders, to attorneys-general, to investigating committees, and to the courts, and the officers keep their own secrets.

ENORMOUS PROFITS OF THE STANDARD OIL.

During the last three years this trust has paid dividends amounting to 94 per cent., or a total of \$91,415,000. The stock is now selling at 490, which gives it a market value of \$476,525,000. It is difficult to say what is the actual capital invested. What was allowed (in trust certificates) for each of the properties which made up the combination has never been published. Mr. Rockefeller, through his counsel, told the Congressional committee in 1888 that this was a "purely private matter." But it was admitted that "the amount of certificates issued was in excess of the appraised value of the tangible property of the various corporations—intangible property, such as good-will, patents, trade-marks, etc., being included in the valuation."

The trust is both a refiner and a transporter of petroleum oil and of many products which are now made from the refuse. The trust also makes its own boxes, tank cars, etc. Practically it owns and operates the line of tank steamers which carries its products to Europe and other foreign territory. This line, however, is nominally a different corporation.

STANDARD OIL HISTORY.

No unbiased history of this marvelously successful combination has been or is likely soon to be written by any one in a position to know the facts. Only scraps of information about it have been gathered by the trust investigating committees and the attorneys-general who have dealt with it, though these scraps fill thousands of pages in reports and some of them are very interesting. But a few of the facts and incidents

in connection with the great combination can be related here.

Petroleum was discovered in 1859. By 1870 we were producing 6,000,000 barrels a year and fortunes were being made rapidly. In 1870 the Standard Oil Company of Ohio was organized with a capital of \$1,000,000. A Standard Oil Company had previously been organized at Pittsburgh. Some of the other most important refiners were the Atlantic Refining Company of Philadelphia and the Charles Pratt Company of New York. These four companies formed, about 1870, an alliance which wrought wonders for these companies and havoc among their competitors. Supply and demand appeared no longer to affect prices of oil. Bankruptcies became so numerous by 1872 and the public was so much aroused that Congress had to make an investigation.

REMARKABLE CONTRACTS WITH RAILROADS.

It was then shown that a remarkable agreement had been made between certain railroads and the South Improvement Company, composed of thirteen men with John D. Rockefeller at its head. Not only had the railroads agreed to charge the competitors double the rates charged to the South Improvement Company, but they had agreed to give the excess collected from its competitors to the South Improvement Company. This agreement went into effect on February 26, 1872, and at once paralyzed business in the oil regions. The people became so indignant that the railroads were forced to abandon the arrangement.

There is, however, but little doubt that they secretly continued to give preferential rates to the combination refiners, at least until the advent of the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1885, and probably are still giving them to the Standard Oil Company.

OUTSIDERS BUILD A PIPE LINE.

Unable to obtain fair treatment from the railroads, the independent refiners in 1878 and 1879, with a capital of \$5,000,000, constructed the Tidewater Pipe Line Company. Immediately the railroads reduced their rates on oil from \$1.15 per barrel to 80 cents, to 30 cents, to 10 cents, and at last, as the general freight agent of one of the roads stated, to a rate that would not pay for wheel grease. The Tidewater Pipe Line Company survived the many attacks until 1883, when it was gobbled up by the trust.

As previously stated, the trust was formally organized on January 2, 1882, when a majority of the stock of each of the constituent companies was transferred, in exchange for certificates, to

nine trustees—themselves then and still the owners of a majority of the stocks and certificates. About twenty different State corporations are now in the trust.

LIMITING PRODUCTION AND CONTROLLING PRICES.

One of the ways in which the trust limits production and controls prices is thus told by Dr. E. Benj. Andrews :

On November 1, 1887, the Standard Oil authorities made a stipulation with the Producers' Protective Association of the oil fields by which 5,000,000 barrels of oil belonging to the Standard were set apart for the benefit of the association upon its engaging to curtail the production of crude oil at least 17,500 barrels a day. The paper was actually signed by the Standard Oil Company of New York, but the Producers understood, and so testified, that they had made it with the trust. If at the end of the year the production proved to have been lessened by the aforesaid amount, the Producers were to get all that this oil sold for above 62 cents a barrel, storage, fire losses, and insurance being first subtracted. To make good its part of the writing, the Producers' Association entered into a covenant with the Well-Drillers' Union, agreeing to pay them the profits over 62 cents a barrel on 1,000,000 barrels of oil and part profits on another million, in return for their promise to desist from drilling and cleaning wells throughout the oil field. . . . The Drillers called this "earning" the oil. After the date of this agreement the average reduction was 25,000 barrels a day. Perhaps to the extent of 7,000 barrels it was due to natural shrinkage, but the rest was in consequence of the shut-down.

WHAT THE TRUST HAS ACCOMPLISHED.

But there is another light in which to view this gigantic trust, and it is the light in which its stockholders are most likely to see it. It has been successful. If its managers have not always been over-scrupulous, they have worked with surpassing skill to advance their interests. If they have crushed rivals, they have done so to strengthen themselves. They have shown wonderful ability in forming and in conducting what is as yet the world's greatest industrial organization. They have taken advantage to the fullest extent of the economies of production and distribution on a gigantic scale. They have made from what were once waste products most valuable articles of commerce. They have with great skill; patience, and energy converted the world to the use of their products and won markets for these great American products which would not have been won by independent refiners. They have provided storage facilities for millions of barrels of oil and instituted business methods which are almost perfect.

Beyond a doubt they have cheapened the cost of refining oil more than it would have been cheapened by independent refiners. But it is not certain that, as their spokesmen always claim, they

have given the public as much of this saving as it would have received from independent refiners had there been no monopoly.

AVERAGE ANNUAL PRICE PER GALLON IN CENTS OF REFINED AND CRUDE PETROLEUM.

Year.	Crude at Wells.	Refined in New York.	Difference.	Year.	Price of Crude.	Price of Refined.	Difference.
1870....	9.19	26.35	17.16	1884...	1.99	8.15	6.16
1871....	10.52	24.24	13.72	1885...	2.11	7.93	5.82
1872....	9.43	23.59	14.16	1886...	1.99	7.07	5.38
1873....	4.12	17.87	13.75	1887...	1.59	6.72	5.13
1874....	2.81	12.98	10.17	1888...	2.08	7.49	5.41
1875....	2.96	13.00	10.04	1889...	2.24	7.11	4.87
1876....	5.99	19.18	13.17	1890...	2.06	7.30	5.24
1877....	5.68	15.44	9.76	1891...	1.67	6.85	5.18
1878....	2.76	10.78	8.00	1892...	1.32	6.07	4.75
1879....	2.04	8.08	6.04	1893...	1.52	5.24	3.72
1880....	2.24	9.05	6.81	1894...	1.99	5.19	3.20
1881....	2.30	8.01	5.96	1895...	3.22	7.36	4.14
1882....	1.87	7.39	5.52	1896...	2.83	6.98	4.15
1883....	2.52	8.02	5.50	1897...	1.87	5.91	4.04

The "difference" column here "tells the story" either for or against the trust. This represents the annual difference not merely of refining, but also of transporting oil to New York. It is evident that if a fair allowance for saving be made for the improved and enlarged pipe-line service, there remains but a very small saving to credit to cheaper processes of refining during the last twenty years; and yet great improvements have been made during this period.

HAS THE TRUST GIVEN US CHEAPER OIL?

It is doubtful if any other important manufacturing industry—except possibly that of sugar—could be found which has not reduced the prices of its products more during the last twenty year, and has not effected for the people a greater saving in cost of manufacturing than has this Standard Oil Trust. And yet nearly all editors and writers about trusts declare that the trust has given us cheaper oil.

Whether we consider the price of refined oil or the difference between refined and crude oil, we see that the decline was far more rapid before than since the formation of the trust. Not only did the price of refined oil go up 14 per cent. from 1894 to 1897, while the price of crude oil declined 6 per cent., but there has not been during the last five, ten, fifteen, or twenty years what would appear to be, in view of the recent wonderful inventions and improved processes of manufacture, a reasonable reduction in the price of refined as compared with crude oil. We should also consider that these prices are those given by the trust at New York for export and are probably more favorable to the trust than would be the prices in some of the Western States.

THE AMERICAN SUGAR REFINING COMPANY.

The second most important trust was formed in November, 1887, when eight of the leading sugar-refining corporations transferred their stocks to the Sugar Refineries Company. Twelve more "came in" a little latter. This company paid for the stocks by the issue of trust certificates. These twenty companies were then refining over 90 per cent. of the sugar consumed here.

WELL-WATERED STOCK.

It developed during the reorganization in 1890 that the original organization included no working capital and that about \$10,000,000 was raised by a mortgage on the plants. As these plants were valued by experts at slightly less than \$10,000,000, there was nothing left to be covered by the \$50,000,000 authorized, except the "good-will," the patents, etc., of the organizers. The Senate committee of New York which investigated the trust in 1888 reached the conclusion that the face value of the certificates was about four times the total stock which had been replaced. For the three properties of the Havemeyer & Elder Sugar Refining Company \$15,000,000 in trust certificates were issued. This Brooklyn company was capitalized at \$500,000 and in 1889 was assessed at \$420,000.

The trust paid 10 per cent. dividends.

COMPETITION AND OTHER TROUBLES.

Not only was outside competition on the increase by 1890, but the courts of New York State were interfering with the operations of the Sugar Trust. The combination was finally declared to be illegal by the highest courts of the State.

To avoid further trouble with courts and to "stop all of this howl about trusts," as Mr. H. O. Havemeyer put it, the trust was, in January, 1891, reorganized as a New Jersey corporation, entitled the American Sugar Refining Company. It has since carried on its business in New York and elsewhere with exactly the same force and effect, as far as the public is concerned, as formerly did the Sugar Refineries Company.

Unable by reduced prices of refined sugar or by other means to prevent the rapid growth of competing refineries, the trust made terms with Claus Spreckles and the other important competitors, and in January, 1892, increased its capital stock \$25,000,000 for the purpose of purchasing the four Philadelphia refineries and a controlling interest in the Baltimore refinery. The Western Sugar Refining Company, of which the trust owns one-half the stock, also secured a ten-year lease on Spreckles' California refinery.

ENORMOUS PROFITS.

Until 1898, when the two great refineries of Doscher and of Arbuckle Brothers went into operation, the trust had plain sailing, and it made enormous profits. Since it was reorganized it has paid 7 per cent. a year on the \$36,968,000 of preferred stock outstanding and an average of 12 per cent. on the same amount of outstanding common stock—or considerably over \$100,000,000. Besides, it is known to have an enormous undivided surplus, a part of which (over \$30,000,000) is said to be invested in outside enterprises, such as the American Cotton (bailing) Company, the Woolson Spice Company, street-railroad companies, etc.

SUGAR PRICES AND REFINING COST.

Doubtless most people think that the Sugar Trust is responsible for the fact that refined sugar now sells for about one cent per pound less than it did twelve or fifteen years ago. They forget that the trust is simply a refiner, and that we have, since the trust was formed, been paying more to have our sugar refined than we paid before that time. In fact, there has not been a year since when the charges for refining were as low as in 1885 and 1886.

The following table shows the yearly average net price per pound of the standard raw sugar (96° centrifugal), of granulated, and the difference in these prices since January 1, 1884:

	Price of Sugar.		Difference.		Raw.	Re-fined.	Difference.
	Raw (96°). Cents.	Refined (Granulated). Cents.					
1884....	5.875	6.780	0.923	1892....	3.311	4.346	1.035
1885....	5.729	6.441	0.712	1893....	3.689	4.842	1.153
1886....	5.336	6.117	0.781	1894....	3.240	4.12	0.880
1887....	5.245	6.013	0.768	1895....	3.270	4.152	0.882
1888....	5.749	7.007	1.258	1896....	3.624	4.532	0.908
1889....	6.433	7.640	1.207	1897....	3.557	4.503	0.946
1890....	5.451	6.171	0.720	1898....	4.235	4.965	0.730
1891....	3.863	4.691	0.828				

It is, then, certain that the trust has not given us cheaper sugar, nor even as cheap sugar as we would have had without it. It is, in fact, almost certain that our sugar bill has averaged at least \$10,000,000 (and perhaps \$20,000,000) a year more because of the trust.

THE SUGAR TRUST AND THE TARIFF.

The enormous profits of the trust have been possible because of the preferential duty on re-

fining sugar in every tariff bill since 1887. It has a hold on the United States Senate, through its non-partisan contributions to elect the State legislators who elect the Senators, and through the leaders on both sides of the Senate who are interested in the same corporations as are the trust officers—a hold that has never failed to produce results beneficial to itself.

The McKinley bill of 1890, the Wilson bill of 1894, and the Dingley bill of 1897 were all "juggled" in the Senate and made to yield more protection to refiners than the House was willing to allow. In the last two instances the tariff bills had to be "held up" in the Senate for several months before the "Senators from Havemeyer," as they were not inaptly called, had their demands complied with, but in each case the trust got substantially all it asked for, though the scandals in connection with the bills became great and, in the case of the Wilson bill, led to an investigation.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES.

During this investigation Mr. Havemeyer testified frankly that the Sugar Trust made it a rule to make political contributions to the Republican party in Republican States and to the Democratic party in Democratic States. He said: "We get a good deal of protection for our contribution." He said that his company had made considerable money out of the McKinley bill. When asked if his company had not endeavored to control legislation of Congress with a view of making money out of such legislation, he answered: "Undoubtedly. That is what I have been down here for."

A GREAT LAW-BREAKER.

The Sugar Trust has but little respect for law—except the special laws which keep out foreign refined sugars. Like the Standard Oil Trust, it has repeatedly concealed its books from investigating committees and refused to give information concerning its stockholders, the use made of its funds, cost of refining, etc. It refused to comply with census laws and to give information to the Census Department in 1890. After the Attorney-General had tried for several years to get the information required, he, acting on the advice of the Department, abandoned the case because it was then so late that the information would be worthless if obtained. Hence the 1890 census is worthless as regards an industry whose annual product is valued at over \$200,000,000. It is unlikely that these trust officials risk imprisonment and go to so much trouble and expense to preserve unimportant secrets.

THE AMERICAN TIN PLATE COMPANY.

One of the many recent trusts, and one which is perhaps typical in many ways, is the Tin Plate Trust. It is, at least temporarily, one of the solidest trusts of its kind, its monopoly being complete and there being, apparently, no competition possible, either in or out of America, so long as the duty of $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound on imported tin plates is maintained.

This trust not only owns all of the mills in the country (about 300), but it so controls the materials that outsiders cannot at present build mills; nor if they could build them could they obtain the bars and other raw materials from which the plates are made. The Tin Plate Trust is so interlocked with the other trusts—the National Steel Company, the American Steel Wire Company, the American Steel Hoop Company, the Republic Iron and Steel Company, etc.—which are the producers of tin-plate bars that about all connected with the business consider competition out of the question. The *American Metal Market* of May 9 thus describes the situation:

It is at present impossible to see any developments in the immediate future except in the direction of continued high prices. Up to the present the trust owning every mill in the United States has had to compete with the resale of plates purchased at low prices. These second-hand lots are now virtually at an end. The competition in the future can only come from importations and new mills. As regards the former, the duty of $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound makes at present English prices 14×20 (100). Coke tins cost 4.30 delivered seaboard, and the market for steel and tin abroad is so strong that much as the Welsh manufacturer would like to recover some of the lost American trade, the position of his raw material makes him impotent to do so. As regards new mills, all the talk and efforts in this direction seem to be dying out. The consolidation of the steel interests lately effected, and which as far as raw material for tin-plate mills are controlled by the Tin Plate Trust, makes it unwise to erect tin-plate mills, as they apparently could not at present secure their raw material. We therefore find the Tin Plate Trust entire masters of the situation, and it will be absolutely easy for them to regulate production to the requirements of consumption. The chances of any change in the tariff are too remote and uncertain to enter at present into the calculation. We therefore predict a steady market at present prices, with perhaps a further advance should pig tin and steel advance.

This is another trust that has failed to reduce prices and to give consumers any of the benefit of centralized production. The following are the average monthly net wholesale prices of one-hundred-pound boxes of 14×20 coke tin at New York and the prices of similar English tin plate—less the tariff duty—in New York since last June:

PRICES OF TIN PLATE AT NEW YORK.

Date.	American.	English (in Bond).	Difference.
1898.			
June	\$2.85	\$2.50	\$0.35
July	2.80	2.50	0.30
August	2.75	2.50	0.25
September	2.75	2.55	0.20
October	2.75	2.50	0.25
November	2.80	2.60	0.20
December	2.90	2.60	0.30
1899.			
January	3.20	2.60	0.60
February	3.45 to 3.70	2.65	0.80 to 1.05
March	4.10	2.70	1.40
April	4.10	2.80	1.30

When the trust was formed, in the middle of December, 1898, prices went up instead of going down. Three months after the prices of American tin plate were 50 per cent. higher than they were two months before the formation of the trust. During the same time the price of English tin plate rose but 12 per cent. The prices of tin and of the minor raw materials had risen fully as much in England as here; the price of tin-plate bars had also risen nearly as much in England. About 75 cents of the \$1.20 increase in the difference between the prices of American over English tin plate from November to March must be charged to the arbitrary, tariff-given monopoly power of the Tin Plate Trust in America.

WATERING THE STOCK.

Being one of the latest combinations, this Tin Plate Trust well illustrates the percentage of water poured into many similar trusts. Before the recent advance in the price of steel, tin-plate mills cost from \$20,000 to \$30,000 each, depending mainly on how many were put into one plant. As there are about 290 mills in about 40 plants, the average cost of the mills now in use is probably nearer \$20,000 than \$30,000. A liberal estimate is therefore \$7,000,000 for the cost of the tin-plate mills now in use, though at present prices the mills could not be duplicated for less than about \$9,000,000. The value of the real estate—not necessary to tin-plate production—which went with some of the concerns absorbed might increase the actual value of the properties of the Tin Plate Trust to \$12,000,000.

This trust is capitalized at \$50,000,000—\$30,000,000 common and \$20,000,000 preferred stock. The trust paid for the plants \$18,000,000 of preferred and \$18,000,000 of common stock. The working capital was raised by the sale of \$2,000,000 of preferred and \$2,000,000 of common stock. The balance of stock—\$10,000,000 common—went to the very successful promoter of this and other similar trusts.

The present price of the common stock is 40 ; of the preferred, 85. This gives \$29,000,000 as the total market value of the stocks. There is no bonded indebtedness. The total value of last year's output of the combined mills was about \$20,000,000. Experts say that the net profits in 1899 will surely exceed \$5,000,000.

THE INTERNATIONAL PAPER COMPANY.

This trust was organized on January 31, 1898. It took over twenty-five (since increased to thirty) pulp and paper mills, producing about 80 per cent. of the total product of news paper. The daily output of these mills is about 1,400 tons of finished paper. Its capital stock consists of \$20,000,000 common and \$25,000,000 preferred. It is authorized to issue \$10,000,000 of 6-per-cent. bonds, though only \$8,947,000 have been issued. About \$2,500,000 of each kind of stock is also unissued. From January 17 to November 1, 1898, the company claimed gross sales of \$11,316,425 ; expenses, \$9,452,038 ; interest on bonds, \$455,548 ; surplus, after paying 3 per cent. on preferred stock, \$814,908.

The assets of this trust, so far as the mills are concerned, are very well known. Thousands of columns of articles have been written in the hundreds of influential newspapers which fought this trust and are still fighting it by trying to get both paper and pulp put on the free list.

In fact, the great opposition of the newspapers probably delayed for several years the formation of this trust. How they prevented the completion of its formation in 1895 may be inferred from the following head-lines to a five-column article in an important New York paper of October 5, 1895 :

NEW TOY FOR WALL STREET.

BIRTH OF A BABY BROTHER TO "CORDAGE" AND
"WHISKY."

A THIRTY-FIVE-MILLION-DOLLAR PAPER TRUST.

ANTIQUATED MILLS TO BE CAPITALIZED AT FIVE
TIMES THE COST OF MODERN PLANTS.

A SIX-MILLION-DOLLAR TAX ON KNOWLEDGE.

ADVANTAGE TAKEN OF THE TARIFF ON PAPER TO
CREATE AN INDUSTRIAL MONOPOLY.

A SPECIMEN MILL AT BELLOWS FALLS.

FORCING THE PUBLIC TO BEAR THE BURDEN OF
POOR LOCATIONS, DENUDED TIMBER TRACTS,
AND EXHAUSTED WATER SUPPLIES.

On December 27, 1898, the American Newspaper Publishers' Association presented to the Anglo-American joint high commissioners an argument for free paper and pulp signed by 157 daily newspapers. The following are some of their statements :

Excessive and improper prices were paid for many mills that were located on exhausted water courses and that were tributary to denuded timber tracts ; for mills that at periods of the year have an insufficient supply of water or are under water ; for mills that are inferior and worthless in machinery, equipment, and construction ; for mills that must pay excessive rental for water power ; for mills that do not own or control woodlands ; for mills that have neither pulp-grinding attachments nor sulphite pulp auxiliaries.

Five of the paper mills obtain their power at a total annual cost of \$196,000. Two others are run by steam, which makes competition impossible, and five others have insufficient power. Four owned no woodlands and ten of the mills had no sulphite auxiliaries. Ninety-eight paper-making machines were comprised in the plant of these mills, but only forty-eight of the machines were of recent date or desirable pattern. Not one of the mills in all the combination possessed all of the six essentials of the cheapest and most successful manufacture.

The entire output of this corporation, representing 1,420 tons a day for theoretical capacity, could be reproduced by a present investment of \$15,000,000, so that the American consumers of newspapers are forced to pay dividends upon an inflated and wholly fictitious valuation of at least \$40,000,000.

Immediately after the organization of the trust it raised the price of paper wherever possible. In three cases it raised its price \$10 a ton and has averaged an increase of \$5 a ton on its daily output of 1,420 tons, equaling an increased tax of \$2,130,000 per annum upon the newspapers of the country, which now pay a total exceeding \$20,000,000 per annum for their paper supply.

CONTROLS AND SUPPLIES ITS OWN RAW MATERIALS.

The newspaper men admitted, however, what the trust claimed, that it has a monopoly of the water powers and wood tracts so situated as to be available for the cheap production of paper. Domestic competition, at least for the present, is therefore out of the question.

Thus while the mills might be duplicated for \$15,000,000, the water powers and forest tracts cannot be duplicated at any price. When a trust (as many of the great ones are doing) gets back to the ground and gets control of the sources of supply of its raw materials, it has got what is popularly called a "copper-bottomed cinch." Then, if competition is impossible from other industries, the trust can fix prices at the maximum profit line and hold them there.

THE AMERICAN STEEL AND WIRE COMPANY.

The new American Steel and Wire Company was organized as a New Jersey corporation on January 13, 1899. It has an authorized capital

of \$90,000,000, \$40,000,000 of which is 7-per cent. cumulative preferred stock. It is really but a reorganization of the Illinois trust of the same name, formed in April, 1898, with \$24,000,000 capital. This Illinois trust contained 14 mills, 7 of which constituted the Consolidated Steel and Wire Company (Barbed Wire Trust), an Illinois corporation, formed in 1892 with \$4,000,000 capital.

With this latest combination the evolution of the Wire Trust would seem to be complete; for this trust includes practically "everything in sight"—26 mills—and, like the Federal Steel, International Paper, and many other trusts, owns its own sources of supply of raw materials.

The total value of the plants in the Illinois corporation of 1898 almost certainly did not exceed \$10,000,000. The prospectus of January, 1899, stated that it was expected with \$28,000,000 to acquire the 12 new plants and to have \$13,000,000 left over for a working capital. Therefore \$25,000,000 in plants and \$13,000,000 in cash would seem to be the maximum value of the assets in this ninety-million-dollar corporation.

It was generally understood that \$8,000,000 was paid for the Washburn-Moen plants, whose capital was \$4,000,000, and that two prices were paid for each of the more important of the 12 properties recently purchased. It is therefore probable that the plants of this great trust could be duplicated for less than \$20,000,000.

In April, 1899, one of the directors is reported to have estimated the yearly net earnings of this company at \$12,000,000.

In a statement made about March 17, 1899, by the president, John Lambert, the advantages of the company are thus set forth:

These various plants are so located that we can handle the business to best advantage and save largely in freights by shipping, say, from Joliet, Ill., to territory naturally tributary to it, and by shipping from Worcester, Mass., to territory tributary to Worcester, and so on down the line; so that you will see that so far as the locations of our plants are concerned we have all the advantages that are possible to be obtained. . . . It will not be necessary to make any further purchases, for the reason that we have all the producing capacity that we need. It has been our policy to so fortify ourselves that we are practically independent, or, if you please, to put ourselves in a position to take the ore from our own mines, transport it in our own vessels, convert it into pig iron in our own furnaces, roll it into steel billets in our own steel mills, roll it into iron rods in our own rod mills, and finish it in our mills into plain and barbed wire and all the different kinds of wire used not only in the United States, but all other countries where wire is used. In this way we have succeeded, as we own one of the best ore mines in the Mesaba range. We have our own coal mines and coke furnaces; so that you will see that we start at the bottom and have all the

profits that there are from ore to finished material. Our business is entirely satisfactory and the company is doing very well.

EFFECT UPON WAGES.

On March 1, 1899, all of the employees of the American Steel and Wire Company who were getting less than \$2.50 per day had their wages advanced. Those getting \$1.50 or less got an advance of 10 per cent.; those getting from \$1.50 to \$2 got an advance of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; those getting from \$2 to \$2.50 got an advance of 5 per cent. The company is said to have 36,000 employees. How many of those were affected by the advance is not stated.

In July, 1898, the old trust reduced wages in many, if not in all, of its mills. In Newcastle, Pa., the reduction was 10 per cent.; in Cleveland, Ohio, $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. for fine wire drawers; in Anderson, Ind., 10 per cent. for the rod men, 45 per cent. for the wire drawers, and nail men required to run twelve instead of seven machines. At Anderson, Ind., Findlay, Ohio, Cleveland, Ohio, Salem, Ohio, and Beaver Falls, Pa., the mills were closed because the workmen would not stand the heavy reductions in wages. At Cleveland the men were still on strike in October, and the trust, according to reports, was refusing to arbitrate. At Duncansville, Pa., the recently acquired plant of the new Wire Trust suspended work indefinitely on March 25, 1899, throwing a large force of workmen out of employment.

EFFECT UPON PRICES.

When the Illinois trust was formed the prices of wire were raised from \$1 to \$5 per ton. The prices of wire nails were advanced 15 or 20 cents per keg. In September and October, owing to competition from outsiders, prices had declined somewhat. On November 3 wire nails were selling in car lots at Pittsburg at \$1.30 per keg. Barbed wire, painted at \$1.40 and galvanized at \$1.75 per hundred pounds.

Prices advanced rapidly when the new trust was formed in January, 1899. On May 19 wire nails were selling at \$2.10 per keg in car lots at Pittsburg, and barbed wire, painted at \$2.20 and galvanized at \$2.70.

THE AMERICAN FELT COMPANY.

One of the minor combinations, which is perhaps typical for this class, is the Felt Trust, incorporated in New Jersey last February, with an authorized capital of \$5,000,000—\$2,000,000 preferred—and a bonded indebtedness of \$500,000.

The felting concerns which make up this trust are the American Felt Company, the name under which the Alfred Dolge mill at Dolgeville, N. Y.,

has recently been operated; Tingle, House & Co., Hawthorn Mills, at Glenville, Conn.; Taylor & Bloodgood's Essex Mills at Picton, N. J.; Waite's Mills, of Franklin, Mass.; and the Boston Felting Company of Boston.

The Dolge felt plant is considered the most valuable of all the properties consolidated. It sold recently, at forced sale, for \$112,000, \$10,000 of which was for the machinery. The contents of Dolge's office and store in New York City, now the main office of the trust, sold in the same way for \$40,840.

As the mills at Franklin and Boston, Mass., are small and probably worth not more than \$25,000 each, the Dolge plant probably constitutes more than one-third of the total value of the assets of the new American Felt Company. It is improbable, therefore, that the assets, outside of "good-will," will more than cover the amount of the bonds.

OBJECTS AND EFFECTS OF THIS TRUST.

The trust virtually controls the manufacture of felt goods in this country. There is, however, vigorous foreign competition, especially in the higher grades of piano-felts. This competition is said to have increased rapidly since the formation of the trust. This is somewhat remarkable, as the combination has not advanced the prices of high-grade felts. Those in the trade say that the use of imported felt by manufacturers of high-grade pianos has increased rapidly since the formation of the trust.

RECENT TRUSTS MUCH ALIKE.

These are but brief sketches of a few specimens of the hundreds of trusts now known to exist in this country. How well one of the recent trusts serves as a sample of others was illustrated a few days ago. A leading paper in New York obtained the facts in regard to the stock, value of assets, etc., of one of the new and important trusts, without mentioning its name. It was shown to contain a great amount of water. Immediately those concerned in three different trusts pounced upon the editor for singling out their particular trust for attack. But neither of these three trusts was the one about which the editor had obtained the facts.

Some of the older trusts, like whisky and tobacco, are becoming very complex. There are now several tobacco combinations, which are really but departments of one great trust. One department makes only plug tobacco; another only cigarettes, etc. No competition exists between these departments. The whisky and wire trusts operate in the same way.

It is expected that the Carnegie Steel Com-

pany, the Federal Steel Company, the National Steel Company, and the many others of the great steel, iron, wire, and tin-plate companies will soon unite under one general management. Many of the directors of each of these companies are also directors of several other companies in this group. The same holds true to some extent of the different paper companies. The news, writing, glazed, and tissue paper interests are likely soon to be closely connected.

PERMANENCY OF TRUSTS.

The socialists declare that we are traveling the road that leads to state monopoly, and that trusts, by cheapening production and putting the savings into their own instead of the people's pockets, are depriving the wage-earner of more and more of his share of the product and thereby hastening the breakdown of our present competitive system of production and distribution.

It may be that we will find that there is not too much competition in producing things, but that our methods of distributing them must be brought up to date and adapted to modern conditions.

Not only are corporate trusts likely to remain with us, but they are almost certain to grow in extent. Their number may decrease from the tendency of big ones to gobble up little ones, as is now being done in the iron and steel industries, where a single billion-dollar trust may soon control all branches of these industries in the entire process of manufacture, from the ore mines to the merchants and consumers.

That many of the recently organized trusts will fail is reasonably certain. That their collapse will cause great disturbance in the business and financial world is more than probable. But to suppose that their failure will put us back to the single-mill system of production of even ten years ago is absurd. The history of our great Western railroads will probably repeat itself in our over-capitalized industrials. Most of the present corporate trusts will probably fall into receivers' hands and be reorganized. Reference to the list of trusts printed herewith will show that nearly all of the trusts of ten years ago have been reorganized, some, like the cordage combination, more than once. And yet in almost no instance have mills once brought under one management been separated. On the contrary, the reorganizations often contain not only all of the mills in the old trust, but many of the new mills which have sprung up to compete with it. This reorganization, amalgamation, and consolidation process is going on continually. The reorganizations, however, are fewer in prosperous than in hard times.



"CROMWELL ON HIS FARM."

(From the picture by Ford Madox Brown. By permission of F. Hollyer, Esq.)

OLIVER CROMWELL AND THE NATIONAL CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY W. T. STEAD.

... We are traitors to our sires
Smothering in their holy ashes Freedom's new-lit altar-fires.
Shall we make their creed our jailer? Shall we in our haste
to slay
From the tomb of the old prophets steal the funeral lamps
away,
To light up the martyr fagots round the prophets of to-day?
New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good
uncouth:
They must upward still and onward, who would keep abreast
of Truth;
So before us gleam her camp-fires! we ourselves must Pil-
grims be,
Launch our *Mayflower* and steer boldly through the desperate
winter sea,
Nor attempt the Future's portal with the Past's blood-rusted
key.—LOWELL.

"Cromwell, thou shouldst be living at this hour;
England has need of thee."

WORDSWORTH'S familiar words but embody the cry of the heart which springs irresistibly from every English-speaking man whenever and wherever he finds himself entangled in an inextricable coil of difficulties, or face to face with dangers which he sees not either how to escape or to overcome. . If at the tercentenary of Cromwell's birth, which was celebrated by the free churchmen with such enthusiasm, their pious tribute to his memory found comparatively slight echo outside non-conformist circles, that is simply due to the fact that at the moment England is peaceful and prosperous.

OUR HERO-SAINT.

Cromwell is no fair-weather saint. When all goes well with us we are apt to forget him, and the baser souls among us even treat his memory as their ancestors treated his corpse. But whenever the nation finds itself in deep waters, when our security is threatened by foreign enemies and our peace by the lawless forces of anarchy in high places or in low, then there springs instinctively from the popular heart the yearning cry for Cromwell. Papist, ritualist, republican, or socialist, however much they may abhor this, that, or the other act or characteristic of the lord protector, forget them all when in extremity. Then they only remember that Cromwell was, of all men who ever spoke our tongue, the supreme embodiment of masterful practical common sense. He was the man in whom hope

shone as a pillar of fire after it had gone out in other men. He succeeded where all others had failed. He was conscious rectitude triumphant, the hero-saint of English patriotism.

A LATTER-DAY ST. GEORGE.

All that St. George was to our ancestors who fought at Crécy and Poitiers, Cromwell has come to be to us. Consciously at all times to the minority, but unconsciously and in a very real sense to all "who speak the tongue which Shakespeare spake, the faith and morals hold which Milton held," Cromwell, despite the centuries of persistent and malignant calumny, has ever remained "our chief of men." There are those who will read these lines and who will scoff and blaspheme at the claim which I am putting forward. But these very men, if they were but afflicted in due measure, would put away their mockery and profess the faith which we all of us hold. There is no man in the long annals of a history by no means deficient in shining names who has imprinted his name so deeply upon the national memory. Everything that the crown and the Church and the literary class could do to convert his glory into shame was done. No lie was too foul, no outrage too mean, no insult too brutal to be used against him by the men who for two centuries ruled our land in church and in state. But after two hundred years the mists have rolled away. The very existence of his detractors is only remembered by the reflected light of his glory, of which he has enough to spare even for his foes, and every one has discovered that our race has produced no greater man.

THE MOST TYPICAL ENGLISHMAN.

"It is time for us to regard him as what he really was, with all his physical and moral audacity, with his tenderness and spiritual yearnings, in the world of action what Shakespeare was in the world of thought, the greatest because the most typical Englishman of all time." But even before the cultured representative of Oxford University proclaimed that it was time for us to recognize the man as he was, the popular instinct had accorded him that supreme place in the national Valhalla which all nations award to the hero who most absolutely fulfills their ideal of the



"BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR."

(From the picture by Ernest Crofts, R.A. By permission of James Dole, Esq.)

deliverer, the patriot, and the hero. His indeed has long been

"A name Earth wears forever next her heart;
One of the few that have a right to rank
With the true makers."

All this, which to careless Gallios and rabid sacerdotalists may seem exaggerated nonsense, will not seem even to them one whit too strong in the years of trouble which are to come. Of which confident prediction let them take due note!

A CONFESSION.

The memory of Cromwell has from my earliest boyhood been the inspiration of my life. That was not surprising, for I was the son of an Independent minister, and, as Southey noted with amazement and disgust, the cult of the lord protector has always been a note of the genuine Independent. To say that he ranked far and away before all the saints in the calendar was to say nothing. My devotion to the apostles and the evangelists was but tepid compared with my veneration and affection for the uncrowned king of English puritanism. Nay, I can to this day well remember the serious searchings of heart I experienced when I woke up to a consciousness of the fact that I felt a far keener and more passionate personal love for Oliver Cromwell than I did even for the divine figure of Jesus of Nazareth. Cromwell was so near, so human, and so real. And above all, he was still the

mark for hatred, scoffing, and abuse. You never really love any one to the uttermost until you feel that other people hate him and misjudge him; and the conventional reverence with which Christendom spoke of the founder of Christianity concealed from the lad in his teens the persistence of the continuing Passion and Crucifixion of our Lord.

THE STORM OF DROGHEDA.

Hence the things others found in him most blameworthy came to me by the natural process common to all who defend with a whole heart one whom they love, more praiseworthy than the best actions of his foes. The execution of the Man of Blood made January 30 a red-letter day in my calendar, and to this day I feel a thrill of gratitude and pride whenever I pass the banqueting house at Whitehall. As for the much-denounced massacres of Tredagh and of Wexford, which so mightily offend those who condone and apologize for the massacre of the wounded at Omdurman, they were measures of severity absolutely justified by the ethics of the time and by the practical consideration of military expediency. The slaying of a garrison that has refused to surrender is not according to our ideas, even in the days of Kitchener. But looking at the matter from the standpoint of Cromwell's contemporaries, accepting as he did with the utmost sincerity the fact that the men whom he slew—for the most part Englishmen, by the way, let

our Irish friends remember—had joined hands with the perpetrators of a cold-blooded massacre far worse than that of St. Bartholomew, it is obvious to every impartial mind that his action affords no justification for the monstrous outcry which has been kept up for two centuries. It will die away in due time, like most of the ravings of the vengeful royalist, who, being unable to vanquish him when alive, calumniated him when dead.

HIS MESSAGE FOR OUR TIMES.

This being my mood from boyhood up, it is natural with what exultation I hailed the proposal to commemorate the tercentenary of his birth as a great national event. I attended one of the great meetings in the City Temple and I took part in the celebrations at Huntingdon. I have read most of the newly published Cromwellian literature and have carefully reperused Carlyle's collection of his letters and speeches. And the net result of it all is that certain things seem borne in upon me which seem to be somewhat strangely at variance, both with the conventional estimate of Cromwell and the Cromwellian tradition which is most sedulously fostered by the non-conformists of our day. But without further preamble than this, which was necessary to enable the reader to make due allowance and subtraction for the personal equation in this article, I will proceed to say what seems to me the message of Cromwell to this our day and generation.

I.—NON-CONFORMISTS AND THE NATIONAL CHURCH.

The tercentenary celebration last month was almost entirely in the hands of the free churches. Cromwell was hailed as the non-conformist king, and the occasion was undoubtedly turned to account as a demonstration by the dissenters against the state Church. It may therefore be surprising to some people when I say that I took occasion of the tercentenary celebration at Huntingdon to publicly propound the view that the time had come for all non-conformists to claim their privileges and exercise their authority as members of the national Church. The following is a report of my observations in the Wesleyan church, Huntingdon, on the evening of Thursday, April 27 :

We are all, I suppose, here more or less believers in the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England. But although we all believe in that, I think I am speaking the conviction of almost every leading non-conformist who has taken a part in the struggle for the liberation of religion from state patronage and control when I say that we do not seem to be

getting much "forarder." . . . Has it ever occurred to you, as it occurred to Cromwell in his time, that if we cannot get our ideals realized on that road we may as well try another road? What did Cromwell do? He did not disestablish the Church. He was opposed to abolishing tithes. He said to himself, "The main thing is to recognize that this is a national institution, and we have got a responsibility as the governing power in the nation to see that every national institution makes for righteousness." . . . Cromwell approached the question of the state Church from the point of view of its being a national institution, and a national institution for which he, as ruler of the nation, was responsible before God and man. He felt himself bound to see that it worked for righteousness; and therefore, instead of washing his hands of the whole concern, he said: "It is my duty to do what I can to weed out dissolute ministers and the more or less disreputable hirelings who disgrace the ministry, and to replace them by godly, upright men who will be a teaching ministry and endeavor to lead this nation in the paths of righteousness." I should like you to consider whether we had not better follow his example. As free churchmen and as non-conformists we no doubt think it would be better for us if we could wash our hands of the whole business. We have agitated, we have demonstrated, we have strained our strength for thirty years and more to try to wash our hands of it. But we have failed. We have at this present moment a national Church on our hands, a national Church which is proud beyond anything else of being national. You and I are parts of the nation, and so it is our Church as much as it is the archbishop of Canterbury's. Therefore, as we have no longer the lord protector of the commonwealth of England to look after the matter, do you not think that it might be just as well if we who claimed to have inherited some of his principles and a little of his pluck should say, "Very well; we are now going to take this business in hand ourselves. We are going to take as much part in the management and control of the so-called national Church as if we had all been regenerated in baptism by her clergy and confirmed by her bishops. We have a right to do it as citizens; we have the power to do it as electors; and if we have the right and if we have the power and we do not do it, the sin will lie at our doors?" "Well," I think I hear you say, "but what would you do?" To begin with, I would not worry my head about the ritualists. I think that all the fuss which has been made about the ritualists is being made about a matter of infinite insignificance. We know that on every side one-half, sometimes nine-tenths, of the people whom we meet in the world never even ask themselves for one moment whether there is a God or whether there is a hereafter for their souls. Whole classes and masses of our people are so steeped in materialism and sensuality that it seems to me positively wicked to make so much fuss about all this symbolic haberdashery and theatricalities of the ritualists. The great thing is to get all the people who do believe that there is a God and that there is a hereafter to work together and to endeavor to combat the materialism, the debauchery, and the devilry which abounds on every side. I am always distressed when I hear good men like Mr. Price Hughes and others wasting their strength (of which they have not got an ounce to spare) in pommeling the Pope or in denouncing the ritualists in the Church of England, when all the time the field is white unto the harvest and men are dying and perishing in their sins. Therefore, I say,

it is not to attain the infinitesimally small aim of turning a few hundred ritualists out of the Church of England that I am putting forward this suggestion. We ought to have a much higher, nobler aim before us than that. What we have got to do is to repeal the act of uniformity, to do away with all religious tests in the establishment which would prevent any good earnest man being called to the ministry in that establishment. The institution, being a national institution, should be worked upon national lines, and not upon those of a sect. Let us henceforth exert ourselves in this direction. If we are compelled—and, mark you, it is against our principles and against our will—but if we are compelled to have a state Church, we must recognize that we are part of that Church. Then let us see to it that that Church is no longer cabined, cribbed, and confined by tests and acts of uniformity or anything that debars an honest, good man from serving his fellow-men in the Church to which as a citizen he must of necessity belong. If we act on that principle, we shall at least be acting on Oliver Cromwell's lines.

The Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, the president of the Wesleyan Conference, who spoke immediately after I had sat down, expressed in the most clear and explicit terms his entire concurrence with this suggested change of front on the part of the free churchmen of England. Mr. Price Hughes demurred to the exceeding breadth of my conception of the nationalization of the Church—for I cannot conceive him assenting under any circumstances to the appointment of a Roman Catholic, a Unitarian, or a Jew to the moral, religious, and social oversight of a parish—but that is a matter of detail. Of course, Oliver Cromwell in the seventeenth century would have shrunk from that entire repeal of tests which alone can make the establishment a national as opposed to a sectarian institution, but we have to deal with these questions according to the spirit and according to the letter. His boldly avowed determination to protect liberty of conscience, to tolerate even Anabaptists and Quakers, was far more opposed to the prevailing mood of the majority in his day than the proposal to complete the work of the Reformation, by removing those theological and ecclesiastical tests which the nation has outgrown, is alien to the spirit of our times.

II.—HOW CROMWELL DEALT WITH THE CHURCH.

It is worth while, considering the momentous nature of the change of front here suggested, to recall what Cromwell did and what Cromwell said on the subject of the relation of church and state.

First, then, let me quote Mr. Carlyle's account of the way in which Cromwell tried to give effect to his conception of the kind of church England needed in his day :

March 20, 1653-54.—By the instrument of government, the lord protector with his council, till once the

first Parliament were got together, was empowered not only to raise moneys for the needful supplies, but also "to make laws and ordinances for the peace and welfare of these nations ;" which latter faculty he is by no means slack to exercise. Of his "sixty ordinances" passed in this manner before the Parliament met, which are well approved of by good judges, we cannot here afford to say much ; but there is one bearing date as above which must not be omitted. First ordinance relating to the settlement of a gospel ministry in this nation ; ordinance of immense interest to Puritan England at that time. An object which has long been on the anvil, this same "settlement ;" much labored at and striven for ever since the Long Parliament began ; and still, as all confess, no tolerable result has been attained. Yet is it not the greatest object—properly the soul of all these struggles and confused wrastlings and battlings since we first met here ? For the thing men are taught or get to believe, that is the thing they will infallibly do ; the kind of "gospel" you settle, kind of "ministry" you settle, or do not settle, the root of all is there ! Let us see what the lord protector can accomplish in this business.

Episcopacy being put down and Presbytery not set up and church government for years past being all a church anarchy, the business is somewhat difficult to deal with. The lord protector, as we find, takes it up in simplicity and integrity, intent upon the real heart or practical outcome of it, and makes a rather satisfactory arrangement. Thirty-eight chosen men, the acknowledged flower of English puritanism, are nominated by this ordinance of March 20, nominated a supreme commission for the trial of public preachers. Any person pretending to hold a church living or levy tithes or clergy dues in England has first to be tried and approved by these men. Thirty-eight, as Scobell teaches us : nine are laymen, our friend old Francis Rouse at the head of them ; twenty-nine are clergy. His highness, we find, has not much inquired of what sect they are ; has known them to be Independents, to be Presbyterians, one or two of them to be even Anabaptists ; has been careful only of one characteristic, that they were men of wisdom and had the root of the matter in them. Owen, Goodwin, Sterry, Marshall, Manton, and others not yet quite unknown to men were among these clerical triers : the acknowledged flower of spiritual England at that time ; and intent, as Oliver himself was, with an awful earnestness, on actually having the Gospel taught to England.

This is the first branch or limb of Oliver's scheme for church government, this ordinance of March 20, 1653-54. A second, which completes what little he could do in the matter at present, developed itself in August following. By this August ordinance a body of commissioners, distinguished Puritan gentry, distinguished Puritan clergy, are nominated in all counties of England, from fifteen to thirty in each county, who are to inquire into "scandalous, ignorant, insufficient," and otherwise deleterious alarming ministers of the Gospel ; to be a tribunal for judging, for detecting, ejecting them (only in case of ejection, if they have wives, let some small modicum of living be allowed them) ; and to sit there, judging and sifting, till gradually all is sifted clean and can be kept clean. This is the second branch of Oliver's form of church government—this, with the other ordinance, makes at last a kind of practical ecclesiastical arrangement for England.

A very republican arrangement, such as could be made on the sudden ; contains in it, however, the germ

or essence of all conceivable arrangements, that of worthy men to judge of the worth of men; and was found in practice to work well. As, indeed, any arrangement will work well when the men in it have the root of the matter at heart; and, alas! all arrangements, when the men in them have not, work ill and not well. Of the lay commissioners, from fifteen to thirty in each county, it is remarked that not a few are political enemies of Oliver's: friends or enemies of his,

they were;" so that "many thousands of souls blessed God" for what they had done; and grieved sore when, with the return of the Nell Gwynn defender and his four surplices or what remained of them, it was undone again. And so with these triers and these expurgators both busy and a faithful eye to watch their procedure, we will hope the spiritual teaching apparatus of England stood now on a better footing than usual and actually succeeded in teaching somewhat.



"CROMWELL LOOKING AT THE DEAD KING."

(From the picture by Paul Delaroche in the Museum at Nismes.)

Oliver hopes they are men of pious probity and friends to the Gospel in England. My lord General Fairfax, the Presbyterian; Thomas Scot, of the Long Parliament, the fanatical republican; Lords Wharton, Say, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Colonel Robert Blake, mayor of Hursley, Dunch of Pusey, Montague of Hinchinbrook, and other persons known to us, are of these commissioners. Richard Baxter, who seldom sat, is one of the clergy for his county: he testifies, not in the willingest manner, being no friend to Oliver, that these commissioners, of one sort and the other, with many faults, did sift out the deleterious alarming ministers of the Gospel, and put in the salutary in their stead, with very considerable success—giving us "able, serious preachers who lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion soever

III.—HOW CROMWELL'S PLAN WORKED.

So much for Carlyle's description of what Cromwell tried to do. Now let us see Cromwell's own description of the success which attended his labors. Of his right and duty to do it he entertained not the slightest doubt. He always put religion first. As he told his Parliament on one occasion:

Of the two greatest concerns that God hath in the world, the one is that of religion and of the just preservation of the professors of it; to give them all

due and just liberty; and to assert the truth of God: the other thing cared for is the civil liberty and interest of the nation. Which, though it is, and indeed I think ought to be, subordinate to the more peculiar interest of God—yet it is the next best God hath given men in this world; and if well cared for, it is better than any rock to fence men in their other interests. Besides, if any whosoever think the interest of Christians and the interest of the nation inconsistent, “or two different things,” I wish my soul may never enter into their secrets!

When he met his Parliament in 1656 Cromwell thus expounded his policy in relation to religion:

I will tell you the truth: our practice since the last Parliament hath been to let all this nation see that whatever pretensions to religion would continue quiet, peaceable, they should enjoy conscience and liberty to themselves, and not to make religion a pretense for arms and blood. Truly we have suffered them, and that cheerfully, so to enjoy their own liberties. Whosoever is contrary “and not peaceable,” let the pretense be never so specious, if it tend to combination, to interests and factions, we shall not care, by the grace of God, whom we meet withal, though never so specious, “if they be not quiet!” And truly I am against all “liberty of conscience” repugnant to this. If men will profess—be they those under baptism, be they those of the Independent judgment simply, or of the Presbyterian judgment—in the name of God encourage them, countenance them; so long as they do plainly continue to be thankful to God and to make use of the liberty given them to enjoy their own consciences! For, as it was said to-day, undoubtedly “this is the peculiar interest all this while contended for.”

Men who believe in Jesus Christ—that is, the form that gives being to true religion, “namely,” to faith in Christ and walking in a profession answerable to that faith—men who believe the remission of sins through the blood of Christ and free justification by the blood of Christ, who live upon the grace of God, those men who are certain they are so [faith of assurance]—“they” are members of Jesus Christ and are to him the apple of his eye. Whoever hath this faith, let his form be what it will; he walking peaceably, without prejudice to others under other forms, it is a debt due to God and Christ; and he will require it if that Christian may not enjoy his liberty.

This, therefore, I think verily, if it may be under consideration for reformation—I say, if it please God to give you and me hearts to keep this straight, “it may be a great means” in giving countenance to just ministers [in such semi-articulate uneasy way does his highness hustle himself over into the discussion of a new topic], in countenancing a just maintenance to them, by tithes or otherwise. For my part I should think I were very treacherous if I took away tithes till I see the legislative power settle maintenance to ministers another way. But whoever they be that shall contend to destroy tithes, it doth as surely cut their “the ministers” throats as it is a drift to take tithes away before another mode of maintenance, or way of preparation toward such, be had. Truly I think all such practices and proceedings should be discountenanced. I have heard it from as gracious a minister as any is in England; I have had it professed, that it would be a far greater satisfaction to them to have maintenance another way—if the state will provide it. Therefore I

think for the keeping of the Church and people of God and professors in their several forms of this liberty—I think as it “that of tithes or some other maintenance” hath been a thing that is the root of visible profession, the upholding of this I think you will find a blessing such—if God keep your hearts to keep things in this posture and balance which is so honest and so necessary.

Truly there might be some other things offered to you in point of reformation: a reformation of manners, to wit—but I had forgot one thing which I must remember! It is the Church’s work, you know, in some measure; yet give me leave to ask, and I appeal unto your consciences, whether there hath not been an honest care taken for the ejecting of scandalous ministers and for the bringing in of them that have passed an approbation. I dare say such an approbation as never passed in England before! And give me leave to say, it hath been with this difference from the old practice that neither the parson nor doctor in the university hath been reckoned scamp enough by those that made these approbations, though I can say, too, that they have great esteem for learning.

I think there hath been a conscience exercised, both by myself and the ministers, toward them that have been approved. I may say such an one as I truly believe was never known in England “in regard to this matter.” And I do verily believe that God hath, for the ministry, a very great seed in the youth “now” in the universities, who instead of studying books study their own hearts. I do believe, as God hath made a very great and flourishing seed to that purpose, so this ministry of England—I think in my very conscience that God will bless and favor it, and hath blessed it to the gaining of very many souls.

It is evident, further, that whatever opinions might prevail elsewhere, the lord protector was thoroughly well satisfied with the work of his hands.

Green, in his “History of the English People,” expresses his concurrence with Cromwell. He says:

Even by the confession of Cromwell’s opponents the plan worked well. It furnished the country with “able, serious preachers,” Baxter tells us, “who lived a godly life of what tolerable opinion so ever they were,” and as both Presbyterian and Independent ministers were presented to livings at the will of their patrons, it solved, so far as practical working was concerned, the problem of a religious union among the Puritans on the base of a wide variety of Christian opinion. From the Church which was thus reorganized all power of interference with faiths differing from its own was resolutely withheld. Save in his dealings with the Episcopalians, whom he looked on as a political danger, Cromwell remained true throughout to the cause of religious liberty.

Mr. Frederic Harrison mentions it among other ordinances which were “a real, wise, and moderate set of reforms.”

Mr. Gardiner maintains that the scheme, although put in force by Cromwell, was in reality based upon the proposals of the Rev. John Owen, but beyond saying that it “constituted the established Church in an unprecedented way,” he makes no comment on its working.



"CROMWELL AT THE BOOTHAM BAR."

(From the picture by Ernest Crofts, R.A. By permission of James Dole, Esq.)

IV.—THE CROMWELLIAN.

Cromwell seems to have had more complacency in his church reform than in any other department of the state. When he addressed the second Protectorate Parliament, he dwelt fondly upon the success of his great church ordinance. He said :

Truly we have settled very much of the business of the ministry, and I wish that be not an aggravation of our fault ; I wish it be not ! But I must needs say, if I have anything to rejoice in before the Lord in this world as having done any good or service, "it is this." I can say it from my heart ; and I know I say the truth, let any man say what he will to the contrary—he will give me leave to enjoy my own opinion on it and my own conscience and heart ; and "to" dare bear my testimony to it, there hath not been such a service to England since the Christian religion was perfect in England ! I dare be bold to say it ; however there may have, here and there, been passion and mistakes. And the ministers themselves, take the generality of them—they will tell "you" it is beside their instructions "if they have fallen into passions and mistakes," if they have meddled with civil matters in their operations as triers ! And we did adopt the thing upon that account ; we did not trust upon doing what we did *virtute instituti*, as if "these triers were" *jure divino*, but as a civil good. But so we end in this : we "knew not and" know not better how to keep the ministry good and to augment it in goodness than by putting such men to be triers. Men of known integrity and piety ; orthodox men and faithful. We knew not how better to answer our duty to God and the nation and the people of God, in that respect, than by doing what we did.

And, I dare say, if the grounds upon which we went will not justify us, the issue and event of it doth abundantly justify us ; God having had exceeding glory by it—in the generality, I am confident, forty-fold ! For as heretofore the men who were admitted into the ministry in times of Episcopacy—alas, what pitiful certificates served to make a man a minister ! If any man could understand Latin and Greek he was sure to be admitted—as if he spake Welsh ; which in those days went for Hebrew with a good many ! Certainly the poorest thing in the world would serve a turn, and a man was admitted upon such an account ; aye, and upon a less. I am sure the admission granted to such places since has been under this character as the rule : that they must not admit a man unless they were able to discern something of the grace of God in him. "Grace of God," which was to be inquired for as not foolishly nor senselessly, but so far as men could judge according to the rules of charity. Such and such a man, of whose good life and conversation they could have a very good testimony from four or five of the neighboring ministers who knew him—he could not yet be admitted unless he could give a very good testimony of the grace of God in him. And to this I say I must speak my conscience in it—though a great many are angry at it—nay, if all are angry at it—for how shall you please everybody ?

When the Parliament reassembled for its second session in 1658, he once more indulged in eulogistic references to the good work done by the triers :

We are not without the murmurings of many people who turn all this grace and goodness into wormwood—who indeed are disappointed by the works of God. And those men are of several ranks and conditions ; great ones, lesser ones—of all sorts. Men that are of the episcopal spirit, with all the branches, the root and the branches ; who gave themselves a fatal blow in this place when they would needs make a "protestation that no laws were good which were made by this house and the House of Commons in their absence ;" and so without injury to others cut themselves off ! "Men of an episcopal spirit : " indeed, men that know not God ; that know not how to account upon the works of God, how to measure them out ; but will trouble nations for an interest which is but mixed, at the best—made up of iron and clay, like the feet of Nebuchadnezzar's image : whether they were more civil or spiritual was hard to say. But their continuance was like to be known beforehand : iron and clay make no good mixtures—they are not durable at all !

You have now a godly ministry ; you have a knowing ministry ; such a one as, without vanity be it spoken, the world has not. Men knowing the things of God and able to search into the things of God—by that only which can fathom those things in some measure. The spirit of a beast knows not the things of a man, nor doth the spirit of man know the things of God ! "The things of God are known by the Spirit." Truly I will remember but one thing of those, "the misguided persons now cast out from us." The greatest persecution hath been of the people of God—men really of the spirit of God, as I think very experience hath now sufficiently demonstrated !

We have here clearly enough presented to us the way in which Cromwell reformed the Church in his day. He deemed it incumbent upon him, in his capacity as civil ruler, to settle what form of church government should be set up.

Addressing his first Parliament on the subject, Cromwell declared his mind with his usual uncompromising emphasis. He said :

So long as there is liberty of conscience for the supreme magistrate to exercise his conscience in erecting what form of church government he is satisfied he should set up, why should he not give the like liberty to others ? Liberty of conscience is a natural right ; and he that would have it ought to give it, having "himself" liberty to settle what he likes for the public. Indeed, that hath been one of the vanities of our contest. Every sect saith : "Oh, give me liberty !" But give it him, and to his power he will not yield it to anybody else. Where is our ingenuousness ? "Liberty of conscience"—truly that is a thing ought to be very reciprocal ! The magistrate hath his supremacy ; he may settle religion—"that is, church government"—according to his conscience.

V.—WHAT MIGHT BE DONE TO-DAY.

So far Cromwell. Now for the bearing of all this upon our problems. The power of the supreme magistrate is now vested in the hands of the electorate. We of the free churches who object to the union of church and state in England are unable either to sever that union or to

rid ourselves of the responsibility which the possession of authority entails upon us. We are responsible for making the best of the establishment. Nor can we shake off that responsibility. The question is, therefore, fairly raised, What are we going to do about it?

The answer to this question that is suggested by Cromwell's precedent is to leave the whole establishment untouched, tithes and all, but to widen, to broaden, and to render more efficient and national the ministry of its clergy. As Cromwell broadened the Church so as to render it possible for any good and serious preacher not actively in opposition to the commonwealth to hold a living to which he might be presented, so we, inheritors of the Cromwellian tradition, might carry his principle to its legitimate development and open the ministry of the establishment to all good men without narrowing the portal of the Church by exacting any theological or ecclesiastical tests whatever. We could again constitute a commission of triers, in which, if the Church is liberally nationalized, we should place the official chiefs of all the religious denominations in England, including Cardinal Vaughan, Dr. Martineau, and Rabbi Adler, together with laymen like Mr. Frederic Harrison, Mr. John Morley, and Mr. Arthur Balfour.

The new clergy would have to be men of good morals, and they would have to give such testimony of the grace of God as to satisfy their examiners that they would not abuse their position in the interest of any sect; that they would honestly promote religious liberty and oppose with unwearied zeal the social inequalities and inhuman conditions of life which disfigure the England of to-day. A commission of expurgators would be a useful complement to the board of triers. They could be armed with absolute authority to eject any minister who after his appointment proved himself to be unfit for his post, either by gross, evil living, persistent indolence, indifference to the social welfare of his parishioners, or by failing to hold the balance fairly between all religious bodies in his parish. A single act of Parliament would be sufficient at once to repeal the act of uniformity, and vest the control of the clergy in a couple of commissions similar to those of Oliver's time. The new clergy could preach what they pleased and dress as they liked, so long as they did not transgress the fundamental articles and refuse to be common servants of the whole of the people without any distinction of sect or party. The Church thus nationalized would become more and more a great coöperative society for doing good, an agency for promoting mercy, justice, righteousness, and humanity among the people. Its min-

isters would constantly labor to unite all who love in the service of all who suffer, and there would be no longer a monopoly of the edifices and endowments of the national Church by a mere ecclesiastical or dogmatic sect.

In carrying out the new reformation non-conformists would do no violence to their convictions. They would maintain their spiritual organizations, and so would the really spiritually minded members of the present establishment. Of course no high churchman would consent to regard such a nationalized establishment without doctrine or ecclesiastical pretensions as the spiritual Church. They would naturally found their own Anglican sect and run it at their own charges. The bulk of English churchmen would remain where they are, nor would they see much difference in the establishment after it had been transformed into a national society for doing good, excepting that they would find the new parson constantly trying to break down barriers of sectarian pride and exclusiveness which the old parson was busy building up. Life in England would certainly be sweeter and happier if such a change could be brought about.

In view of the chaotic and anarchical state of things now prevailing in the establishment, who knows but Oliver Cromwell's plan, modified to suit the nineteenth century, may not commend itself to the common sense of his countrymen?

VI.—PRECEDENCE AND COMMON SENSE.

Startling as this proposition may appear to those who have lost even the very conception of the national character of the Church, it will present no inherent difficulties to the comprehension of any one who has followed the historical evolution of religious equality.

At first, the idea of the nationalizing of the Church was sought by compelling all citizens to profess belief and to conform to the ritual of the Anglican establishment. That was no doubt logical, but it had the disadvantage of being absolutely inconsistent with the principle of liberty of conscience. When that principle asserted itself, the attempt to reconcile it with the original conception of the national Church was made by the rigorous imposition of tests upon all those who served the state in any position of authority or received from the state any endowment or emolument. Non-conformists were only tolerated as aliens in the commonwealth of our English Israel. The system of universal tests from the cradle to the grave reminded them at every turn that their position was one of tolerance, not of right. They were the *Uitlanders* of Britain. But by degrees the compromise by which the advo-

cates of the old theory of the national Church had endeavored to reconcile a modified recognition of religious liberty with their own belief in the absolute identity of the Church and the nation began to break down. First one position of influence in the national councils and then another was freed from tests. Protestant dissenters were admitted to Parliament, then Roman Catholics, after them Jews, and finally atheists. As it was with the House of Commons so it was with municipal corporations. The elaborate provision by which the local administration of the affairs of state was monopolized by the members of the Anglican sect was swept away. The Episcopalian monopolies of marriage, of registering the birth and officiating at the grave of the citizen shared the same fate. Still more pertinent as a precedent was the abolition of religious tests in the universities, which were regarded as the training colleges for the Church. Everywhere the practice of imposing religious tests as a condition for accepting the service of a citizen or the conferring a privilege or a position or a salary by the state has gone by the board—excepting in the national establish-

ment for the religious teaching of the English people.

It is probable that in church as in state we shall have to proceed by steps and stages. From a logical point of view there is no halting-place between absolute enforcement of one form of religion on all citizens and the absolute recognition of the right of all the citizens to share equally to fixing the religion to be taught by the state establishment. The only alternative is disestablishment and disendowment. But the English are not logical, and it is probable that the first demand that will be made upon the Anglican Church will be the repeal of all tests excepting adhesion, let us say, to the Apostles' Creed. This would exclude the agnostic, the atheist, the Jew, and the Unitarian, and although it might not exclude the Roman Catholic, a special provision might be made forbidding the sworn subjects of the Pope accepting ministry in the pulpits of the national Church. Personally I regard all such stipulations as illogical and indefensible; but I am now considering the probable course of events if the Cromwellian suggestion gained acceptance among our people. Ultimately, no doubt, we should see



CROMWELL DICTATING THE REPLY TO THE SPANISH AMBASSADORS.

the principle of the civic Church accepted in its entirety, and no good and capable person would be disqualified for service in the state church because of his theological opinions. But it will be time enough to talk about that when we have placed the national character of the church on as broad a foundation as it rested in the time of the commonwealth.

Of course there will be great outcry against this profanation of the idea of a church. I do not mean to deny that in the real spiritual conception of the Church the proposed creedless society for doing good would not be a church. A church in Cromwell's sense was a community of believers in Jesus Christ, each individually converted to God, and joined together in a holy fellowship for the purpose of getting the will of God done in the world. Such a church can never be national until all the members of the nation are individually converted to God. The present Anglican body is so far from realizing that ideal that the very conception of a church as consisting in a company of saved persons each of whom has experienced a personal change of heart, and is publicly pledged to united service to save the world, would probably be rejected by the majority of its clergy. Therefore while I should shrink from any proposal to found a national church as blasphemous and Erastian, I see no objection in transforming an Episcopalian sect which calls itself a national church into something that would be at least national and not sectarian.

The real Church of God in the Christian sense would be then, as now, a thing apart from the national establishment. Its members, conforming or non-conforming, would maintain their own organizations. Cromwell was most particular to distinguish between God's peculiar interest and his general interest. "His peculiar, his most peculiar, interest was his church, the communion of the faithful followers of Christ." "His general interest was the concernment of the loving people, not as Christians, but as human creatures between these three nations and the dependencies thereof." "The communion of faithful followers of Christ" can never be confounded with a national establishment. The latter must comprise all living creatures, saved or unsaved, in the three kingdoms and the dependencies thereof. The peculiar interest would be in less danger of being confounded with the general interest under the new régime than it is at present.

Cromwell, it will be objected, excluded Episcopalianism from the establishment. To this it may be replied that in the first place it is not strictly true, and in the second place that whatever exclusion was insisted upon was not because of their faith in Episcopacy as their disloyalty to the commonwealth. In like manner, the only people who would be disqualified for accepting the office of a minister in the reformed Church of England—excepting, of course, men incompetent or immoral—would be those who refused to treat all religious denominations on a footing of absolute equality. For such a man who rejected the fundamental principle of a national establishment in an era of religious equality there could necessarily be no place in the national pulpit. For the principle of religious equality and the absolute right of the citizen to religious liberty would be the corner-stones of the new Church of England, and those who refused to recognize the equal brotherhood of all believers could not accept office under the new régime.

If the proposed change is justified by reference to the precedents of our history, it is not less in harmony with the genius of our practical age. When a number of small competing concerns have been engaged for some time in the attempt to develop some great tract of territory, the invariable course is that, sooner or later, a great syndicate is formed. All the conflicting interests are harmonized by an act of amalgamation, and one gigantic concern, with consolidated capital and united effort, sets itself to accomplish the task which had overstrained the energies of the private companies. What is wanted to-day—and what would be formed to-morrow if Christians really believed as much in the kingdom of heaven as, say, Cecil Rhodes believes in the British empire—is a national religious syndicate for the moral, social, and spiritual regeneration of England. Seats on the board of directors would be allotted in some rough proportion to the number of sittings provided by the amalgamated concerns, and operations would be undertaken on a national scale to overtake the gigantic task which at present lies undone.

But the practical common-sense methods adopted instinctively when Englishmen desire to earn a dividend or extend an empire will probably be scouted as irreverent and profane when the work in hand is the salvation of the whole people. And so it naturally happens the people are not saved.

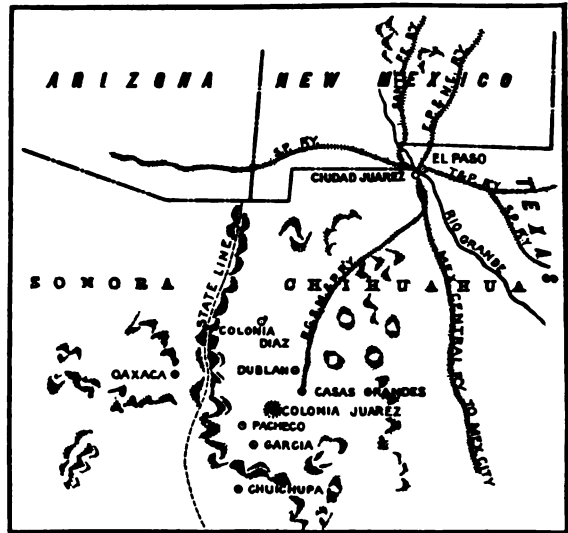
THE MORMONS IN MEXICO.

BY CHARLES W. KINDRICK.

(United States consul at Ciudad Juarez, Mexico.)

THE Edmunds law, enacted in 1882, retarded the growth of Mormonism in the United States. It was the principal barrier raised in later times against the propagandism of Joseph Smith and his followers. At the time the Edmunds law was engrossed upon the statute-books of the country the Mormons, unmolested in the Salt Lake region, had developed and increased in the number of adherents to the faith until the hardships attending the flight from Nauvoo were forgotten in the general growth and prosperity realized in their new abode in the great West.

After the Edmunds act those Mormons who clung tenaciously to a belief in the justifiableness of the plural marriage looked to another land, and were ready to conquer another wilderness or subdue another desert in order to practice without restraint the institution of polygamy. Mexico seemed to afford a new area in which to settle and build homes without that opposition to their especial creeds which crystallized in the anti-polygamous enactments of the Government at Washington. But there were many things to be considered in a movement to the southern republic. The Mormons had been long enough



LOCATION OF THE MORMON COLONIES IN MEXICO.

in the West to reclaim the desert to cultivation and abundance. They had builded homes in Utah, planted gardens, erected temples, invested accumulations, and so identified themselves with the country that it was difficult for great numbers of them to get away. Those who held property were loath to relinquish it, and those who were not bound by such material interests were too poor to emigrate and build new communities in a new country without undergoing much toil and hardship.

In addition to these obstacles was the uncertainty of establishment in a strange land without encountering opposition of a serious phase. It was not known to what extent their coming would be encouraged or opposed. An effort, however, was made in the direction of the establishment of colonies which met with favor. The



COLONIA JUAREZ, THE CHIEF MORMON COLONY.



THE ACADEMY AT COLONIA JUAREZ.

emissaries of the Church who were sent into the southern republic returned with reports favorable to a general scheme of colonization. Concessions of lands were offered and exemption from certain taxation. All the goods and portable property were granted free admission to the republic, and it was agreed that for a considerable number of years all importations into Mexico for use in building their settlements were to be admitted without assessment of tariff duties. Whatever may be said against the tenets of Mormonism, it cannot be denied that the Mormons are colonizers and builders, and it was readily supposed they would form at once the nucleus of a prosperous community. The Mexican Government perceived in the proposed emigration to Mexico the future advantage to be derived from colonies of industrious people accustomed to labor and able to transform solitary valleys into yielding gardens and gloomy mountains into pasture-lands for thousands of cattle. What the original Mormons accomplished in Utah and the great West Mexico believed they could perform in the states of Chihuahua and Sonora.

Nothing was said about their faith in matters of religion, and no barrier was raised against the practice of polygamy. In Mexico a man may have but one legal wife. The second or third has no status in law, and in the eye

of the law their offspring are held to be not legitimate, but natural, children. The Mormons did not expect their belief in the sanctity of plural marriage to give the second or third wife a legal standing. They asked for non-interference with their institutions, believing that their creed justified the practice of polygamy and made the marriage tie with the second or third wife as sacred to themselves as the law of the land held the marriage tie with the first wife.

The Mormon settlers came to Mexico in 1889. They were poor people. Many of them had not even the means of transportation, and when they arrived in the valley of the Casas Grandes River, two hundred miles south of the New Mexican line and as many miles from a railroad, they had practically nothing but their physical strength and religious enthusiasm. Around them were high mountains capped with snow, dark canyons where wild beasts made their lair, and a narrow valley arid without irrigation and barren of vegetation except *gramma* grass and cottonwood trees. Apache Indians lurked in the hills, drove away their herds, and sometimes attacked their settlements. But the Mormons prospered. No difficulty, no hardship was great enough to appall them or drive them back. They made ditches, turned the water of the river upon their lands, planted fruit-trees, laid out gardens, tended their flocks, and plenty came to support and sustain them. Other colonies were established which were also prosperous. In a single "stake," comprising the colonies, or "wards," of Colonia



A MORMON SAWMILL IN THE MOUNTAINS.

Juarez, Colonia Diaz, Dublan, Oaxaca, Pacheco, Garcia, and Chuichupi, the Mormons number 2,523 persons and 477 families.

The original settlement, or chief colony, is Colonia Juarez, located sixteen miles from the terminus of a railroad recently completed. To reach Colonia Juarez it is necessary to cross the foot-hills of the Sierra Madre Mountains. The road winds through passes and defiles until the colony, nestling like a green garden in the wilderness, comes suddenly into view. It is beheld nearly a thousand feet below the hill-top. The roadway descends gradually until it enters the main thoroughfare of the village. The gardens are fragrant with flowers, and the blossoms of the peach, apricot, and plum trees glow in the pure air. Clear water from the *ascequia* along the hill-side flows down the gutter of each cross-street. Neat brick residences are nestled amid grapevines and pear-trees. On one side are the wind-swept timberless hills, piled in a great confusion of stone, lava, grassy sides, and sharp peaks. On the other the Sierra Madre Mountains, somber and fuscous, tower thousands of feet into the clouds. The green stretches of *alfalfa* below are in striking contrast with the brown summits that shadow them. From this valley the Mormons have extracted in ten years enough wealth to give them independence.

The capital colony is a beautiful village com-



IRRIGATION DAM ON THE CASAS GRANDES RIVER ABOVE COLONIA JUAREZ.

parable to any in New England. There is every evidence of thrift, cleanliness, industry, comfort, and good management. There is an absence of the vices common to modern communities. There are no saloons, tobacco shops, jails, nor houses of ill-fame in the colony. The property is owned by Mormons, and the internal affairs of the several settlements are under the direction of the Church. There is a grist mill, a furniture factory, and other industries in Colonia Juarez. There is an academy with 5 teachers and 400 pupils. It is the policy of the Mormons to erect school-houses before churches and temples.

The president of the colony is a man of striking personality. With his energy and enterprise there is mingled a certain religious enthusiasm which guarantees the success of his undertakings. He is tall, slender, with deep blue eyes from which there beams an unusual order of intelligence. He is a man of good birth and education, and under his leadership the colonies have prospered beyond expectation. He and other Mormons discuss without restraint polygamy and other matters appertaining to their Church and community. Precision of speech is a Mormon characteristic. There is a slight drawl peculiar to men of intense religious feeling. The Puritans in the time of Titus Oates were not more to be remarked for oddness of speech. They have no preachers, but are taught from youth to speak publicly, and any member of the colony may be called upon to deliver the Sunday sermon. The majority of the congregation are capable of conducting the services of the Church.

The Mormons are associated always with the idea of polygamy. The president says not more than 4 per cent. of the Latter Day Saints in



GRIST MILL AT COLONIA JUAREZ.



THE MORMON TITHING STORE AT COLONIA JUAREZ.

America ever indulged in the plural marriage. They do not take a second or third wife until able to support additions to the first family. Poverty and a scarcity of women seem responsible for the small percentage of plural marriages. Every Mormon strives to be prosperous and successful in his business in order to fulfill the teachings of the Church with regard to taking additional wives. They justify their practice of the peculiar doctrines of the Church by the interpretation they have made of the New Testament. They claim that the exercise of their

religious belief makes the appearance in a Mormon community of elderly unmarried women and women of unsavory repute an impossibility. Only a small number of the Mormons in the Mexican colonies are married to more than one wife. While they practice polygamy, they must be accredited with living in accordance with the general tenets of the Church. Unmolested in the sequestered valleys of northern Mexico, their daily lives fulfill their precepts. Their local church and school is supported by a system of tithing, and although the tax is one voluntarily imposed by each person, it is always to the full measure of 10 per cent. of his earnings or labor. Besides supporting an excellent academy they contribute to a general fund used by the Church in Utah. These men are sincere in the belief that they are to make, in the course of time, a peaceful conquest of North America. The ultimate and universal triumph of Mormonism is preached as an ordination of God. On the broad ground of the "survival of the fittest" they claim, in the end, a universal success.

There is a steady stream of emigration into the colonies from Utah, and now that the railroad has penetrated to their communities the Mormons expect rapid development in material interests and a large increase in the population. Here they are a people unto themselves, and there is no restraint upon the practice of their religion.



MORMON TEAMS HAULING LUMBER FROM THE SIERRA MADRE MOUNTAINS.

THE STATE AS A FARMER.

BY LEONORA BECK ELLIS.



A TYPICAL STALK OF COTTON.

IN the picturesque past of America there are no more romantic elements than those conspicuous in the old plantation life of the Southern States. The rich planter of Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Mississippi was a lord indeed, dwelling in his great mansion that outrivalled the country seat of many an English peer, and bowed to as master by a thousand slaves and retainers who tilled his vast domain. That even abroad he was looked on as the representative of a pure landed aristocracy is abundantly testified to in many contemporary European novels. One needs only to recall the character of Colonel Campian, "an American gentleman with large estates in the South," who figures in Disraeli's "Lothair." "You know he is a gentleman," said the Duke. "He is a gentleman of the South. They have no property but land. It is not unlikely he may have lost his estates now.

But that makes no difference to me. I shall treat him and all Southern gentlemen as our fathers treated the emigrant nobility of France."

It is also true that the Southern planter in the first half of the present century was usually a man of cultivation and refinement. His sons and daughters were educated in Northern schools or abroad, as he had been before them. When the young people had completed their study and travels, they came home to be launched in a picturesque social life unlike that of any other section or country. Festivities of a nature peculiarly suited to the climate and the character of the people and their homes filled autumn, winter, and spring, but never uncomfortably full, for the beaux and belles of that day and class demanded that existence should be easy and elegant as well as gay.

But in that old plantation life there was a king, and he was called Cotton. Not the tobacco of Virginia, the wheat of Tennessee, the rice or sugar of Florida and Louisiana could command under that *régime* a tithe of the homage paid to this proud monarch whose sway was absolute over every acre of ground that he would accept.

Those days are no more; their picturesqueness lives only in old romances. The one-time slaves now press to the polls with ballot in hand. The ducal estates of the rich planters are broken up into small farms. Cotton, the king whose power made possible the most signal conditions and elements of that life, is a sovereign no longer, but takes his place in the file of man's useful servitors.

When the Civil War closed, a generation ago, the thinned ranks of men in gray turned quietly back to their homes, fully aware that they might not take up life under the old conditions—that the destruction which had been leveled at slavery had also cut and maimed the roots of other institutions.

But changes pressed more rapidly upon them than they had foreseen. To the hard problems of sudden poverty were added others as grave. Reconstruction oppressed them. The systematizing of labor out of chaotic elements was an herculean task for any generation. As one difficult year after another passed away the faint shadow of a new trouble grew more distinct, more ominous. Ruin still more absolute seemed staring them in the face.

But out of trial strength is born. The transition from cotton at 15 cents per pound to cotton at $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents has been achieved, and the South is not yet bankrupt—not even growing poorer. On the contrary, she is growing richer; for the tyrant's fall has set free many a locked-up resource that is now contributing its quota to the general prosperity.

It is well to consider more closely one agency to which this section is much indebted for its present prosperous conditions. Few persons outside of the practical and theoretical farming classes have measured the beneficent results accruing especially to the South—impoverished, illiterate, and beset by change—from that act of

sults would follow in the United States if the sciences directly related to agriculture were taught in a practical way. From this grew the land scrip act of 1862, by the provisions of which schools of practical agriculture were to be established in all the States and Territories. The main object of such institutions was, to be sure, special technical education; therefore none of them had been long established before those in charge recognized the indispensableness of experiment farms if instructor and pupil were both to realize the best results from such teaching.

In many States these farms were immediately annexed to the agricultural colleges. But parsimonious State legislation and short-sighted policy

prevented the general establishment of such annexes until the Hatch act, nearly twelve years ago, provided for the founding and continuance of "agricultural experiment stations" under State control, and connected, though not so closely as to handicap them, with the schools. Since then each State has turned experimental farmer, with a paternal government to pay the bills.

Section 2 of the Hatch act defines comprehensively the duties of the experiment stations: they must conduct original research and verify experiments on the physiology of plants and animals, pathological as well as normal; remedies for diseases



COTTON-PATCH AND LABORERS' HOUSE.

Congress known as the Hatch act. Under the provisions of this act, which was approved on March 2, 1887, the sum of \$15,000 per annum has been appropriated to each State from the national Treasury for the purpose of paying the expenses necessary to conduct systematic investigation and experiment along the lines of agricultural science.

The Hatch act grew out of the old land scrip bill. Previous to the latter many thoughtful men had found food for grave anxiety in the steady decrease in the producing capacity of the arable lands in this country during the present century. As frequently before, America finally went back to the Old World to draw a lesson which held hope. The success attendant upon the establishment of schools of farming in Great Britain, Belgium, and Germany induced a few of our law-makers to believe that the same re-

sults in both must be studied; the chemical composition of useful plants in different periods of growth, the capacity for acclimation of new plants and trees, and the analysis of soils and water are specifically mentioned as within their province; the relative advantages of rotative cropping as pursued under a varying series of crops are to be thoroughly tested, and the chemical composition of manures, natural and artificial, with their effects on different products. The composition and value of grasses and forage plants is not omitted, nor the study of the various foods for domestic animals. The scientific and economic questions involved in the production of butter and cheese must be practically investigated. Following these specifications, it is recommended that such other researches and experiments be made as bear directly on the agricultural industry of the United States. Due regard is to be had

to the varying requirements and conditions of the different States and Territories.

Another section provides for the distribution of frequent printed bulletins setting forth in full the results attained in all experiments and investigation—a thoughtful and necessary condition, for otherwise all present benefits would reach but a fortunate few.

Ample provision being made for purposes so well considered and generously planned, the results have been worthy of the thought. Education of the producing classes up to the completest measure of their needs is the main arch of a nation's prosperity.

But if Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania have drawn incalculable good during the past decade from their experiment stations—and no one can deny that they have—what must be the benefit to Georgia, Alabama, and their sister States, whose farmers knew only how to raise cotton, and this in too expensive a manner to sell at the present prices? The salvation of such an agricultural class lies in intensive farming; and could the new system be taught them so surely and directly through another instrumentality than the one provided? The State as a farmer is the safest instructor of her sons.

A visit to the Georgia experiment station while



THE STATION HERD AND BARN.

the last cotton of 1898 was being gathered would have convinced any one that this State is doing her work with discretion and skill. Her experiment station is located in her fairest farming section, middle Georgia, and occupies a beautiful tract of 129 acres in Spalding County. In the midst of well-kept grounds, about two miles from the town of Griffin, the residence of the director, Hon. R. J. Redding, the agriculturist, Mr. J. M. Kimbrough, and the other departmental heads are clustered together. In the rear of these are comfortable cottages for the laborers. Some very fine oaks add much to the natural charm of the location. The post-office is called "Experiment."

The agricultural department proper draws one's first attention. Forty-eight acres are devoted to this, and the rotation system is pursued with marked success. Each year one-third of the land is devoted to grain, one-third to corn, and one-third to cotton. The tract which this year produces cotton must next time bear corn, and the next small grain followed by peas.

Mr. Kimbrough has tested thirty varieties of cotton on his sixteen acres this season, and was gathering the twenty-fifth bale early in November. The first seventeen bales he sold for 4½ cents per pound, and realized a neat profit over the cost of production. This alone would be a valuable lesson to Georgia. The latest bulletin from this department ranks the variety of cotton known as Lee's Improved highest, while the Jackson Limbless, which last year came third, has fallen much lower. The bulletins also give the fertilizer formulas, demonstrating beyond a



PEACH NURSERY.

(Water tower and laboratory in the background.)

doubt that the guano bills need not eat up the entire revenue.

The fifteen and one-half acres in oats produced in 1898 1,075 bushels. When these were harvested peas were planted and 45,000 pounds of hay put in the barn from that crop. The ground is now being fitted for cotton next season.

We might forestall some of the bulletins by going minutely through each department. As it is not our intention to do so, cotton and grains may well be left and the orchards and vineyards looked at.

There are nearly four acres devoted to peaches; the famous Elberta, which had its origin in this section, monopolizes almost the half of that area. Five acres are given up to general grape culture, while there are, besides, two scuppernong arbors, one twenty feet wide and traversing four and a half acres. The scuppernong is a peculiar Southern product from which much is expected, some claiming that wines rivaling the most delicate and delicious of the lower French provinces will yet be manufactured from it. Then the apple, the pear, the cherry, Japan and native plums, and every variety of fig and berry that can by any mode of cultivation be grown in this climate have their allotted spaces, ranging from one-half to five acres. Each one is studied and cared for with enthusiastic zeal, and every failure seems to spur to further efforts. Even a chance visitor must grow interested in the warfare that is being waged, with every available weapon, upon the San José scale and the various forms of pear and quince blight.

Forestry has its province here also. The propagation of native trees is made the subject of study, as well as the comparative values of different woods. Ornamental trees and shrubs are cultivated with care.

The laboratory is an important feature of the station's organism, the chemical analysis of soils and water, of plants in different stages, of foods in varying combinations and changing conditions, and the measuring of the values of fertilizers being indispensable to any form of successful research in agricultural science. The Georgia chemical department is under the direction of Prof. H. C. White, who has long held the chair of chemistry at the State University and has a national reputation in the science of his love.

Not least among the debts the farmers of this State owe to the experiment station is the demonstration of the fact that cheese and butter dairying can be conducted with as much success in this as in any of the Middle States. Here a new and extremely profitable industry is opened up, and many have successfully entered it during the past five years. The station herd is small, but there are Jerseys, Guernseys, Holsteins, and common "scrubs" in it, and the records are kept separate. The cheese of this farm carried off the gold medal at the recent exposition in Omaha.

Thus the State is teaching lessons which her sons are eagerly learning. It is a wise government that is unafraid of the expenditure which makes her members richer.

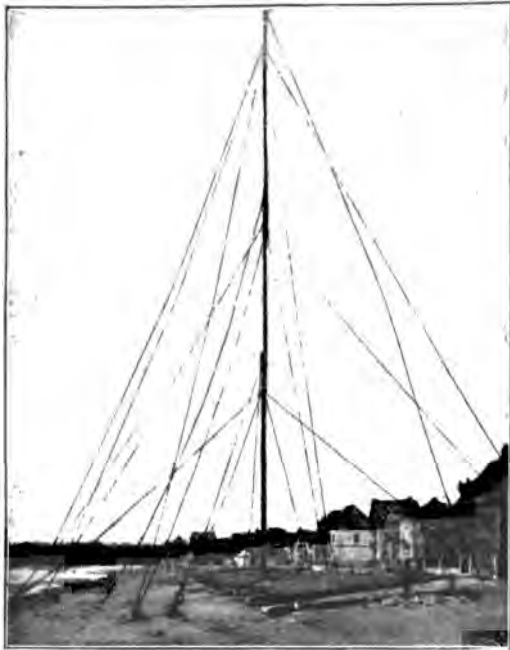


ENTRANCE AND OFFICE OF THE GEORGIA EXPERIMENT STATION.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

MARCONI AND THE WIRELESS TELEGRAPH.

THE June *McClure's* begins with one of Cleveland Moffett's breezy narrations, this month concerning the Italian inventor who has made such wonderful progress in the problem of telegraphing without wires. . Young Marconi began his experiments in this subject in 1895 in the fields of his father's estate at Bologna, Italy. He is only twenty-four years of age now. To show the important practical success he has already obtained, it is only necessary to recall that



THE SIGNAL-MAST AT WIMEREUX, FRANCE, USED BY SIGNOR MARCONI.

his wireless telegraph system now sends messages with perfect ease from South Foreland, in England, to Boulogne, France, thirty-two miles away, across the channel. Among the most noted uses which the invention has been put to up to this time was the establishing of communication between Osborne House on the Isle of Wight and the royal yacht, with the Prince of Wales aboard, as she lay in Cowes Bay. The Queen wished to be able to get frequent bulletins in regard to the Prince's injured knee, and no less than one hundred and fifty messages of a strictly private nature were transmitted in the course of sixteen

days, with entire success. In order to make the wireless circuit it is necessary that the sending and receiving conductors should be mounted on high masts. In the last-named instance a one-hundred-foot pole was erected in the grounds of Osborne House and a wire lifted to the yacht's mast eighty-three feet above the deck. But the instrument was operated down in the saloon of the vessel, whence the wire led. The messages could be sent and received just as well while the yacht was flying along through the waves as when she was at anchor. On one occasion the yacht cruised so far west as to bring its receiver within the influence of the transmitter at the station on the Needles, and here it was found possible to communicate successively with that station and with Osborne, and this despite the fact that both stations were cut off from the yacht by considerable hills, one of these rising three hundred and fourteen feet higher than the vertical wire on Osborne.

Mr. Moffett reports the following interesting interview with Dr. Erskine-Murray, one of the chief electricians of the Marconi Company :

“ ‘I suppose,’ said I, ‘this is a fine day for your work?’ The sun was shining and the air mild.

“ ‘Not particularly,’ said he. ‘The fact is, our messages seem to carry best in fog and bad weather. This past winter we have sent through all kinds of gales and storms without a single breakdown.’

“ ‘Don't thunder-storms interfere with you, or electric disturbances?’

“ ‘Not in the least.’

“ ‘How about the earth's curvature? I suppose that doesn't amount to much just to the Needles?’

“ ‘Doesn't it, though? Look across and judge for yourself. It amounts to one hundred feet at least. You can only see the head of the Needles light-house from here, and that must be one hundred and fifty feet above the sea. And the big steamers pass there hulls and funnels down.’

“ ‘Then the earth's curvature makes no difference with your waves?’

“ ‘It has made none up to twenty-five miles, which we have covered from a ship to shore; and in that distance the earth's dip amounts to about five hundred feet. If the curvature counted against us then, the messages would have passed some hundreds of feet over the receiving-station;

but nothing of the sort happened. So we feel reasonably confident that these Hertzian waves follow around smoothly as the earth curves.'

"And you can send messages through hills, can you not?"

"Easily. We have done so repeatedly."

"And you can send in all kinds of weather?"

"We can."

"Then," said I after some thought, 'if neither land nor sea nor atmospheric conditions can stop you, I don't see why you can't send messages to any distance.'

"So we can," said the electrician, 'so we can, given a sufficient height of wire. It has become simply a question now how high a mast you are willing to erect. If you double the height of your mast, you can send a message four times as far. If you treble the height of your mast, you can send a message nine times as far. In other words, the law established by our experiments seems to be that the range of distance increases as the square of the mast's height. To start with, you may assume that a wire suspended from an eighty-foot mast will send a message twenty miles. We are doing about that here.'

"Then," said I, multiplying, 'a mast one hundred and sixty feet high would send a message eighty miles?'

"Exactly."

"And a mast three hundred and twenty feet high would send a message three hundred and twenty miles; a mast six hundred and forty feet high would send a message twelve hundred and eighty miles; and a mast twelve hundred and eighty feet high would send a message fifty-one hundred and twenty miles?"

"That's right. So you see if there were another Eiffel Tower in New York, it would be possible to send messages to Paris through the ether and get answers without ocean cables."

"Do you really think that would be possible?"

"I see no reason to doubt it. What are a few thousand miles to this wonderful ether, which brings us our light every day from millions of miles?"

"Do you use stronger induction coils," I asked, 'as you increase the distance of transmission?'

"We have not up to the present, but we may do so when we get into the hundreds of miles. A coil with a ten-inch spark, however, is quite sufficient for any distances under immediate consideration."

"After this we talked of improvements in the system made by Mr. Marconi as the result of experiments kept up continuously since these stations were established, nearly two years ago.

It was found that a horizontal wire, placed at whatever height, was of practically no value in sending messages; all that counts here is the vertical component. Also that it is better to have the wire conductor suspended out from the mast by a sprit. It was found, furthermore, that by modifying the coherer and perfecting various details of installation the total efficiency was much increased, so that the vertical conductor could be lowered gradually without disturbing communication. Now they are sending to the Needles with a sixty-foot conductor, whereas at the start a wire with one hundred and twenty feet vertical height was necessary."

PROPERTIES AND USES OF LIQUID AIR.

PROF. IRA REMSEN, of the Johns Hopkins University, contributes to *Appleton's Popular Science Monthly* for May an important paper on liquid air, the new agent now successfully produced in this country by Mr. Charles E. Tripler. (The article in *McClure's Magazine* for March describing Mr. Tripler's work was noticed in the REVIEW at the time of its appearance.)

Professor Remsen describes several experiments with the new substance which must have astonished an uninitiated observer. For instance:

"When liquid air is poured upon water it, being a little lighter than the water, floats, not quietly, to be sure, but in a very troubled way. Soon, however, the liquid sinks to the bottom because the nitrogen, which is the lighter constituent, passes into the gaseous state, and the liquid oxygen which is left is a little heavier than water. The experiment is a very beautiful one. A scientific poet could alone do justice to it. The beauty is enhanced by the fact that while liquid air is colorless, or practically so, liquid oxygen is distinctly blue."

"When the liquid is poured out of a vessel in the air it is rapidly converted into gas. The great lowering in the temperature causes a condensation of the moisture of the air in the form of a cloud. The same thing is seen when the cover is removed from a can containing the liquid. Of course this liquid does not wet things as water does. When, however, as happened in New York, the lecturer deliberately pours a dipperful of the liquid upon a priceless Worth gown, he may expect to hear expressions of horror from the owner. This experiment passed off most successfully. Every trace of the liquid air was converted into invisible gases before the fleeting agony of the sympathetic audience had passed away."

Alcohol frozen by liquid air is as hard as ice.

When dropped into liquid air the drops of alcohol retain the globular form.

PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS.

Professor Remsen mentions four distinct uses to which liquid air may be put—as a cooling agent, for the construction of motors, in the preparation of an explosive, and for the purpose of getting oxygen from the air. The second of these applications is the one to which attention was especially directed in the *McClure's* article, wherein it was stated that ten gallons of liquid air had been made by the use of three gallons of liquid air in the engine. Commenting on this statement, Professor Remsen observes:

“If that means that the ten gallons of liquid air are made from air at the ordinary pressure, the statement is in direct conflict with well-established principles. If it means that the ten gallons of liquid air are made from air that has already been partly compressed, we must know how much work has been done before the liquid-air engine began.”

Leaving the question of cost out of consideration, Professor Remsen concedes that liquid-air engines would have the advantage of compactness, though they would necessarily be heavy, as they would have to be strong enough to stand great pressure.

It seems that an explosive in which liquid air is one of the constituents has been made and used for some time. “When the liquid from which a part of the nitrogen has boiled off is mixed with powdered charcoal, the mixture burns with great rapidity and great explosive force.” This explosive has to be made at or near the place where it is used. It has been practically tested in a coal mine at Pensberg, near Munich. The chief advantage of this explosive is its cheapness; another point in its favor is that it soon loses its power of exploding.

A less obvious application of liquid air is in the extraction of oxygen from the atmosphere. Of the reasons and methods for doing this Professor Remsen says:

“This can be accomplished by chemical means, but the chemical method is somewhat expensive. Oxygen has commercial value, and cheap oxygen would be a decided advantage in a number of branches of industry. It will be observed that it is the liquid oxygen that makes possible the preparation of the explosive described in the last paragraph. Oxygen as such in the form of gas is of value in Deacon's process for the manufacture of chlorine. In this process air and hydrochloric acid are caused to act upon each other so as to form water and chlorine. The nitrogen takes no part in the act, and it would be an ad-

vantage if it could be left out. It is only the oxygen that is wanted. There are many other possible uses for oxygen either in the liquid or in the gaseous form, but these need no mention here.

“In conclusion it may safely be said that it is highly probable that liquid air will be found to be a useful substance, but it is impossible at present to speak with any confidence of the particular uses that will be made of it.”

HOW DIAMONDS ARE MADE.

THE *Edinburgh Review* for April has a very instructive paper on the origin of diamonds. It appears that the South African diamond mines have thrown much light on this once obscure subject. These mines are “colossal cylinders, 200 to 500 feet across, pierced from below through a granitic substructure surmounted by an immense overlay of carbonaceous shales and sandstones.” They are gorged with a blue rock named “kimberlite,” which was evidently flung up by volcanic action from unfathomed depths and which contains the diamonds; the latter grow more abundant as you descend. These facts lead to the conclusion that diamonds hail from a subterranean and not a celestial source. “On the surface of the earth they are adventitious arrivals; their proper home is at some considerable distance underground.”

Diamonds, of course, consist of pure carbon. “Hence alone among gems, spurious or true, they are perfectly transparent to the Röntgen rays”—which supply “an easy and infallible test for genuine diamonds.” At a temperature of 750° C. the diamond is combustible. It is, in a word, carbon perfectly crystallized. But crystallization, so far as experience goes, only commences with a substance in the liquid state. And the difficulty has been to get carbon liquefied. It has generally passed from solid to vapor, skipping the intermediate liquid state. “The key to the enigma of diamond production should, accordingly, be found in the liquefaction of carbon.”

THE REQUISITE HEAT AND PRESSURE.

Here lies one of the triumphs of high-temperature chemistry. The invention of the electric furnace has made possible temperatures up to near 3,600° C., and among other discoveries has shown unforeseen effects on various metals of carbon:

“The fundamental material is met with on the earth's surface under three elementary forms, definable as amorphous, foliated, and crystalline, or as charcoal, graphite, and diamond. Charcoal is

carbon of the ordinary current kind, the residuum of charred organic matter, the universal *caput mortuum* of the organic world. Graphite is the same substance modified by strong heat apart from extraordinary pressure. Diamond, finally, is the outcome of high temperature combined with great pressure. Now in pregeological times, when our globe was still liquid, its primitive store of carbon must have lain near at hand, awaiting the imperious calls of vitality; and M. Moissan opines it to have existed in the shape of metallic compounds, such as those produced with facility in his furnace. As cooling progressed aqueous reactions set in, carbides were replaced by hydrocarbons, and eventually by carbonic acid, huge volumes of which originally incumbered the atmosphere. Carbides, however, doubtless survived in subterranean cavities, and perhaps survive even now. Many volcanic phenomena might be explained by inrushes of water upon such Plutonic foundries. There is, moreover, strong reason to believe that they actually constitute the long-sought matrix of the diamond.

BUT HOW LIQUEFY CARBON?

That fused iron dissolves carbon is no recent discovery; but the affinity, illustrated in the Bessemer process, has been widely developed and investigated by M. Moissan. At the temperature of the electric furnace he finds this ordinarily intractable substance to be freely soluble in aluminum, chromium, manganese, nickel, uranium—above all, in boiling silver and iron. Unluckily it separates from them in cooling, as it is deposited after sublimation, not in the radiant crystalline form, but merely in dull flakes of graphite. Only by main force can the desired substitution of the one for the other be effected. It would seem that the intimate marshaling power in this kind of matter is virtually annulled by a trifling separation of the centers from which it emanates. It acts only when they are brought within striking distance by mechanical means. The difficulty thus raised is formidable, yet it must be overcome before the manufacture of the gems enters upon a practical stage.

COOLING MOLTEN CARBURIZED IRON.

"M. Moissan was the first duly to estimate and successfully to cope with it. His experiments were grounded upon careful inquiry into South African mining conditions. That they disclose great profundity of origin for the excavated objects was at once apparent to him, and underground factories, if placed deep enough, can avail to an almost unlimited extent of geocentric heat and geogonic pressure. The crux was to produce the same results without the

same facilities. Sufficient heat was indeed at hand; the needful pressure was less easily evoked. But here a certain anomaly in the behavior of cooling iron came to the rescue. Pure iron follows the common rule of contraction in solidifying; but iron saturated with carbon expands, after the manner of water turning into ice. Silver shows the same peculiarity. Now, by suddenly refrigerating a mass of carbonized iron a hard superficial shell would obviously be formed, powerfully constricting the interior and hindering its natural expansion. Frost-burst water-pipes but too familiarly exemplify the all but irresistible strength of the molecular effort to get room under analogous circumstances. The tremendous interior pressure created by the restraint imposed upon it in M. Moissan's crucibles suffices to liquefy the carbon contained in them; and crystallization ensues."

GENUINE DIAMONDS MANUFACTURED.

For cooling purposes the French chemist found water unsuitable, because of the cushion of vapor which formed between the water and the heated crucible; so he took as refrigerator in place of water—boiling lead! The drop required in temperature being from 3,500° to 1,100°, the melting-point of iron, it is easy to see that liquid lead at 325° is comparatively a cooling bath.

By these means genuine diamonds have been made. But the largest was only one-fiftieth of an inch across, and within three months broke up.

"Laboratory diamonds are, then, unlikely soon to figure in trade returns; although it may prove possible to fabricate, on a remunerative scale, those imperfect varieties known as 'bort' and 'carbonado,' which, being no whit inferior for rock-drilling exigencies to the 'serenest' gems from Grao Mogor, command a steady market price."

A TRUTH SET IN DIAMONDS.

Diamonds are, however, derived not merely from "fiery underground pools" or "electrically heated furnaces." They fall from the sky, as in a rocky mass seen to descend at Novy Urej, in Siberia, in 1886. The reviewer concludes, from a reference to the Cañon Diablo diamonds, at first held to be *aërolites*, now found to be earth-born:

"They assure us that in the bowels of the earth, in the electric furnace, and on the unknown bodies disintegrated into meteoric dust similar conditions have prevailed or do prevail. Everywhere alike, carbon crystallized out from an intensely hot ferric solution under great pressure. The recipe for diamond-making is the same in the Sirian as in the solar system. The universe is one, chemically and physically."

NEEDFUL PRECAUTIONS FOR OCEAN NAVIGATION.

UNDER this title Mr. John Hyslop makes in the June *Harper's* some suggestions as to the proper handling of ships—suggestions no doubt prompted by the extraordinary list of terrible tragedies in ocean traveling that has marked the season of 1898-99. Mr. Hyslop asks whether, given a due complement of competent officers for the proper navigation of the ship, existing methods give full effect to their combined skill, care, and direction, or is it a fact that in important respects the captain is not only supreme, as he ought to be and must necessarily be, but that he is practically left without systematized help or check? Another point worthy to be noted is whether it is sufficient to merely provide for vessels boats of a sufficient number and size, even though the means of launching them are so utterly crude and inadequate that under conditions of much difficulty they cannot be safely gotten into the water within limited time. Mr. Hyslop calls to mind the catastrophe that overtook the *Mohegan*, which was lost last October by striking the Manacle Rocks, near Falmouth. The second and third officers were on deck, and it is supposed that the captain was, too, and he was a sober, careful, and capable man. Mr. Hyslop's theory of the mysterious and terrible mistake by which the vessel was being steered half a point more to the north than usual was that the very severe trials of physical hardship, responsibility, care, and exhaustive effort which come to shipmasters had unnerved Captain Griffith in this instance, and are likely to unnerve any sea-captain, no matter what his equipment of strength.

On this theory, when it is taken into consideration that a captain under the present conditions is apt to resent any examination of charts or questioning of his course by any other officer, Mr. Hyslop thinks that it is a dubious policy to leave a ship's safety wholly in charge of one man, who may be thrown out of his "form" by a headache or any unexpected physical disability. Mr. Hyslop suggests that instead of the captain laying the vessel's course, that should be made the ordinary routine duty of an officer under him, subject, of course, to the captain's concurrence. This would save the captain's dignity and would provide a new and valuable check. Certainly this would have saved the loss of the *Mohegan*.

Just as certainly it would not abolish all accidents at sea, for there are perils no human foresight or provision can prevent. Though this is true, Mr. Hyslop asks, Is it rational to have the present system of launching boats? and tells us a remarkable fact that on nearly all our large

passenger steamers the same kind of davits and the same means of launching boats are in use that were in use fifty years ago. Mr. Hyslop tells of the very elaborate movements that must be gone through with to launch a number of boats at once, and shows that a vessel carrying several hundred passengers and perhaps twenty boats may have only thirty or forty real sailors, the rest of the complement of the ship principally being made up of engineers, stewards, stokers, etc. These will do well enough if the boats are to be launched in daylight in smooth water, but it is in just the opposite kind of circumstances that boats are usually to be launched in a hurry. He says that there are new systems of davits vastly superior to those generally in use, and that some of the more alert companies—for instance, the Old Dominion Line of steamers, plying between New York and Norfolk—have fitted their new vessels with boat-launching arrangements free from the most serious defects of the old-style swivel davits. The Society of Naval Architects at its next annual convention in New York is to have papers read on launching ships' boats, and it is to be hoped that some new and better methods will result.

A PLAN FOR THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE.

IN the June *Cosmopolitan* Dr. Edward Everett Hale writes his belief that most of the old causes of war have died away, and speaks of the proposal of the Emperor of Russia to consider the maintenance of perpetual peace. Dr. Hale thinks it a pity that the proposition was not generally received with more enthusiasm. He thinks it mean to ask if the Czar was in earnest. Dr. Hale believes that there is no more reason why the European states should not be at peace than there is why the United States should not be at peace with each other.

"The peace of the United States for one hundred and six years out of one hundred and ten has been guaranteed by the Supreme Court of the United States. This court is indeed supreme. It is higher than the President, it is higher than the Senate or the House of Representatives. It is higher than any governor or any State. It speaks, and what it says is done. It is an international court between forty-five sovereignties, each of which has its own local pride, many of which are wholly different from many others in origin, in race, even in language and religion.

"For ten or twenty years past efforts have been in progress to bring about a similar international court between States which are even larger than New York, Virginia, or Missouri.

When Mr. Blaine called together his Pan-American Congress in 1890, it was with the hope that such a tribunal might be arranged as an international tribunal between all the republics of America. While the congress was in session Brazil ceased to be a part of the empire of Portugal and became an independent republic. At once Brazil sent a delegation to what was well called the Pan-American Congress. The Pan-American Congress made the plans for an international tribunal, which would examine any case of difficulty which arose between the sixteen nations represented there.

"When Mr. Blaine presented this plan to the world in his farewell address to the Pan-American Congress he said :

" 'If in this closing hour the conference had but one deed to celebrate, we should dare call the world's attention to the deliberate, confident, solemn dedication of two great continents to peace and to the prosperity which has peace for its foundation. We hold up this new Magna Charta which abolishes war and substitutes arbitration between the American republics as the first and greatest fruit of the international American conference. That noblest of Americans, the aged poet and philanthropist, Whittier, is the first to send the salutation and benediction declaring : "If in the spirit of peace the American conference agrees upon a rule of arbitration which shall make war in this hemisphere well-nigh impossible, its sessions will prove one of the most important events in the history of the world." ' "

"From that time forward similar plans have been proposed by different bodies. That which has attracted most intelligent attention is the plan of the New York State Bar Association. The bar of New York State is composed of gentlemen who are not accustomed to dream ; they are not given over to theories or fallacies. But lawyers always believe in law. Lawyers know what is the power of justice. As Mr. Depew said admirably well in an address on this subject, it was the lawyers of England who beat Charles I. and who introduced constitutional government into the world. The lawyers of New York three years ago tried their hand on the forming of a plan for an international tribunal between the great states of Europe and the great states of America. Their plan has the very great merit of simplicity and it is almost automatic.

"It proposes that each of the nine principal powers of the world shall be invited to select a judge who shall sit in this central tribunal. And so as to be free from political entanglements or from the delays which would follow in the various changes of administration of these nine states,

it proposes that in each the highest court shall appoint from its own number the judge who is to sit upon the central tribunal. Thus the Supreme Court of the United States would choose one of its judges to be a judge in the international court, and the High Court of Justice in England would choose another from its own number. The requisites for the judgeship are thus stated :

" ' . . . Such representative to be a member of the supreme or highest court of the nation he shall represent, chosen by a majority vote of his associates, because of his high character as a publicist and judge and his recognized ability and irreproachable integrity. Each judge thus selected to hold office during life or the will of the court selecting him.' "

"As soon as three of these nations should have appointed their judges the court would meet. It would appoint its officers, it would announce the places of its sessions, and it would be ready to administer justice. As one of the gentlemen of the commission who framed the plan said, it would nail up its sign and say, 'International Justice Administered Here.' "

"It would probably be some little time before any nation would dare bring a case before it. Meanwhile the judges would be conferring together on points of international law which have not yet been decided in form. They would be publishing from time to time reports or statements with regard to these matters. They could, if they pleased, be reviewing all the international law of the past. They could be preparing a formal and official statement of the results which the world has arrived at on what the Emperor of Russia calls 'those great principles of right and justice on which are built the security of states and the welfare of peoples.' "

"The New York bar would not compel nations to appear before its tribunal unless they chose to. I may think my neighbor's bees hurt my peaches, but I do not go to law about it unless I choose. This freedom is the strong point of its plan. A certain supposed compulsion in the Olney-Pauncefote treaty was the only reason assigned for its failure. But there is no danger but that two nations who have some difficulty which escapes the clumsy meshes of our old-fashioned diplomacy will be glad enough to try a court of such prestige and dignity. Here is this knotty question of the Newfoundland fisheries between England and France. It is the curious question whether in the language of diplomacy in 1783 a lobster was a fish. The treaty of 1783 gives France the undoubted right to cure fish on the uninhabited parts of the western coast of Newfoundland. May she therefore can lobsters there ? If the lobster is a fish, yes ! If he is a

crustacean, no! This must be decided by a court. And if such a court had existed this question would have been submitted years ago. This is but one of many different suggestions which are before the international conference. It is worth the detail with which I have described it, because it was prepared by a commission appointed by some of the best lawyers in the world."

THE TROUBLE IN FINLAND.

ARTICLES on Russia's dealings with Finland, written from the Finnish point of view, are appearing in the English reviews. Dr. J. N. Reuter, of Helsingfors University, contributes to the *Nineteenth Century* an article on "Russia and Finland." It is a well-written article, and useful, inasmuch as it begins with a sketch of Finnish history, and gives a precise statement as to what it is that the Russians have actually done in the grand duchy.

Dr. Reuter gives a very striking account of the wide diffusion of education in Finland. He says that there are at present as many Finnish secondary schools, preparatory to the university, as Swedish ones, that the periodical press numbers about 120 Finnish newspapers, that many lectures at the University of Finland are delivered in Finnish, and that the Finnish tongue is, equally with the Swedish, acknowledged as the official language of the grand duchy.

THE NEW MILITARY LAW.

This is Dr. Reuter's account of the present disagreement with Russia over the proposed military conscription law:

"The first blow that fell on the country was the imperial proposal for a new military law, which was to be laid before the estates summoned to assemble in January of this year to an extraordinary Diet. The summons was issued in July, 1898, thus before the Czar's peace proposal was offered to the world. In October the proposition was sent to the Senate, and shortly after its main features became known to the public.

"By the existing military law of 1878 the conscription system was introduced into Finland with a view to the establishment of a Finnish army intended for the defense of the country, an army under the command of Finnish officers and with a Finnish staff, ultimately subordinate to the governor-general, who, 'while likewise commanding any Russian troops that may be located in the country, is the chief of the Finnish army.' The standing army is limited to a number of 5,600 men. To reach this amount,

out of the annual contingent of about 8,000 young men of the proper age for conscription (twenty-one years) and fit for military service, about 1,920 are annually, after balloting, placed under the colors, where they serve for three years, on the lapse of which time they are transferred to the reserve, where they remain for two years, and ultimately stand in the militia until they have completed their fortieth year. The rest are at once placed in the reserve for five years, and undergo in the first three years military training not exceeding ninety days altogether.

"The new military scheme proposes that no fewer than 7,200 (out of 8,000) should be every year placed on the active service list for five years, and afterward for another period of thirteen years should stand in the reserve, and then in the militia, as before. The army in Finland would, however, not be increased, but the surplus of 5,280 men every year be sent to serve in Russia beyond the frontier of their native country with a service period of five years; this means a force of 36,000 men. This enormous increase of the Finnish army naturally implies a proportional augmentation of the expenses, while at the same time it directly deprives the country of an immense amount of labor—so much needed in our country, where the earth yields her fruits only as the result of very hard work—and indirectly by inducing many young men to seek their fortunes in America.

"The new military proposal further contains statutes to the effect that Russian officers henceforth should have a right to serve in the Finnish army, contrary to the fundamental laws of the country (Par. 10 in the 'Form of Government' of 1772, Par. 1 in the 'Act of Union and Security' of 1789, and Par. 120 in the Military Law of 1878, being one of the fourteen paragraphs in this law which are ratified as 'fundamental laws'). The Finnish military staff would be abolished and the army become directly subordinate to Russian military authorities.

"One of the first consequences of the Czar's manifesto will concern the work of the present Diet. In the middle of April a communication has been made to the Diet that the Emperor has approved the proposition of the minister of war that the army proposal, now under discussion by the Finnish Diet, shall be considered as 'possessing an imperial interest,' and thus to be dealt with in the way indicated in the manifesto of February 15, 1899—i.e., the Diet has only to give its opinion.

"It lies, of course, in the discretion and goodwill of the Czar to listen to the opinion expressed by the Diet or to take the advice of his Russian

ministers. So strong is even now in Finland confidence in the Czar that the hope is by no means extinguished that he will follow the former course; and it is very generally believed that if only the true facts could be brought home to him, he could not fail to reëstablish Finland's constitutional rights."

Petty Tyrannies of the Russian Governor-General.

In the *Contemporary* Prof. Edward Westermarck, another Finnish gentleman, says that the popular view holds Bohrikoff, the governor-general of Finland, responsible for the changes, and says of him:

"He is a perfect stranger to the spirit of our national life. He has displayed a contempt for the press which to our mind is truly cynical. . . . Already he has suppressed one [newspaper], while he has suspended the publication of two others. . . . Ever since his arrival, and especially after the manifesto, the country has been troubled with spies and *gendarmes*. Children are pounced upon in the streets and asked what they are taught at school or what their parents have been saying at home, money being offered as a reward if they tell the truth. We do not know if the governor-general takes any direct part in this abominable system of espionage. At all events he has done nothing to suppress it, and it was unknown in Finland previous to his arrival. We are treated as rebels, although there is not the slightest symptom of rebellion. Even persons suspected of being *agents provocateurs* have failed to drive the populace to violence. The regard for law and order so deeply rooted in the Finnish people cannot be shaken by any provocation whatsoever."

The writer says, "We want an express explanation from our sovereign." He "has been badly advised."

"Of a rebellion no one even dreams in Finland. We shall offer peaceful resistance to everything which is contrary to the sworn laws of our country. . . . The only weapon in which we put trust is that culture of mind and character which is involved in our Scandinavian civilization. Our Russian antagonists have no idea of the strength of this weapon."

Finland's Home Rule.

Mr. R. Nisbet Bain writes in the *Fortnightly* upon "Finland and the Czar." He disavows all imputations against the personal honor of the Czar. He thinks that the Finnish people have suffered grievous wrong at the hands of the imperial authorities.

He sets out by saying that "for more than

two centuries (since 1587) the Finlanders have enjoyed political freedom." During their union with Sweden they sent their deputies to the Swedish Parliament, and when subjugated by the Russians under Alexander I., in 1808, they were granted a Landtag modeled on the Swedish Riksdag. The four estates (gentry, clergy, burghesses, peasants), having received assurance from the Czar of his purpose to reign as constitutional monarch, swore allegiance to him as Grand Duke of Finland. Of the constitution granted in 1809 Mr. Bain says:

"Practically it was based on the constitutional compromise invented by Gustavus III. of Sweden in 1789, when he attempted to combine a strong monarchical government with a subordinate but still (within certain well-defined limits) free and independent parliament. The balance of power, in every direction, unmistakably inclined to the side of the monarch. He was the fountain of honor and justice, the commander-in-chief of the forces, the sole medium of communication with foreign powers, the head of the executive at home. The Landtag could assemble only when summoned by its Grand Duke; he could dismiss it whenever he thought fit; its deliberations were for the most part to be confined to the propositions which he might think fit to lay before it, and its jurisdiction did not extend to imperial measures or to the so-called economic or administrative legislation. But, on the other hand, no new law could be imposed and no old law abolished, nor could the fundamental statutes be in any way altered or amended, without the previous consent of the estates. Moreover, the Landtag was to coöperate in all legislative measures, in the proper sense of the word, comprising every question relating to the fundamental laws, the privileges of the estates, the civil law, criminal law, maritime law, ecclesiastical law. They had also a voice in all legislation relating to the coinage, the national bank, the organization of the army and navy, etc., although, as already stated, the Grand Duke in all these matters had the right of initiative. Moreover, the estates in general retained the right of self-taxation, although the regulation of custom-house dues was expressly reserved as a prerogative of the crown. It will thus be seen that the Finnish constitution was an innocent affair enough. The most jealous autocrat ran very little risk in bestowing such a harmless gift upon a portion of his subjects."

For ninety years this constitution has worked successfully. Instead of restricting it, Alexander II. actually extended it. The summoning of the Landtag, previously left entirely to the arbitrary discretion of the Grand Duke, was in 1869 made periodical, "at intervals of not more

than five years." Ever since 1882 it has really met every third year. "Alexander III. also promoted the development of the Finnish constitution by conceding to the estates the right of initiation in most questions which were not of the nature of fundamental laws, by the act of June 25, 1886."

So that it appears from Mr. Bain's account that Russia in 1809 conferred home rule on Finland such as she had not enjoyed under Sweden, and subsequently relinquished some of the imperial prerogatives in favor of Finnish autonomy.

THE PRESENT CRISIS.

The old arrangement, it appears, was altogether too liberal to meet Russia's present exigencies, and what followed after the submission to the Landtag of the military bill proposed by the Russian Government is thus narrated by Mr. Bain :

"For the Landtag to have accepted these military propositions in their present shape would have been tantamount to an act of political suicide ; and the Russian governor-general in Finland seems to have reported that the only answer of the Finnish estates must needs be a *non possumus*, for before they had had time to even deliberate upon the bill submitted to their consideration they were suddenly confronted by a gratuitous and totally unforeseen act of despotism. It was resolved at St. Petersburg to deprive the Finnish estates of their right of veto as regarded the armament bill, and thereby save Russia from a political defeat within her own confines, by the simple expedient of making a slight alteration in the Finnish constitution by means of an imperial manifesto."

WHO IS TO DECIDE WHAT ARE IMPERIAL QUESTIONS ?

This manifesto decrees that "in future it shall rest with the monarch alone to determine what questions are 'imperial questions' and what are of such purely local nature as can be left to the decision of the Landtag."

"Hitherto those questions which concerned both Russia and Finland had, in doubtful cases, been finally adjusted by a conference of the ministers of state of both countries ; so that not uniform or common, but separate, though identical, laws were wont to be issued for the two separate portions of the empire respectively. Consequently the most ominous feature of the manifesto of February 15 is that henceforth the Finlanders can never be sure what questions the Emperor of Russia may choose to regard as 'imperial questions.' It is, therefore, not too much to say that the manifesto is a mortal blow at the

liberties of Finland, for it deprives the Finnish nation of its most precious privilege, the privilege of making its own laws in conjunction with its Grand Duke, and it degrades the Finnish Landtag from a legislative representative parliament to a mere consultative provincial assembly."

THE UITLANDERS' APPEAL TO THE QUEEN.

MR. ARNOLD WHITE discourses in the *National Review* on the coming crisis in the Transvaal. He insists that "the time has now come for the British Government either to act decisively in the terms of the colonial secretary's declaration or to acquiesce in the renunciation of a suzerainty they are unable to define or unwilling to maintain." The occasion is the petition to the Queen, which has been signed by 21,000 British subjects in the Transvaal. This, he says, is "an original, voluntary, and spontaneous demand on the part of middle and working class Uitlanders." None of the old reform leaders are in it ; "above all, Mr. Rhodes and his *entourage* have refrained from intervening in the affair." This is their case as Mr. White puts it, who is no admirer of Mr. Rhodes :

"The petitioners, whose appeal to their fellow-countrymen is now under consideration by the government, are suffering from that class of injury which is the direct cause of every successful rebellion which has yet been made by people of our race. The chief burden of taxation is thrown upon their shoulders. They are refused by their Boer masters any share in its disposal. All representation is denied them. Education of their children is withheld. The use of the Boer dialect, or the *taal*, a barren tongue which has not yet bloomed with one literary flower, is enforced ; while the English language, which is compulsorily used in the schools of yellow men in the far East, is forbidden in the Transvaal after children have passed the third standard, although the Queen is suzerain. They ask that Great Britain shall protect her subjects in the Transvaal from a system of high-handed oppression which has grown more severe with the lapse of years and has now become intolerable."

BRITON VERSUS BOER.

The issue between the British Government and the South African republic is stated thus :

"The former maintains that the suzerainty provided in the convention of 1881 and not abolished or named in the convention of 1884 is in full force to-day. The Boer Government maintains that the 1884 convention drops the suzerainty and that the South African republic is to-day an independent state."

In dispatches from Downing Street, the substance of which is publicly known in the Transvaal, though not promulgated in England, the argument of the colonial secretary is as follows :

"If the Boer Government declines to accept the preamble to the convention of 1881, which established the suzerainty, then their independence does not exist, for it was never granted. If, on the other hand, the Boers accept the 1881 preamble, then the suzerainty is a fact and is an insurmountable obstacle to the arguments recently advanced by Dr. Leyds and other apologists for independence."

ANOTHER TURN OF THE SCREW.

Meanwhile "further reactionary legislation is resolved on by Mr. Kruger:"

"The liquor law is to be tampered with. The 5-per-cent. tax on dividends . . . is to be converted into a 2½-per-cent. tax on the gross output, which is equivalent to nearly 10 per cent. on dividends. . . . The new law prohibiting natives under twenty from working in the mines before they have passed an apprenticeship on Boer farms is a piece of legislation that calls for the intervention of the suzerain power."

SIR ALFRED MILNER'S INFLUENCE.

Mr. White recognizes the effect of "the detachment of Mr. Rhodes from South African poli-



SIR ALFRED MILNER.

tics," but hopefully rather than otherwise. He says :

"By Mr. Rhodes' retirement into opposition, the extremely able and far-seeing personality who now occupies the position of high commissioner is what his position prescribes that he should be,

the first man in South Africa. The influence of Sir Alfred Milner in allaying the racial troubles excited by the raid is beyond all praise, and if he has a free hand for carrying out a firm policy—which will require no less tact and ability than the task which he discharged so well as Lord Cromer's right-hand man in Egypt—it is possible that the Transvaal difficulty may yet be settled without the effusion of blood."

"THE KEY TO THE FUTURE."

Nevertheless, says Mr. White, "if the prayer of the petitioners who protest against the existing state of things is coldly ignored, events are bound to ensue which will involve action on the part of Great Britain, however reluctant she may be to intervene. The central figure in South Africa is now the Uitlander of the Transvaal. His position is recognized as the key to the future. If justice is accorded to him the federation of South African states under the British flag and the protection of the British navy is merely a question of time. If justice is denied to him the Boer dream of a Dutch republic from Cape Point to the Zambesi will gain force and reality."

Mr. White laughs Mr. Kruger's suggested "concessions" to scorn.

VAILIMA—STEVENSON'S SAMOAN HOME.

IN the *May Overland* Mrs. A. R. Rose-Soley describes Robert Louis Stevenson's beautiful Samoan home—"Vailima, the Place of the Five Rivers." A mournful interest is added to the article by the fact reported in recent dispatches that the house was completely wrecked by one of the *Philadelphia's* shells, after the Samoan savages had looted it. It is said, however, that Stevenson's books, furniture, and *bric-à-brac* had been brought to America and are now stored in the vicinity of San Francisco.

Mrs. Rose-Soley thinks it may have been the legends clustering about the five rivers that attracted Stevenson to the place in the first instance.

"Legends which have never been surpassed by Ettrick Shepherd or Highland wife. Samoa, to the Samoans, is peopled with the dead; their *angangs* regulate the doings of the living; pain and pleasure, health and sickness, failure and success—nay, life and death—are in their hands; the bush, replete with terrors, is sacred to them at night, their authority must be recognized by day, and the consequences of disobedience or indifference are whispered in gressome tale. This was enough for Robert Louis Stevenson. He had found, climatically and spiritually, a country

after his own heart; and the nest he built for himself in that fair land was on a site where *anganga* traditions ran riot, where whole villages had been depopulated and warrior hosts were gathered to their fathers.

"Even now the way leading to Vailima is suggestively depressing. As you wind up the narrowing road, with steadily decreasing signs of habitation, you gradually leave graceful palm and sensuous tropic vegetation behind; signs of life die away with the echo of the distant breakers, the tangled mountain-bush hems you in with mournful silence; possibly a blithe kingfisher may flit across the path like a flash of sapphire, or the ruby head and breast of a *senga-senga* may gleam upon a branch; but save for these there is neither sound nor color to gladden you—nothing but dull browns and greens huddled together in a melancholy mass, twisted stems and



STEVENSON'S TOMB ON MOUNT VAEA, NEAR VAILIMA.

drooping leaves that even the sunlight fails to gladden. If the evening is closing around, you may hear the hoot of the little gray owl or the changing wail of the brown singer christened by the natives 'the bird with the seven throats.' But at last you emerge on level ground where a wide lane gladdens your eyes, a lane hedged in with limes and lemons, carpeted with green grass and mauve convolvulus; this is the 'Road of the Grateful Hearts'—the historical road fashioned by the willing hands of chiefs whom Tusitala's eloquent tongue and pen had released from bondage and whose hearts prompted them to a unique proof of gratitude. And when you have passed along the memorable lane and through the adjoining gate, Vailima itself bursts upon your view—Vailima, low, roomy, and verandaed, red-painted and set about with creepers, Vailima with its fields and gardens and English lawns, all redeemed from the wilderness, and wooded Vaea with its tomb towering above. But

when Stevenson took the land the scene was very different. A path scarce wide enough for pack-horses was the only means of approach—a path where fallen trunks caused a horse to stumble and straggling branches caught in the rider's hair and the sunlight scarce glimmered through. And ere the foundation of a white man's home could be laid on the property, wide-rooting banyans, sturdy *ifi-ifi*, tall *mamalava*, snakelike *lianas* had to be cleared away; war waged against insidious mimosa and defiant indigo. A daily, hourly fight with nature was begun and prolonged for years; neighbors were lacking, comforts few, natives only to be bribed to the haunted region, and save for romantic associations, the poet-writer's mind might well have lain fallow amid a life of constant work and frequent financial anxiety."

STEVENSON'S "SANCTUM."

Mrs. Rose-Soley first saw Vailima six months after its owner's death. The family who cared for the house guarded the author's rooms with jealous reverence.

"Even the library, fitted up specially for himself, was never used, while the little den he loved was only shown to those who had met the author in the flesh. Stevenson's *môt* about his library has become historical—'I can't work there, it is so replete with every convenience for working!'

"Yet to a man of more luxurious tastes the long room, with its polished floor and tiger skins, its spare furniture and rows of books, mainly modern, would have seemed simple enough. The author of 'Treasure Island' required still plainer surroundings to keep his imagination within bounds. In a tiny room taken off the veranda stood the narrow couch with its Samoan mat, where he loved to scribble his fancies, huddled up, his writing on his knees. A medley of books lay on the shelves around; a few chosen volumes, with a bound collection of *critiques* on the 'Wrecker,' were within reach; the original sketches for the 'Beach at Falesha' hung on the walls, and on the quaint table by the couch stood a small vase with a bunch of withered flowers, placed there on the morning of the writer's death.

"A tiny sanctum of ascetic simplicity; but at the head of the bed, carefully curtained off, stood articles by no means ascetic in character—half a dozen repeating rifles, brightly polished, and a supply of cartridges. These arms, the procuring of which brought their owner considerable annoyance at the time, have been much and unnecessarily criticised; recent events have shown that Samoa is not a place where the white man can always remain unarmed with safety, and in

the case of a sudden outbreak Vailima was a peculiarly unprotected spot. But it is more than possible that Stevenson loved the arms for their own sake, quite apart from any thought of protection from the natives he was befriending. The old idea of clan chieftainship, fostered by native custom, filled his mind, the longing for a baronial pile was in his soul; he could not convert low-running, unpretentious Vailima into a feudal castle, but he could play with associations of the past and imagine adventurous surroundings. The dark-stained banquetting-hall with its double staircase, which he considered the pride of Vailima, was filled with old-world relics; the low double doorway, cut as a communication between the old part of the house and the new hall, formed a closed recess which was looked upon as a possible place of concealment; and it is more than likely that the child-soul, still lurking in the author, loved at idle moments to 'play at make-believe' with guns, and quaint hiding-place, and banquetting-hall—the hall where indeed Vailima's tragedy occurred, for it was there Robert Louis Stevenson drew his last breath."

JAPAN AND THE PHILIPPINES.

ARTHUR MAY KNAPP writes in the June *Atlantic Monthly* of Japan's attitude toward the Philippines, beginning his article with an incident at a dinner of the Tokyo Harvard Club, in which he said to the Japanese vice-minister for foreign affairs: "Give us those two cruisers you are building in the United States, and for them we will give you the Philippines." The Japanese minister evinced a decided indisposition to make the trade, and Mr. Knapp enlarges on the subject to prove that Japan does not nurse any desire for those islands.

JAPAN WILL STAY AT HOME.

"In fact," he says, "whatever ideal Japanese imperialism has in view, it is plainly not that of territorial aggrandizement. At the same time, Japan has very distinct ideas of whom she should like to see owning the Philippines. She has watched the expansion of Anglo-Saxon influence, and although she agrees with the rest of the world that England is a land-grabber, she also agrees with the rest of the world in esteeming England a land-grubber and cultivator as well.

ENGLAND'S SOVEREIGN VIRTUE AS A COLONIZER.

"Japan has also seen and weighed the fact that Russia, France, Germany, and Spain, all the other powers which have entered the field of

colonial empire, have adopted the opposite policy. Now that Spain has met condign punishment for the inevitable but flagrant misrule of her dependencies, the merits of England's wise administration stand out in bold relief to the keen eyes of the oldest and youngest of the empires, as it tries, for its own guidance, to learn the drift of the world movement upon the current of which it has embarked.

JAPAN PREFERS AMERICA, HOWEVER.

"It is true, as Japan and all the world know, that America, Anglo-Saxon though she is, in entering the field of colonial empire enters it as a novice, and is likely, therefore, to make egregious blunders at the start. It is also true, and patent to all acquainted with the present political condition of the republic, that its civil service, now in only its first stages of genuine reform, is almost wholly lacking in material for the new field of work; that America has not and cannot have for many years anything like the corps of trained colonial administrators to whom England owes in large measure her splendid success. Yet Japan would much rather see America than England in possession of the Philippines. All the dangers just now pointed out as incident to colonial enterprise are recognized as merely incidental and temporary. Deep down under all these surface indications Japan sees the clear grit, the indomitable pluck, and the sober common sense of our race. The want of experience, the lack of material for administrative service, and the initial opportunities for corruption are shortcomings which she perceives must sooner or later disappear before the strength of the Anglo-Saxon nature reinforced by the ingenuity, the fertility of resource, the conscious freedom, and the eager enterprise which distinguish the American branch of that masterful race.

WE MAY COUNT ON HER FOR HELP.

"It is for this reason that Japan, instinct with the spirit of progress as she now is, has a glad welcome for America in the East. Strong in her sympathies for a country which, like herself, has too long dwelt in selfish isolation, she longs to see America, so well fitted for the task by race and training, take up the new responsibilities thrust upon her, and give the impress of her character to this world of the Orient that is so greatly in need of such influence. Japan would not give one of her cruisers for the possession of the Philippines; but she would lend America the whole navy of which she is so proud could she have for her near neighbor the nation whose friendship she trusts."

THE CHINESE EMPEROR AND THE BIBLE.

MRS. ARCHIBALD LITTLE writes in *Cornhill* a good paper on the Chinese Emperor and his surroundings. She reports well of the young man with "the large brilliant black eyes." She thinks the resolute way in which he revised the examination papers of 208 competitors shows greater energy and determination than he is often credited with. "It has been matter of notoriety that, though with abundant opportunities surrounding him, Kwangshu has abstained from wine, women, and cards." Here is another very significant anecdote:

"The Empress Tze Hsi's sixtieth birthday, had not the Japanese war interfered, would have been celebrated with unheard-of splendor throughout China, sixty years being Tennyson's celebrated Cycle of Cathay, to which he declared fifty years of Europe preferable, and I think most of us would very heartily agree with the poet. On this birthday the Christian women of China had decided to present the Empress with a Testament. All through the length and breadth of the empire little congregations of Chinese Christian women saved up their carefully earned copper cash and watched for the result with great eagerness. A revised edition of the Chinese translation was the outcome, beautifully printed, and above all beautifully bound in silver, inclosed in a silver casket, very finely worked. At last the offering, altogether worthy of an empress' acceptance, was duly presented at Peking. What was the surprise of the agent at the chief missionary book depot only a few hours afterward to receive a message by a palace eunuch, that the Emperor wanted a copy of the foreign book which had just been presented to the Dowager Empress! There was no other copy of this revised edition yet to be had. But the best copy of the best translation obtainable was at once handed to the eunuch, who presently returned with comments—believed to be in the Emperor's own handwriting—pointing out the discrepancies in the two translations, and saying he should like to have one quite the same as that presented to the Empress. The eunuch took away with him various other books, selected as likely to be useful to an Emperor of China. And here again the veil of mystery falls, and we know no more.

"All we do know is that just before the *coup d'état* last September the Emperor's chosen advisers, and it seems Kwangshu himself, were considering whether to proclaim Christianity as the religion of China, and that when the *coup d'état* occurred Kang Yu Wei, before flying by the Emperor's advice, went for counsel to the missionary, Timothy Richard, the man who has done more probably than any other man to re-

form China and prepare her people to be brought under Christian influences. This again looks as if the Testament had been read, if not by the Empress to whom it was given, with its costly binding and casket, by him to whom it was not given, Kwangshu, whose soul after all must be as precious in the sight of Him on high as that of the poor coolie."

The writer holds him to be a noteworthy young man, who dared all to improve the condition of the empire. She concludes:

"If not by the side of Luther, yet by the side of such failures as Rienzi or Savonarola, the large brilliant eyes of Kwangshu may fairly look out upon the world.

"But there is one great all-important difference. Kwangshu is yet alive. Oh, the pity of it! that no European power saw its way to stand by him and the youth of China!"

THE RESCUE OF THE WHALERS.

THE June *Harper's* begins with a very thrilling story of the sled journey of sixteen hundred miles in the icy barrenness of the arctic regions to relieve the whaling vessels which got caught in the ice last year. The particular species of whale from which whalebone is procured is only to be found in the polar regions in the midst of the eternal ice, and the daring sailors who venture after them suffer every year some terrible catastrophe. The fleet of whaling vessels reach Point Barrow during the first part of August. Arriving there, they follow up the whales to the eastward, as far as and sometime further than the mouth of the Mackenzie River. It is along here they make their greatest catch; but they must not remain too long in the season, and the whaling captains generally reckon on leaving that neighborhood by the middle of September, in order to reach Point Barrow again before the last part of that month. From there they work their way over to the westward, pursuing their whaling south along the coast of Siberia, and finally come out through the Bering Strait not later than the middle of October.

The catastrophe which came to the whalers last year was caused by the unexpected cold weather early in the fall of 1897, which blocked the whaling fleet as they attempted to get around Point Barrow on their way south, the northerly winds having blown the pack-ice down on the shores, while new ice was forming all the time. Eight vessels were caught and their situation was precarious to the last degree, because none of them had supplies enough to last them until spring. President McKinley discussed with his Cabinet the possible means of sending relief to

the imprisoned sailors, and finally it was decided that the revenue cutter *Bear* should go as near to them as the ice would allow, the officers of the service then proceeding on the ice. In eighteen days the vessel was made ready for a whole year's trip, with all the elaborate paraphernalia of a rigorous arctic experience. The programme allowed for finding herds of reindeer on Cape Prince of Wales and driving the deer northward overland to where the whalers were probably locked in. The plan succeeded, and it is very well worth while reading Lieutenant Bertholf's account of the wonderful journey, as he was one of the three men who left the *Bear* to take the dog-sleds and deer to the north.

The sled journey over the land from Cape Vancouver to the northernmost limits of Alaska was sixteen hundred miles in length, and was the longest ever made by a single party in one winter. That no lives should have been lost and no extraordinary suffering was endured speaks well indeed for the good judgment of the men who conducted the expedition. They succeeded in getting no less than four hundred reindeer to the starving crews of the whaling vessels off Point Barrow. One of the whaling vessels had been crushed in the ice and another had been set on fire by the natives, leaving two crews destitute.

WHAT SPAIN CAN TEACH AMERICA.

SEÑOR ESTÉVANEZ, a former Spanish war minister, contributes a frank and sensible article to the *North American Review* for May on "What Spain Can Teach America."

Colonizing powers, in the opinion of this Spanish statesman, should study Spain's colonial policy, "in rare cases to imitate her, but in many to learn wherein her example should be avoided."

Señor Estévez makes no attempt to palliate the record of Spanish cruelty in dealing with the aborigines. In some countries, he says, the Spaniards annihilated the natives, while in others they ruined and degraded them. Even when wise and just laws were made in Spain, they availed little in countries whose viceroys had discretionary power to execute them or not, as they pleased. Señor Estévez is convinced by the conquerors' own testimony that horrible atrocities were committed. He reminds us, however, that Spain was not the only nation responsible for the extinction of races in America. Neither the Portuguese, the French, the English, nor the Dutch were guiltless in this respect.

Another of Spain's mistakes lay in the exclusion of the other European peoples from commercial privileges in the Spanish dominions.

Foreigners were compelled to become naturalized as Spaniards and to accept the Catholic faith in order merely to settle and live in Spain's American possessions. This policy gave rise to an enormous contraband traffic, lasting for two centuries, and to a long series of fights with pirates, filibusters, and natives. "Even the American-born Spaniards, children of the conquerors and colonists, were from the first violent enemies of Spain, of her monopolies, of her laws. The first Mexican separatist was the son of Ferdinand Cortés."

Señor Estévez has no fears that the Americans will fall into the errors of religious intolerance and commercial monopoly by which his own country has suffered so much, but he thinks there is some danger that they may treat the Porto Ricans and the Filipinos in an overbearing or unsympathetic manner. Anglo-Saxons generally, he thinks, hold a false theory—a theory which divides races into superior and inferior.

THE CASE OF MINDANAO.

A lesson for all colonizing governments may be learned from Spain's experience with Mindanao. That island, though discovered by Spanish navigators in the sixteenth century, was never conquered. Spain's sovereignty there was merely nominal. The inhabitants are Mohammedans. They showed a disposition to submit to Spain at the beginning, reserving only their religious beliefs; but Spain would not accept their submission unless they consented to be baptized in the Catholic faith. The result was that Spain had a war of three centuries with the people of Mindanao, who retained the greater part of their territory, Spain possessing only the coasts.

Señor Estévez predicts that Mindanao will offer less resistance to the United States than Luzon and the other islands. By means of tolerance and commerce, he says, the Americans can accomplish in a few months what the Spaniards failed to do in a little more than three centuries.

In conclusion, Señor Estévez declares that as a Spaniard he deplores his country's reverses, but that he considers them deserved, and that Spain will some day rejoice in them if true freedom is established in the Philippines.

"Whether it is made an independent republic or is incorporated in the United States, the inhabitants of the Philippine archipelago must at last be allowed to enjoy liberty and the dignity of manhood, which were trampled upon by impure priests and by merchants without a conscience during the long dominion of Spain."

"If such was the result of the Spanish rule, let it be proved once more that liberty is the at-

mosphere of life, that all races have a right to it, that the United States is not a plutocracy, as they say in Europe, but a true democracy, a model republic, and a great nation."

WHAT WILL BECOME OF CUBA?

MR. HERBERT P. WILLIAMS discusses in the June *Atlantic Monthly* "The Outlook in Cuba." He assumes that we must place our dealings with the Cubans on the understanding that they are as yet but children. He believes that the most probable future for Cuba is permanent American control. Two ways in which this may come about are possible. We may simply say that the Cubans are incapable of governing themselves, and we may therefore govern the island as we govern our Territories; or we may put the island into reasonably good working order and then remove our troops and officials on the ground that we had pledged independence. The result will be chaos, and we shall have to go back and take up the regeneration of the island from the beginning. He approves of the former plan.

"Why should we feel obliged to sail away from the island, pretending that we had established a government, and allow the Cubans to massacre one another? Is it either right or expedient to expose to the fury of the negroes and the other inflammable elements of the populace which the demagogues will stir up the resident Spaniards, the other foreigners (including our own people), and the Cubans who have proved friendly to us? The first thought of the Cubans after the protection of the Spanish troops was withdrawn was to murder the Spanish civilians, particularly in the small towns where the Spaniards, being men of honesty, industry, and stamina, kept the stores and owned most of the property. Are we to learn nothing by experience? Have we a right to wash our hands of a responsibility which we assumed not only voluntarily, but aggressively, and march away from that powder magazine when we know beyond a reasonable doubt that there are those who only wait for our departure to fire it? Europe has already taken it for granted (unofficially) that we are in Cuba to stay. Putting aside the enormous expense and the disturbance connected with moving our troops away from Cuba and then sending them back, are we called upon to put Cuba at the mercy of a half-barbarous rabble, with the inevitable result of having to go back there in force, reconquer the island, and do all over again the splendid work of the past year?

"To be sure, it may be said with much plausibility that if a vote were taken to-morrow, the

people of Cuba would by a large majority request us to leave the island, and that we ought not to go into the business of government without the consent of the governed. It is probably true that the Cubans who want us to go outnumber those who want us to stay. The point is that if all or nearly all the people whose convictions deserve respect are on one side, mere numbers should not be allowed to decide the matter.

"If we set theories aside and look at the situation squarely, it becomes evident that the event will not be determined by any logical or *a priori* considerations. Our possession of the island is growing more firmly rooted every week, and Americans are forming interests and connections in it which will slowly change the face of things. With every life and every dollar we send to Cuba our hold on the island is being strengthened. We shall stay to take care of our own, and thus, by imperceptible stages, the present situation will glide into permanent control."

TRUSTS IN EUROPE.

IN the *Forum* for May Mr. Wilhelm Berdrow gives an instructive account of the growth and present status of those industrial organizations in Europe which correspond to what we in America term "trusts."

It will perhaps surprise some of our readers to learn that as long ago as 1852 the Austrian penal code declared industrial combinations equally punishable with labor unions. Mr. Berdrow argues from this fact that trusts were not only in actual existence at that time, but had begun to exert an unfavorable influence. Even at the present day, however, trusts of the magnitude and influence of those now so numerous (and daily growing more numerous) in the United States are exceedingly rare in Europe; industrial combinations of small or moderate dimensions are far more frequent. Mr. Berdrow defends these small trusts as necessary because of competition and underselling, which are carried to a ruinous extreme.

GERMANY.

As an explanation of the undoubted fact that in Germany, of all European countries, the trusts have spread most extensively and been most successful, Mr. Berdrow reminds us that the German states, in respect to the recent increase of industry and the extraordinary growth of their great cities, bear a most striking resemblance to the United States, and like the United States they furnish fruitful soil for the growth of industrial combinations. There, too, over-

production and excessive competition have contributed to the formation of trusts.

The German trusts number less than 200 and are becoming fewer as the smaller combinations unite to form larger units. Only a few of these, says Mr. Berdrow, correspond to the American idea of a trust. Still, he thinks that the genuine trust is gradually becoming more common in Germany.

"As regards great industrial combinations, the most striking advance has been made in the German coal industry, the most prominent organization in this department being the *Rheinisch-Westfälische Kohlensyndikat*, which is distinguished by the characteristics of a genuine trust, exercising within its sphere of activity almost unlimited power. Like the American Standard Oil Company, it directly controls the sales, leaving the matter of production entirely to the separate companies. Under the innocent title of *ein Verein zum Ankauf und Verkauf von Kohlen* (a society for the buying and selling of coal), this trust has for the past five years completely controlled the west German coal industry and dictated prices.

"The German and Austrian rolling-mill unions, the trusts of the chemical industries, as well as the most important French trusts—the latter embracing more particularly the iron, petroleum, and sugar industries—have all adopted this method of selling conjointly by means of a central bureau, in order to dictate prices and to deprive the individual members of every vestige of independence. No member of such a trust has a right to take or to fill an order, whether at wholesale or at retail. Each order must be referred to the central bureau, which then assigns it to the separate factories according to their location or their facilities. All accounts must likewise pass through the central bureau."

As yet no large element of the population is arrayed against the trusts in Germany. The trusts have been moderate in the fixing of prices, and there is no popular demand for legal interference with their operations. The legal weapons for such interference do not now exist, and the fact that Prussia and other states are directly interested in some of the trusts would make legislation difficult, to say the least.

ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

The tardy acceptance of the trust system in England is believed to be due in some degree to the thorough application of the principle of free trade; a protective tariff is a necessary adjunct to the successful development of the largest trusts. Furthermore, there is more reverence for individual freedom in England than on the continent.

"France is a country in which the trust system has long flourished and assumed extensive proportions. In the iron trade great trust companies—local in their character, it is true—have existed for the last twenty years; and the most powerful of these, like those of Germany, limit their activity to the establishment of sales depots. The chemical industry of France, like that of Germany, is now controlled almost exclusively by combinations, and this is true of several other lines which, in most other European countries, have as yet either successfully withstood the formation of trusts or in which the trusts have dissolved owing to disagreement among the members. The bottle-glass and sugar-refining industries may serve as examples. Several international trusts, such as the zinc trust, also have their headquarters at Paris."

RUSSIA.

Russia shows the same sequence of industrial conditions as the other countries of Europe—a powerful and poorly organized industry, overproduction, strikes, and, finally, the formation of trusts.

"It is true that the Russian courts, like those of many other countries, do not recognize the formation of trusts as legal, and in many instances vigorous proceedings to guard the interests of the poorer classes have been instituted against the smaller corporations—more particularly against those organized by jobbers for the purpose of the uniform raising of prices. But in Russia, as elsewhere, the small thieves frequently are hanged in order that the greater ones may escape, and the powerful trust combinations in iron, brandy, sugar, and petroleum have apparently never encountered the slightest resistance on the part of the Russian Government. On the contrary, many of these corporations have been organized under the protection and with the assistance of the government.

"When, in 1885, the sugar industry, in consequence of overproduction, had been brought almost to the verge of ruin, the large and influential manufacturers succeeded in inducing the government to fix the annual legal output of the raw material; whereupon it became an easy matter to apportion the quantity to be produced among the great factories and thereby to close the smaller ones. A few years later the prices of Russian sugar had, in consequence of this trust, advanced so far beyond the prices prevailing in the markets of the world that in 1892 and 1893 the Russian Government, in order to guard against so great an injury to the public, deemed it advisable to purchase about 2,000,000 poods of sugar abroad. This was sold, on account of

the government, to the Russian people, the government realizing a net profit of 3,250,000 rubles by the transaction. The favorable provisions guaranteed to the sugar trust regarding production and importation were, however, left unchanged.

"With the aid of the secret coöperation of the Russian Government the oil trust in Baku was established several years ago, with the object either of combating the influence of the American oil trust or of combining with the latter for the purpose of mutual advantage."

LEGISLATION.

Legislation against the trusts has been chiefly confined to Austria, where a bill has been recently submitted to the Diet advocating state jurisdiction and aiming at the prevention of such trusts as may restrict the sale of goods on which indirect duties are levied by the state for the purpose of revenue. Hungary is now occupied with a similar measure.

"The other countries of Europe have as yet done little or nothing to define the judicial status of trusts. In England there are no penal ordinances against them, and the civil law confines itself to declaring their contracts null and void whenever the latter conflict with the freedom of traffic or trade. Such a proceeding, however, would only be necessary in those instances where a certain branch of industry had become completely monopolized by a trust; and matters have not yet gone thus far in England or on the continent."

THE CONTROL OF MUNICIPAL FRANCHISES.

IN *Self Culture* for June Mr. Edwin Burritt Smith deals with the subject of municipal franchises. As to the present movement in the direction of public ownership this writer says:

"There is just now an increasing tendency to public ownership and operation of public enterprises. Of the fifty largest cities of the United States but nine now depend on private water works, these being San Francisco, New Orleans, Omaha, Denver, Indianapolis, New Haven, Paterson, Scranton, and Memphis. While about 200 cities and villages have changed from private to public ownership, only about 20 have returned from public to private ownership. Over half the changes to public ownership have been made since 1890, and only about one third of the reverse changes within the same period. Gas plants are owned and operated by 168 English cities, 338 German cities, by Brussels and Amsterdam, and by 11 American cities. Electric-lighting plants are owned and operated by nearly 300 American municipalities, by many English and Austrian cities, and by 13 German cities. Fully

one-third of the English street railroads are publicly owned and operated, notably in Glasgow, Leeds, Sheffield, and London, and but few expiring franchises are renewed.

"The advantages claimed for public ownership are, in part, improved service, lower rates, diffusion of use, stimulation of industry, and purification of politics. The last of these is of fundamental importance. The fear is widely expressed that the further municipalization of public enterprises will lead to state socialism; also that it will dangerously increase the raw material of spoils politics. On the other hand, it is contended that the municipalization of public utilities has gone too far with success to be now checked for fear of state socialism; also that the public-service corporation is really at the bottom of municipal misrule in America.

CORPORATIONS SECRETLY "IN POLITICS."

"The dangerous influence of political spoilsmen is obvious everywhere. It may well be doubted whether this influence is as great, as far-reaching, or as dangerous as that of the public-service corporation. The one and its methods are known; the merit system, its adequate remedy, is also known, and its general application in time is certain. The other is hidden and its methods are secret; its remedy, as many believe, cannot be found short of the annihilation of the offender. The public-service corporation is everywhere in politics. It is a potent, often a controlling, factor. It does not always or even generally directly bribe public officials. Its methods are various and insidious. As the spoilsmen are driven to the wall by the merit system, they are more and more allowed to name the employees of the public-service corporation. If its employment is to be continued, some form of the merit system will yet have to be applied to its service. A further large increase in the public service is not free from objection; but it is a less evil than a corporate service secretly controlled by political bosses. At whatever cost the secret political influence of the public-service corporation must be destroyed. This almost certainly means that this form of corporation must in time give way to municipal ownership and operation.

"The struggle for the public order which involves just government is everywhere and always against special privileges. Democracy aspires to secure government under which legalized special privilege shall yield to equal opportunity before the law. The time has fully come to refuse public grants to special favorites of the laws. The public-service corporation must go or submit to strict legal control."

THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING WOMAN AND FRENCH COMMERCE.

IT is a very interesting and highly suggestive article which Miss Ada Cone contributes to the *Contemporary* on English-speaking women and French commerce. To put the gist of it in a sentence, France commercially lies at the foot of the English-speaking woman. In the great international workshop France has specialized in the production of commodities for the decoration of womanhood, and for her oversea custom principally depends on the woman who lives in Great Britain or the United States.

THE PRINCIPAL FRENCH INDUSTRIES.

Miss Cone examines the statistics of French exports for 1895 and reports:

"Not only do we take a third of the entire French exports, not only do we take nearly half of the exported manufactures, in our purchase is included the greater portion of the art industries that France sells abroad. . . . It is no exaggeration to say that the most delicate, the most intrinsically precious, the most artistic fabrications of French exports are consumed in English communities."

Miss Cone shows that France, finding the advantage of specializing its labor, "has precipitated itself in a single direction. It has made luxurious dress industries its special field." But decorative dress, once worn by men, is now only demanded by women:

"English-speaking women, then, are the principal patrons of the art industries of France; and as French industries are at present constituted, their patronage is a necessity to the prosperity of French commerce."

A SHREWD AND "PALPABLE HIT."

From this fact Miss Cone derives an effective retort to French gibes at English taste:

"It is for our women that, after her own are served, France expends her ingenuity and her taste, and it is our patronage that enables her to keep her industrial reputation up to its high theoretic standard in the world. Whereby falls of itself the charge often made in French literature that the Anglo-Saxons have no taste. The client that buys the most beautiful objects offered in the market is, on the contrary, the client with the maximum of taste."

ANGLO-AMERICAN SHARE IN FRENCH EXPORTS.

In support of these general statements, a few of the figures quoted by Miss Cone may be given:

"The specialties of French industry are tissues, imitation furs, garments and underwear, milli-

nery and artificial flowers, accessories of dress, including jewelry, gloves, buttons, and fans; a class of articles known as *articles de Paris* and another listed as 'articles of collection outside of commerce.' All but the two last are articles of women's dress, and these two represent but a small fraction of the value of the rest. The most considerable of these industries is tissues, the export value of which is 711,000,000 francs. Of this value England takes 281,000,000 and the United States 123,000,000, making four-sevenths of the whole tissue export."

IN SILK.

"The value of the silk export in the year from which these figures are borrowed is 270,500,000 francs, of which amount England takes 120,250,000 and the United States 75,000,000, or the two together about two-thirds of the silk export."

"Of the elaborated silk weaves, England takes of gold and silver brocade nearly half the export, and of pure silk brocades the value of 6,000,000 out of a total of 8,000,000, which, added to that taken by the United States, makes a total for the two countries of seven-ninths of the silk brocade. Of gauze and crape England takes five-sevenths of the export; of tissues in artificial silk, more than four-fifths; and England and the United States together take one-half the silk tulle, each a value of 5,000,000."

RIBBONS, EMBROIDERIES, ETC.

"Ribbons, that Richelieu fostered artificially to trim the doublets of the men, have become so large a proportion of the silk export for women as to be valued at 30,250,000 francs, of which amount England and the United States take four-fifths. Of the *passementeries*, which have a similar history, the English countries take well on toward two-thirds; of silk lace England takes 15,000,000 out of the value of 19,000,000, and the two English countries take eighteen-nineteenths; of silk lace mixed with gold and silver England and the United States are the sole clients, the bulk going to the United States; while of the pure raw-silk tissue export England takes nearly the whole."

Of the wool-tissue export—323,000,000—the two English-speaking countries take well on toward two-thirds. Of cotton embroideries England takes 46,000,000 and the United States 80,000,000 worth, or both countries together 126,000,000 out of a total of 128,000,000 worth exported.

IMITATION FURS.

In imitation furs France distinguishes herself: "The French turn every year 80,000,000

rabbit skins, 15,000,000 hare skins, and a proportionate number of cat skins, according to finish, into Canadian martin, Prussian martin, Swedish martin, Russian sable, North Sea otter, etc. . . . It is said that two-thirds of the fur used in the world is rabbit. It may be hazarded, then, that the greater number of fur jackets and muffs have their starting-point in French kitchens.

"Women's gloves are the most renowned French specialty in skins. The export is rated at 49,000,000, of which England takes 29,000,000 and the United States 18,000,000, or the two together practically the whole export.

"Of the 35,000,000 francs' worth of feathers for dress, England takes 15,500,000 and the United States 13,000,000, making this export depend entirely on our women."

WHO HOLDS THE SCEPTER ?

Miss Cone deduces the general inference : "It is over our women that the French scepter is held." Rather should one say, the English-speaking woman holds the scepter over French commerce. For, as the writer shows, France pays the penalty of the creative artist : she does not produce for the masses ; her colonial failure proves her unsuited to minister to the more vulgar needs of the multitude ; "she must depend on a special and limited public." The article concludes with a dark hint of what would happen if the English-speaking woman were to withdraw the scepter she now holds out to suppliant France :

"When masculine dress cast off the luxurious and the purely decorative, it freed itself at the same time from French dictation and from dependence on French industries. If the women go on they must do the same. It may happen to the critic to modify his taste ; it will be less easy for the artist to change his principles of work."

CHANGES IN CATHOLIC FRANCE.

THE *Quarterly Review* contains a comprehensive study of "The Catholic Reaction in France." The writer begins by declaring France in a perilous condition, manifestly decadent and corrupt ; outwardly rich and prosperous, intellectually restless and unhappy. He finds "the real reason of disquietude" in the fact that "France has never lived down her infamous revolution."

THE SECRET OF THE FRENCH SEE-SAW.

"The monsters who abolished the *ancien régime* put nothing in its place but lawlessness and hypocrisy."

"In the revolution of 1789 France forgot her traditions and stamped upon her history. She thought, so to say, that she might live *in vacuo*, and, disembarassed of her atmosphere, make a dashing return to first principles. Her intelligence was acute enough to invent fifty new constitutions ; she saw the meaning of all things and deemed herself superior to the tyranny of kings or priests. She ignored only this : that her roots had sunk deep into the past, and that you can no more drag up a nation than you can drag up a tree without endangering its life."

"She is tired from sheer curiosity. What nation, indeed, could live through a century of experiment and be strong ? She has been racked by iconoclasm on the one hand and on the other by the reaction which iconoclasm always necessitates.

"So France alternated between piety and free thought, until the disaster of 1870 compelled another revision of theology and politics. . . . The avowed object of the new republic, as of the old, was the complete secularization of France. This object, conceived by Jules Ferry, was carried out in the spirit of harsh intolerance by Gambetta. . . . For a while the republicans triumphed. With a Jew prefect in every department the anti-clerical government felt secure. The faithful Catholic was exposed to every indignity : the bigotry of free-thinkers surpassed the worst bigotry of the Church. The word 'God' was expunged from school-books, and the sanguine politician thought that 'God' was expunged from the hearts of the people."

THE PROPHETS OF VICTORIOUS BIGOTRY.

But the inevitable reaction arrived. France—even free-thinking France—is, says the writer, Catholic at heart. "The modern literature of France is persistently 'Neo-Christian.'" But the Church, in fighting the true battle of freedom and of emancipation from the yoke of fanatical secularism, has stooped to the basest instruments. Two agents of the reaction are selected for mention. M. Drumont, possibly a Jew, has no other policy or aim than to promote hatred against the Jews. His "*Libre Parole*" consists of a leading article on Jewish villainy, and "the rest of the paper is a tissue of lies, designed to prove that every crime committed in France is committed by a scoundrel of Hebrew blood." His "*La France Juive*" is "the Bible of the Catholic movement in France." And "what M. Drumont has done for the Jews, M. Ernest Renaud, in his '*Peril Protestant*,' does for the Protestants, but with less tact and even greater violence." The writer says that the Dreyfus case gave the Church her grand opportunity, of

which she has taken full advantage. Even she was surprised at her own influence. "For two years she has prevailed against all the forces arrayed on the other side." "The Catholic revival is assured."

"THE BELLIGERENT PAPACY."

MR. W. J. STILLMAN, late the London *Times* correspondent in Rome, discusses "the belligerent papacy" in the *National Review*. He gives prominence to one aspect of the long duel between Vatican and Quirinal which is often overlooked. He says:

"In case the Pope or the conclave should decide to leave Italy, it would lie in the power of the government to break up, once and forever, the constitution of the papacy for all political and mundane ends, for it holds him prisoner by a bond he dare not break. The Pope is Pontifex Maximus simply as bishop of Rome, and by the ancient right of the Church of Rome he must be elected by the people and clergy of Rome. The college of cardinals are only the delegates of the constituency, and should the government see fit, on any vacancy of the bishopric, to order the election to be made under the original and legal conditions, no assertion of authority by any foreign election would ever regain the jurisdiction, and the papacy would be split by a schism which neither conclave, council, nor Emperor could ever heal. The Italian Church would be constituted by formalities as valid as those which founded the Roman Catholic, and all Italy would adhere to it."

When the last conclave voted at its first sitting that it would go out of Italy to elect Pio Nono's successor, Crispi whispered to a cardinal friend that in that case the Vatican would be occupied by the Italian Government. Mr. Stillman proceeds:

"The Italian minister had but to hold his peace and the 'last rampart of the pontifical sovereignty had passed into the hands of the enemy.' That the decision of the minister was a misfortune for Italy has long been evident."

The belligerent policy of the papacy Mr. Stillman attributes to its ambition for political power and the temporal sovereignty. Its spiritual thunders have fallen flat; Italy, though Catholic, is still patriotic. The Pope, searching for temporal weapons, has come under the control of the Society of Jesus—"an intensely worldly body," "of the grossest materialism." Hence the eager coquetting with France and servile submission to Russia. Hence the Dreyfus case.

Civil war in France, in Austria-Hungary, and in Italy, with inevitable disasters to the papacy, is a possible outcome of this policy, in Mr. Stillman's opinion.

ASIA MINOR, PAST AND FUTURE.

THERE is a very good article in the *Edinburgh Review* on Asia Minor. It opens with insistence on two important facts too frequently overlooked—that for four centuries Asia Minor was the Roman empire, after the western half had been overrun by the northern race, and that the same region has practically been the Turkish empire. The Anatolian peasant and the Anatolian taxes have been the mainstay of the Porte for two centuries.

MR. GLADSTONE AND THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES.

After remarking upon the beauty and variety of the scenery in which few countries can surpass Asia Minor, and after commenting on its chief defect, the absence of great rivers, the writer deals with the nearer political horizon. He grants that England's policy of 1878 has proved a complete and signal failure, but he observes:

"One thing is certain, that the Disraeli policy, whether mistaken or not, was never given a fair trial. The object of that policy was to bring Turkey in Asia completely under British control—to reform its government, to develop its natural resources, and to utilize its armies as a check on the possibility of a Russian advance upon India. It was an ambitious policy, demanding continuous efforts and involving great risks, implying also most serious obligations. The efforts needed to convert the influence acquired by the Cyprus convention into a virtual protectorate of Turkey in Asia were not continued long. The peripatetic military consuls, who formed the very keystone of the new policy and who, in a very short time, had acquired an enormous influence in the country, were withdrawn by Mr. Gladstone. The only efficient means of fulfilling the obligations incurred by the convention—viz., the safeguarding of the Armenians and the introduction of reforms—were thus deliberately taken away. The obligations themselves remained."

RUSSIA'S RESPONSIBILITY.

"The guilt of the Armenian massacres lies not at our door, but at the door of Russia. Men who ought to know believe that Russia deliberately encouraged the Sultan in his policy of massacre, aiming thereby at ultimately getting Armenia for herself without the Armenians. And there can be little doubt—for nothing else can explain Lord Rosebery's attitude in the spring of 1895—that Russia deliberately threatened us with war if we should dare to do our duty and coerce the Sultan. The blood-guiltiness is Russia's, but the discredit of it has been all our own."

The writer mentions with respect the opinion

of many that in spite of what both Lord Salisbury and Lord Rosebery said, Russia would not have gone to war had England insisted on a cessation of Armenian massacres. Many of the Turks would have welcomed any action on England's part which would have enabled them to put an end to Abdul Hamid's misgovernment. But, says the reviewer, "Englishmen have learned from their experience in Egypt and elsewhere that if they upset existing authority they become responsible for what is to take its place, and Europe was hardly ready to permit British influences, however admirable our motives, to take in hand the establishment of an improved Turkish government at Constantinople."

THE HIGHWAY FROM EUROPE TO INDIA.

So much for the past. For the future he argues:

"But sooner or later the Eastern question will force itself upon us again, and the commercial and political interests of Great Britain in Turkey—or, to speak more correctly, in Asiatic Turkey—are too great for us to allow the question to be entirely decided by others. Sooner or later the highway from Europe to India will lie through Turkey and Persia, and it is impossible for us to regard with indifference the fate of countries capable of such vast development and likely to be brought into such near political and commercial relations with our great dependency."

BRITISH AND GERMAN AIMS THE SAME.

He considers that the new German policy is perfectly compatible with the interests of Great Britain:

"Stated in its wildest terms, that policy means the strengthening and the commercial development of Turkey. Both these terms imply, as the very conditions of their fulfillment, the reform of the Turkish administration. They do not of necessity imply the support of the Sultan's iniquities; in the long run they cannot imply it. There can be little doubt that as German industry expands in Turkey, the German Government will be compelled to throw its weight on the side of law and order and to interest itself in the safety of the peaceful population. And the more that takes place, the more will the policy of the English and German governments coincide. Both must desire the moral and material development of Turkey; neither thinks—for the present, at any rate—of annexing the Turkish empire or any large part of it. Asiatic Turkey lies half way between Germany and India; its commercial development must benefit both; the German scheme of a railroad to the Persian Gulf must largely depend on Indian trade for its success; as a military ally, Asiatic Turkey could

be equally useful to India or Germany. Russian annexation would close the door to British and German trade alike. But Germany is not so backward commercially as to depend for its success on a policy of exclusion."

INDUSTRIAL NECESSITIES.

The reviewer grants that the development of German influence in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia would not be tolerated by Russia unless England supports it. Here is a sentence which might lead John Ruskin to exclaim how thoroughly damned a condition nations must be in of which such words could with truth be written:

"It is in the purely practical and selfish need of the two great industrial powers, England and Germany, to find a new field for their manufacturers and engineers to conquer and in the duty of protecting the interests that have already been established—not in treaty obligations, however strict, or in popular sentiment, however strong—that a really effective and continuous motive can be found for reforming the Ottoman government."

The writer thus forecasts this commercial policy:

"In course of time, perhaps, political reasons, not unlike those which have caused combined railroad action in China, may cause England and Germany to combine and support a railroad scheme under joint protection. Of this great undertaking the control of the western or Anatolian portion would naturally fall to Germany, while that of the Mesopotamian and Persian sections would fall to England, whose military and naval base is in India and the Persian Gulf. . . . Mr. Rhodes' visit to Berlin has brought German coöperation with England in the building of a great African railroad into the field of practical politics. The arguments for coöperation in Asiatic Turkey are no less cogent than those for coöperation in Africa."

THE NORWEGIAN SURGEON-GENERAL ON AMERICAN ARMY SANITATION.

SURGEON-GENERAL THAULOW, of the Norwegian army and navy, has made an official report of his visit to the seat of war last summer, which has been translated for the *St. Paul Medical Journal*.

General Thaulow was on board the *Olivette* when the wounded were brought to that ship after the fighting at Siboney in June.

"On the afternoon of the 25th the wounded began to arrive on board the *Olivette*; the saloon was arranged for a dressing and operating room, for which it was very well fitted. We ascertained

that the Rough Riders, a regiment of volunteer cavalry, all on foot and numbering about 1,000 men, had been attacked by the Spaniards unexpectedly. Wild rumors that the Spaniards numbered 5,000 and that their loss was enormous were bruited about, but the truth is that their number was only 1,000 and that their loss was less than that of the Americans. The last had about 20 killed and over 40 wounded, whereof 36 were brought on board the *Olivette*. There were no arrangements for the transport of the wounded from land to the ship; the wounded were brought on board either by comrades or by details of men in boats of the most varied kind, and there were no good arrangements to hoist the men on shipboard from these boats. The wounded kept on coming in until 3 o'clock in the morning, and some did not arrive until the next day. As the hospital had only four physicians and an extra one from another ship, my proffer of assistance was willingly accepted, and I had an opportunity to refresh my surgical skill. After the wounded were dressed they were put into the staterooms and berths prepared for them; but it must be said that these places were not as good for the wounded as the saloon was for a dressing-place, and isolation of the sick, many of whom suffered from contagious diseases, was impossible. The next day many of the sick were sent to another ship, it is true, but many of them were so weak that they could not be moved, and there was no opportunity for an effective cleansing and disinfection."

AN INTELLIGENT FOREIGNER'S OBSERVATIONS.

General Thaulow noted the fact that the medical corps in the regular army was altogether too small to provide physicians for even the principal posts in the volunteer army, so that surgeons had to be appointed from civil life. He deems it unfortunate that the operations of the Red Cross had to be independent of the work of the army medical staff.

General Thaulow was interested in the action of the small calibered rifles. He says:

"It is hardly demonstrated as yet whether the modern weapons kill more at the time than the older, but as far as the wounded are concerned they certainly are more humane. Indeed the question is, Are the small-calibered rifles not too humane, since they do not render the combatants unfit for battle for a reasonable length of time in a great many instances? This seems to hold good at least for the wild and semi-savage races."

General Thaulow concludes as follows:

"To give a brief *résumé* of what I learned on my visit, I must first mention that it was of great interest to become acquainted with the organiza-

tion of American sanitation, and to see how the Americans with their practical sense understood how to quickly organize new detachments and supply them with *personnel* and equipment. But I saw also how impossible it was, even with America's immense resources, to prepare even a small force in the beginning of the war, and I learned further how little one can depend upon untrained masses, and how necessary it is for every nation who thinks of defending itself against regular armies to have everything down to the minutest detail in good shape, and to afford every one from the private to the highest officers in all their relations the greatest possible practice."

CARRIAGE OF THE BODY IN MARCHING.

FROM a *Contemporary* article headed "Quick March!" by Sir Edward Verney, it seems that the soldier's ordinary style of marching is unscientific. The writer says:

"In African tribes the humble bearing of the slave contrasts with the haughty stride of the chief. It is this upright posture that is admired and taught to the soldier, but it is the one that demands the greatest expenditure of physical energy and is the worst adapted for prolonged effort. Toiling men unconsciously assume the walk which saves them most and enables them to perform their day's work with the least waste of force."

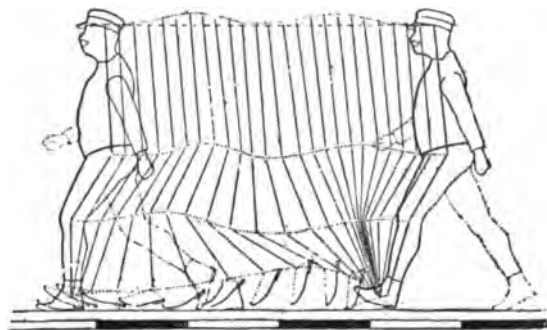
In the case of savage tribes, Oriental races, mountaineers, country folk, and hunters, "the body inclines forward, the knees are more or less bent, and the sole of the foot falls flat on the ground."

THE FLEXION EXPERIMENTS.

The more natural system is recommended in a book entitled "How to March," the authors of which are Dr. Felix Regnault and the Commandant de Raoul. They call it the "flexion" march. By aid of chrono-photography it is shown—

"(1) The body is more inclined forward in the 'flexion' march than in the ordinary march; (2) the leg taking the ground is more bent at the thigh; (3) the leg leaving the ground is more inclined. It follows, therefore, that the jar to the body by the leg taking the ground will be less, as it is transmitted by a more bent lever, while the greater inclination of the other leg is more favorable to propulsion. . . . The total of the vertical oscillations of the body in ordinary marching is about 74 yards per kilometer, while in 'flexion' marching it is but $34\frac{1}{2}$ —less than half. In 'flexion' marching, therefore, there is an economy of work done, besides diminution

of the jar at each step; and, further, owing to the greater inclination of the body, the action of each step has a greater propelling power. Experiments with a dynamometer have confirmed



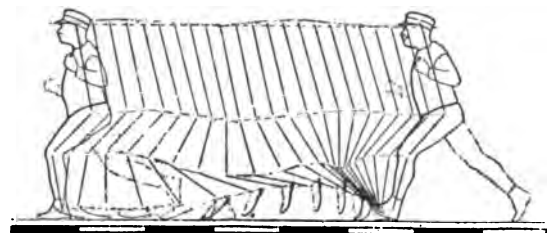
ORDINARY MARCHING.

this view. Two soldiers were made each to carry a metal box containing a few nails; the one who marched in flexion made less rattle than the other. It is a fundamental principle in mechanics that the speed of vehicles increases as jerks and shocks are diminished."

SEVEN MILES AN HOUR.

These are the mechanical facts. Now take the results of practical training in the "flexion" march:

"In the winter of 1889-90 two officers, two sergeants, and thirty rank and file of the One Hundred and Sixteenth Regiment of the French army were put under training at Nantes. After



FLEXION MARCHING.

three months' instruction they marched, in the presence of General Fay, carrying their rifles, bayonets, one hundred rounds of ammunition per man, and food for one meal, along a hilly road a distance of twelve and a half miles in an hour and forty-six minutes, which is at the rate of rather over seven miles an hour. Not one man fell out by the way. After a rest of two hours they returned in three hours and five minutes, including two halts of ten minutes each, which gives an average speed of over four and a half miles an hour. Two days afterward these same men, in the presence of General Colonieu, in heavy marching order, covered a distance of six and seven-

eighths miles across fields on hilly ground in an hour and twenty minutes, which works out at about five and one-eighth miles an hour. At the end of their march they were at once told off to target practice, when their shooting proved superior to that of the best company of marksmen in the regiment. This was done to test whether the exertions of their rapid march had injured their capabilities as riflemen."

The immense importance of swift movement demands, in the writer's judgment, that close attention be paid to the new kind of march.

POLITICS AND THE JUDGES.

MR. FRANK G. COOK, in his article on "Politics and the Judiciary" in the June *Atlantic Monthly*, takes for his text the recent incident in New York, where Tammany Hall refused to renominate for the Supreme Court a good judge who refused to recognize his obligations to that organization, and examines into the history of our judiciary and the principles of their selection, with the result of becoming very dissatisfied with the election of judges by popular vote. He thinks it tends to degrade the office of the judge to the service of party politics.

"It is not to be inferred that all judges elected by popular vote are corrupt. The evil influence of politics upon the bench has been largely counteracted by professional pride, by conservative public sentiment, and by a critical bar. Lawyers as a class are influential in politics, and do not easily submit to the imposition and burden of an incompetent or unworthy judge. They often dictate nominations for the bench. But even with these safeguards the evil is not obviated. It is too subtle. Men of the highest qualifications, intellectual and moral, for judicial office, when chosen under the prevalent system of popular election, can scarcely escape the baleful influences to which that system subjects them. An under-feeling of political obligation, a brooding dread of political decapitation, consciously or unconsciously qualify the judgment and disturb the mind. They at least prevent complete independence and repose. 'It is plain,' says Mr. Bryce, 'that judges, when sucked into the vortex of politics, must lose dignity, impartiality, and influence.'

"In fact, the judiciary cannot escape the harmful power of politics so long as it is subject to popular election. The time has come for the States to return to the system of appointment. It is not contended that thereby all evil political influence would be obviated. Under a system of appointment the selection of judges may at times be controlled by executive favoritism or by politi-

cal considerations, but the possibility of such control is reduced to a minimum. The executive can be held personally and directly responsible for his appointments to judicial office, and any departure from his duty can be rebuked at the polls.

"Such a reform would be in harmony with a similar reform now in progress in municipal government. In recent years, in some of our great cities, notably New York and Boston, the method of appointment has been substituted for that of popular election in the selection of heads of departments and other similar officers. Thus we are to-day correcting the excesses to which the principles of democracy and of popular elections have been carried. The various functions and factors in local and municipal government are being readjusted with less regard to party passion and advancement, and with more attention to an expeditious, economical, honest, and efficient transaction of the public business.

"In this reaction toward better government let us not neglect the judiciary, the very foundation of the state. The statesmen of 1787 were not old fogies. With deep solicitude and with comprehensive view for the future welfare of the government that they were framing, they established the system of appointment for the selection of judges, and we would do well to follow their example."

EVILS OF COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS.

IN the *Overland Monthly* for April Dr. John S. White discusses college education from the point of view of the preparatory school. Dr. White complains that the colleges now compel the preparatory schools to force all pupils' minds into the same mold, whereas if the schoolmaster were permitted to arrange for each pupil the course of study best suited to that particular pupil's talents and capabilities, a far better quality of preparation would be secured. The entrance examinations set by the colleges merely encourage "cramming;" they are not real tests of the pupil's fitness to begin college work.

"To illustrate the point, 20 per cent. of every senior class of eighteen years of age in the preparatory schools can never be really taught algebra, and yet all may be made to pass the college examination—even that one in which the conundrum idea prevails to the greatest extent; in other words, the boy may be crammed upon those pet forms of problem and question which the college is known to select for its examination, who ten weeks later could not, to save his life, answer intelligently a series of questions, oral or written, which would accurately test his knowledge. I

contend that such a student, having no special capacity for the study of algebra, could far better have devoted at least one-half the time which he must have given to this study to subjects suited to his natural abilities, and from which he would doubtless have derived far more valuable mental training.

A STIMULUS TO "CRAMMING."

"The most pernicious effect of the present system of examinations for admission to college lies in the stimulus which it gives to this very practice of 'cramming,' which is a perpetual menace to real education. At the conference of schoolmasters referred to above the preparatory schools came in for a large share of blame, because the majority of candidates for admission to college murdered the Queen's English, wrote an illegible or unformed hand, spelled like school-boys of ten, and were careless in their figuring in mathematics. But what else could logically be expected when the colleges were demanding examinations in eighteen or twenty different subjects, embracing physics, mathematics, history, modern languages, and an ability to read Greek and Latin authors at sight, but did not ask the candidate to present himself for examination in spelling, writing, English grammar, or arithmetic—the four fundamental subjects of an ordinary education? In order to pass without conditions in the twenty required subjects, a tenth of the senior class in any school must, from the nature of the case, be 'crammed' in mathematics, another tenth in Greek, and so on, inasmuch as a dull mind and memory cannot be developed by the ordinary processes of recitation so as to retain for the final test so diversified a range of subjects. The teacher is therefore practically helpless when he attempts to secure good work from such a student in still other subjects upon which the college asks no examination. In the matter of English, to be sure, this weakness has been largely remedied by the newer, though not altogether judicious, requisitions which the colleges have come to demand."

Dr. White asks that to the preparatory schools be granted the privilege of electing subjects, or groups of subjects, to be pursued by their students and the right to present candidates for admission to the colleges on certificate. With these reforms he promises that the next five years will see a revolution.

"The schools of real merit will have royally earned their right to such recognition, and the colleges throughout the land will begin to receive students possessed of a quality of training, a keenness of grasp, and a maturity of perception to-day practically unknown."

THE WORLD'S "MOST WONDERFUL LOVE-STORY."

"DISCRETION and Publicity" is the suggestive title given to the *Edinburgh's* review of the Brownings' love-letters. "As a rule," says the writer, "love-letters have no business with print," and he quotes Browning:

"God be thanked, the meanest of his creatures
Boasts two soul sides, one to face the world with,
One to show a woman when he loves her."

"Yet," he proceeds, "if ever we could make an exception to this rule it would be for the love-letters that passed between Browning and his wife. In many lives love plays a strong part, yet a subaltern one. Johnson's love for his Tetty was strong enough, so was Napoleon's for Josephine; but the real gist and tenor of the life lay elsewhere. You could leave these things out and still have the man. But with the Brownings it was otherwise. A person who should sit down to write the biography of Mr. and Mrs. Browning would have in effect nothing to record beyond the bare fact that they wrote certain poems, which the world can read and judge of, except just this. They acted one part which deserves to be memorable in the world's history; they were the hero and heroine of the most wonderful love-story, if you consider it rightly, that the world knows of. Here were two people who all their lives through in their poetry had been saying that the one thing in life which mattered, the one thing worth having, the one thing truly significant, was the love between man and woman which is inseparable from the sex instinct, but translates the most plainly animal fact in our lives into the most plainly spiritual. And having said this in their verse, it was given them, after long delay, to prove it in their lives."

"A MIRACLE."

It was not a case of early love or youthful romance:

"Here you had—what Elizabeth Barrett calls it—a miracle. Here you had, on the one hand, a man verging on middle age, who had glorified love in many poems, but who nevertheless, by his own avowal, repeated again and again with the plainest sincerity in these letters, had never known by experience what this glorified passion meant; who had deliberately ceased to expect it; who had settled his mind into the full anticipation of living his life to himself; had so far given up thoughts of marriage as not to have cared to provide money; had, in short, decided that either his nature was one that could not respond to love or would never find its counterpart. On the other hand, you have a woman not

only past youth, but to all appearance past health and the hope of recovery—'a blind poet,' she calls herself in one of the early letters. 'I have lived all my chief joys, and, indeed, nearly all emotions that go warmly by that name and relate to myself personally, in poetry and in poetry alone.' It was a life in darkness. 'My face was so close against the tombstones that there seemed no room even for the tears.'

A TRULY "AMAZING MARRIAGE."

"The stories which the letters tell is how the friendship, allowed to continue as friendship, became on his side gradually a repeated avowal of love. How she at first put the question aside on the ground that she could not accept such a sacrifice as would be involved in tying him to her; how gradually he gained her admission that this consideration alone weighed with her, and gradually convinced her that she meant to him the one thing desirable in the world; how under this new influence health came back to her as if by magic; how he waited with infinite patience, never urging her, tolerant even of her father's insane caprice which regarded any desire for marriage in any of his children as the height of filial disobedience; and how, finally, this ended with their secret marriage."

Mr. Leslie Stephen's Misgivings.

Writing on the Browning letters in the *National Review*, Mr. Leslie Stephen confesses to misgivings as to their publication. He says:

"The difficulty about the Browning letters is, I think, this—whether, in spite of their own undeniable merits, they will not set a precedent eminently likely to be abused. They may be justified as exceptional. . . . Unfortunately when a precedent is set there is no way of limiting the application to be made of it. Everybody is apt to be exceptional in his own eyes and in the eyes of his nearest relatives; and one fears that the habit of turning out the most private receptacles will be encouraged without reason by the success of this particular performance. . . . All that one can do is to recognize the possibility of some bad consequences and reserve a right to condemn the next follower. There is, indeed, one other question. Admitting fully that the story ought to be told, that we had a right to be aware of this ennobling element in the lives of two such persons, was it really necessary that the whole correspondence should be published or the whole destroyed? I cannot help fancying that some one might have been found . . . who could have given the truth without publishing the correspondence in mass."

THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

THE CENTURY MAGAZINE.

THE *Century* publishes for June an "Out-of-Doors Number," and signalizes the occasion by opening with one of Dr. Henry van Dyke's fine out-of-door essays, which he calls "Fisherman's Luck." It is beautifully illustrated by Albert E. Sterner and Edward Edwards. Another article remarkable for its illustrations is the succeeding one on "Niagara," by Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, who writes of the great American falls from the point of view of the scenic artist. Gustav Kobbé continues his series on "Heroes of Peace," with an account of the work of the volunteer life-savers, chiefly those who have rescued drowning sailors on the Atlantic coast. Capt. James Cooper Ayres, of the United States army, tells about going "After Big Game with Packs," and incidentally gives some rather horrifying details of the slaughter that pack-hunters are apt to call sport. Prof. Benjamin Ide Wheeler in his eighth paper on the life and achievements of Alexander the Great comes to "Alexander's Mightiest Battle," where he defeated the Persian host at Gaugamela.

Mr. Josiah Flynt, the expert on tramps and trampdom, tells some remarkable things in his discussion of "The Tramp and the Railroads." For instance, he assures us the professional tramp population is about 60,000, a third of whom are generally on the move. "In summer the entire tramp fraternity may be said to be 'in transit.' The average number of miles traveled daily by each man at this season of the year is about 50, which, if paid for at regular rates, would cost, say, \$1. Of course one should not ordinarily pay so much to ride in a box car as in a passenger coach, but the ordinary tramp is about as comfortable in one as in the other, and on the dollar-a-trip basis he and his 50,999 companions succeed in getting out of the railroad companies \$60,000 worth of free transportation every day that they all travel. Multiply this figure by 100, which is about the number of days in a year when all trampdom 'flits,' and you have an approximate idea of how much they gain."

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

THE June *Harper's* contains an article on "Needful Precautions for Safe Navigation," by Mr. John Hyslop, and the story of "The Rescue of the Whalers," by Lieutenant Bertholf, which we have quoted from in another department.

Dr. Henry Smith Williams makes an exceedingly interesting article of his subject, "The Century's Progress in Scientific Medicine." The landmarks, as he sees them, in the progress of scientific medicine begin in this century with Napoleon's physician, Jean Nicolas de Corvisart, who first practiced percussion, as the chest-tapping method is called, to elicit sounds indicative of diseased tissues within. Another Paris physician, the great Laënnec, following Corvisart's work, discovered in 1815, almost by accident, that the sound of the heart-beat could be heard surprisingly well through a cylinder of paper held to the ear and against the patient's chest, with the stethoscope resulting. Dr. Smith passes from Laënnec to Owen's discovery of the *trichina spiralis*, to the anæsthetic experiments of Dr. Charles W. Wells,

which were developed into immense importance by Dr. William J. Morton, of Boston, to Pasteur and his study of microorganisms, and Sir Joseph Lister with the wonderful improvements in medical practice which his antiseptics brought to surgery. The last great discovery of medical geniuses of the century is the antitoxine treatment of diphtheria, developed most fully by Dr. Roux, of the Pasteur Institute of Paris. While not attempting to define the limits of the success of the antitoxine treatment, which he regards as somewhat tentative as yet, Dr. Williams says: "In any event, there seems little question that the serum treatment will stand as the culminating achievement in therapeutics in our century." These essays of Dr. Henry Smith Williams are somewhat remarkable in the magazine literature of to-day, in possessing a style so beautifully fitted to the subject-matter. In the real worth of that subject-matter and the method of treatment they would add dignity to any of the periodicals of the world.

Homer B. Hulbert gives some brief descriptions of Korean inventions, in which he tells us that Korea was the first community to use movable types, that the Koreans invented the first suspension bridge and also the first ironclad warship, as well as the first bomb and mortar.

Mr. James Mooney contributes an interesting account of the Wichita Indians, in which he attempts an identification of the so-called province of Quivira, their ancient home. The Wichitas were the only Indians of the southern plains who lived in grass houses and practiced a native agriculture before the coming of the whites.

Frederic Remington is the author and illustrator of an exceedingly pathetic Indian story, which loses nothing in pathos from being told in that artist's bluff, straightforward way.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE.

IN the June *Scribner's* Governor Roosevelt brings to a close his story of the Rough Riders, bringing the recital up to September 15, when the men left the camp on Long Island and divided to their widely scattered homes in the great cities of the East and the plains, the mountains, and the deserts of the West and Southwest. Another military feature is Mr. Percy G. McDonnell's account of "The Battle of the Block-Houses" in the war with the insurgents at Manila. Mr. McDonnell has something of an opinion of the Filipino as a warrior. All day, he says of the block-house battle, Aguinaldo's men fought against the combined attacks of the navy, artillery, and infantry. Scarcely a foot of ground was yielded until a charge was resorted to or the position fired, and experience shows that the Filipinos cannot stand charges. Dozens of places were defended until the men rushed the works at the point of the bayonet, and then they found the trench piled with the dead. As a fighting-machine the Filipino has gone up several pegs in the estimation of the American soldier.

A beautifully illustrated article written by Cecilia Waern on "The Modern Group of Scandinavian Painters," installments of letters of Robert Louis Stevenson and Sidney Lanier, and several readable stories complete this month's showing for *Scribner's*.

MCCLURE'S MAGAZINE.

THE June *McClure's* begins with an excellent article on "Marconi's Wireless Telegraph," by Cleveland Moffett, which we have quoted from freely in another department. Mr. R. H. Sherard tells about the wonders of "The Deep Mines of Cornwall" and the life of poverty, toil, and tragedy that the hardy miners have. Dolcoath, "the old pit," as it is called, is the deepest and richest of the tin mines of Cornwall, and seems to be inexhaustible. Only two years ago new deposits of great importance were discovered, and yet men have been busy looting her ever since 1758. The shareholders under the present lease had divided up to 1893—that is to say, in eighty-six years—the sum of \$4,600,000, and during the same period the lords of the manor had received in dues upward of \$1,247,895. The main shaft now goes down to a depth of 450 fathoms below the entrance, which is over 30 fathoms from the surface, so that the lowest depth is nearly 3,000 feet. The descent into the bowels of the earth is generally made by a gig or iron cage, in two stories, which will accommodate at a pinch twelve miners. This is lowered and raised by a steel cable, wound and unwound on a gigantic wheel worked by an engine. The cable is over half a mile in length, for the lowest point to which the gig descends is 425 fathoms below the surface. Mr. Sherard tells of dramatic moments when the cable has snapped and when the gig has gotten away from the engine.

Oscar King Davis, the correspondent of the New York *Sun* at Manila, tells of "Dewey's Capture of Manila," in which he emphasizes the fact right through that the surrender was due to negotiations which had been carried on between Admiral Dewey and the Spanish captain-general for a period of several weeks. It was only owing to this, he thinks, that the Spaniards came to surrender without a stubborn resistance, and makes ample notes from the diary of M. Edouard André, the Belgian consul in Manila, to prove his point of view.

Mr. Kipling contributes the last of the "Stalky" stories, and there is an interesting Lincoln chapter by Miss Ida M. Tarbell, entitled "Lincoln and the Soldiers," giving some remarkable instances of Lincoln's kindness and clemency to soldiers in trouble, a leniency which was always mingled, as might have been expected, with great shrewdness.

THE COSMOPOLITAN MAGAZINE.

THE *Cosmopolitan* for June contains an article by Dr. Edward Everett Hale on "The United States of Europe," which we quote from among "The Leading Articles of the Month." Mr. H. B. Nason opens this number with some account of the "Progress in Air-Ships," especially in Russian and French experiments, of which pictures are given. These European experiments are almost entirely with cartridge-shaped balloons, guided and aided by aeroplanes. Mr. R. L. Packard contributes an essay on "In the Philippines, Past and Present," illustrated with some striking photographs recently taken by Dr. Peterson, of the hospital corps at Corregidor Island. C. Francis Jenkins tells "How to Secure Expression in Photography," by some rules which are not altogether convincing to those who care for less studied poses. Mr. James G. McCurdy describes "Marine Disasters on Pacific Shores," giving some extraordinarily dramatic photographs of

great ships as they lie on the rocks or the beach. Mabel Osgood Wright has a little nature essay on some of the more common birds, and Prof. Harry Thurston Peck contributes an extensive essay on "The Woman of To-day and of To-morrow," in controversy with Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Stetson.

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE.

THE most important article in the June *Lippincott's* is the venerable Mr. R. H. Stoddard's on John Greenleaf Whittier. He corresponded with the "good gray poet" very regularly and often on the subject of Whittier's poems. But Mr. Stoddard says of the ethic element in Whittier's verse which has so distinguished him before thousands of people that he was never at any time impressed by it, except with profound respect for his manly and upright nature and the sincerity of his moral convictions.

Mr. Albert G. Evans discusses "Chemistry in the Kitchen." He thinks that the constitution of a body may be entirely changed by diet alone, and that it is very important that people should have an intelligent idea of the chemical results of their various foods. To help them he goes through the list of commonly known food products and explains their special chemical results.

Mr. John E. Bennett writes on "Fires in Metalliferous Mines"—that is, in mines other than those containing coal and other carboniferous substances. The fires in metal mines can feed on nothing except the timbering, but this is quite sufficient to do enormous damage. Witness the recent severe fire in the Utica Mine of California and the terrible ones now raging in the mines of the Smuggler Mountain, near Aspen, Colo. Recent improvements in lighting, especially the incandescent lamp, and the replacing of sawdust with infusorial earth in the manufacture of giant powder have reduced the dangers of these conflagrations greatly.

Mr. Charles C. Abbott describes the birds that are commonly met with in summer, their habits and song notes, and Mr. Owen Hall recites his experiences at "The Samoan Feast of Pilaui."

THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

IN the *Ladies' Home Journal* for June Helen C. Candee gives some remarkable figures concerning the "Housekeeping on an Ocean Steamship." She says the weekly wash on one of the ocean greyhounds amounts to 20,000 pieces. The steward has to provide two tons and a half of butter, 16,000 oysters, 2,500 quarts of milk and cream, all of which is sterilized, 20,000 eggs, and vegetables and meats in proportion. When the ship comes into port the passengers have scarcely stepped off when the whole vessel is thoroughly renovated, every carpet being taken up from public places and staterooms and a thorough house-cleaning and scrubbing given from end to end of the vessel, even the walls and ceilings being washed. The steerage beds are burned, all utensils cleaned out of the kitchen, and these are scrubbed and invaded by persons whose business it is to exterminate insects. Whereas such a wholesale house-cleaning is indulged in only twice a year in most households, and in many not so often as that, this takes place twice a month on a transatlantic liner.

Mr. Jesse Lynch Williams, whose stories of Princeton

life and of the newspaper profession have been very favorably received, tells "How a Young Man Can Work His Way Through College." He tells of a Harvard man who made \$1,000 to \$1,500 a year as a newspaper correspondent and of student-tutors with a reputation for being good teachers who make \$5 an hour in coaching. But these are well-known methods, and in addition he cites the management of clubs, agencies, typewriting, stenography, and publishing the college annuals. He knows two Harvard undergraduates who went into a much more ambitious publishing business before they had obtained their degree, and had even attained to the dignity of publishing some of Stevenson's works. Mr. Williams suggests that besides such occupations as these, a tutoring agency ought to prove successful, as should a college news syndicate or a firm of decorators. By a bolder stroke of the imagination he suggests a sock-darning and clothes-mending industry, and the job printing of the various athletic, musical, dramatic, and literary organizations. Mr. Williams says he has yet to learn of anybody coming unhandicapped by disease or great debt and then going away because he could not earn a living at college.

Mr. M. E. M. Davis describes the life of the Creole girl of New Orleans, and in the editorial department there is a symposium from celebrated clergymen of various denominations, answering the question, "What Is the Good of Going to Church?"

MUNSEY'S MAGAZINE.

GEN. A. W. GREELY in the June *Munsey's* reviews in "The Race for the North Pole" the work now going on in the attempt to achieve the final north, an attempt which has been constantly occupying the minds of adventurous men for three hundred years. Of Mr. Wellman's expedition General Greely says that that explorer has cut out a very difficult task: first, to accumulate near the eighty-third parallel sufficient stores and shelter to serve as the base for his more extended journey to the pole; second, the journey over the rough, broken ice of the sea to the north, with the pack moving unceasingly to the northwest, for a distance of three hundred and fifty geographical miles to the pole, and thence back over the same route, within the period of a single arctic summer. Wellman was last heard of in August, 1898, comfortably established in Jackson's old quarters in Franz Josef Land, just north of the eightieth parallel and within six hundred miles of the pole. General Greely evidently thinks that Mr. Wellman's undertaking is beyond the limits of human endurance, especially the trip over the ice, which to the pole and back is little less than a thousand miles.

Mr. Poultney Bigelow gives a sketch of the life and character of the German Emperor. He says that the German Emperor opens all his letters, for the reason that he wishes every one who writes to him to feel sure that the letter reaches him. Of the Kaiser Mr. Bigelow says that he is personally brave and more inclined to court a combat than to shrink from one, but that he does not regard military glory as the principal object of his life, and that he has firmly announced his intention of never making war unless he is attacked.

Mr. H. G. Prout, editor of the *Railroad Gazette*, tells "How People Get Killed on the Railroads." Although 6,000 people are killed on American railroads in a year

and 36,000 more are injured, he considers railroad travel marvelously safe and that it is becoming safer. Of the 6,437 people killed in a year only 8½ per cent. are passengers, and of the 36,731 injured only 7½ per cent. are passengers, and it is true, too, that only about 100 passengers are killed by collisions, derailments, and accidents to moving trains, the others being killed at stations and highway crossings and on miscellaneous occasions. And it is further true that 55,000,000 miles are traveled for each passenger killed. At this rate one might spend 157 years on a limited train between New York and Chicago before one met one's death in a railroad accident.

THE NEW ENGLAND MAGAZINE.

AMONG the carefully prepared and well-illustrated articles in the *New England Magazine* for June we notice a thorough account of the history of Hamilton College, which Mr. E. P. Powell, the writer, calls "New England's First College Out of New England." He says that as late as the administration of President Penny the faculty exercised the right of corporal punishment, and that President Penny was wont to carry a cowhide and lash the boys when he found them carousing out of legal hours. Mr. Powell adds that he knows no college where tradition has so strong a hold as at Hamilton.

Mr. William I. Cole describes the picturesque island of Grand Manan, with its population of 2,000 or 3,000 fishermen and its queer customs; and Walter Allen gives a history and description of the town of New Haven. One of New Haven's claims to fame, he tells us, lies in the fact that it was the first town in the world to have a telephone exchange, and that there was demonstrated the general usefulness of the new means of communication in the beginning of the year 1878.

THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE.

THE *National Magazine* for June begins with an account of "The Original Mr. Dooley," by Frank A. Putnam. Mr. Putnam says, however, that there is no original Mr. Dooley other than Mr. Finley Peter Dunne, who is thirty-three, Kipling's age, "and has a good deal of the Kipling front; you notice it in the firm lower jaw and the ample brain-pan, the man-o'-war nose, and the artificial detail of the eye-glasses." Mr. Dunne was graduated by a Chicago high school; "cub" reporter under the hardest city editor that ever terrorized a staff; political man and star assignment specialist on the big morning papers; later an editorial writer on the *Times-Herald*. It was in the latter position that he began to write down the sayings of Martin Dooley for the *Chicago Evening Post*. The Spanish war gave Dooley his opportunity, and the "Uncle George Dewey" sketch caught the country. Dewey himself wrote the author saying that he liked it better than anything else that had been written about him. It was not until this came out that Mr. Dunne began to take his efforts seriously enough to collect the sketches. They were then hurried through the press in book form, and the young editor became perhaps the most popular literary celebrity of the year.

Mr. Peter MacQueen, writing on "The Inside of the Situation at Manila," says that there is only one opinion at Manila as to the fighting qualities of the Filipino, and that is that they are beyond all praise.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

WE have selected from the *Atlantic Monthly* for the "Leading Articles of the Month:" "The Outlook in Cuba," by Herbert P. Williams; "Politics and the Judiciary," by Frank G. Cook; and "Japan and the Philippines," by Arthur May Knapp. Mr. Jacob A. Riis writes on "The Tenement House Blight" with his accustomed thoroughness and first-hand knowledge. He gives a vivid picture of the conditions in the worst portions of New York, and suggests a very dismal result of the system of herding the poor people together in squalor in these tall buildings. The great misfortune of the tenement system is that the home of the olden days is not to be found in it. "'No home, no family, no morality, no manhood, no patriotism,' said the old Frenchman. Seventy-seven per cent. of their young prisoners, say the managers of the State Reformatory, have no moral sense, or next to none. Weakness, not wickedness, ails them, adds the prison reformer." We have reared our civilization upon the corner-stone of the home. Mr. Riis thinks that the annihilation of the home by the slums has a dread warning for us. The "Letters Between Two Poets" are the correspondence of Bayard Taylor and Sidney Lanier during the years 1875 and 1876, with an introduction by Henry W. Lanier. Curiously enough, for a man like Bayard Taylor, immersed in the terrible grind of a New York editor's life, the friendship between the two poets sprang into being almost in a moment, the occasion of it being the reference of one of Lanier's newly published poems to Mr. Taylor. An important part of the correspondence deals with the severe criticisms of Sidney Lanier's Centennial cantata. Another contribution of literary interest is Harriet Waters Preston's essay on Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

THE FORUM.

THE *Forum* for May opens with two articles relating to trusts. The Hon. Aldace F. Walker, formerly interstate commerce commissioner, discusses "Anti-Trust Legislation," holding that most of this kind of legislation thus far enacted has brought on evils far worse than those that it was intended to cure. Mr. Walker gives a clear exposition of the relation between trusts and the discrimination in railroad rates. His proposition for ameliorating the present chaotic conditions is to legalize pooling contracts, which would put the carriers on an equality with the trusts. He believes, however, that united self-interest will in the end do away with this difficulty. The article on "Trusts in Europe" by Mr. Wilhelm Berdrow has been noticed in our department of "Leading Articles." Like Mr. Walker's paper, this article is moderate in tone, and sets forth the beneficial results of trusts rather than the evils of such organizations.

The article by Mr. Frank Moss on "The Problem of Police Administration" has application in other cities than New York, though it makes some startling revelations of police depravity under Tammany rule.

Gustave Kobbé makes a plea for native American art, taking care to stipulate, however, that by native art he does not mean "the old panoramic 'Hudson River school,' with its photographic attention to detail, nor pictures of cows standing beneath convenient oak trees near accommodating looking-glass pools. This is not

typical American art. It is simply bad art." Mr. Kobbé shows that various art institutions throughout the country are giving more attention than ever before to the representation of native art in their galleries. The Chicago Art Institute is preparing a special gallery for American paintings, and the trustees of the Metropolitan Museum in New York are discussing similar plans. The situation seems hopeful.

Mr. Francis H. Tabor contributes a suggestive paper on "Directed Sport as a Factor in Education." This idea of regulation of sport is somewhat novel in America, but Mr. Tabor shows that the system has taken deep root in England, and, indeed, would seem to be one of the most important elements in the English schoolboy's development. "Unselfishness must be practiced at every turn; the strong must help the weak; and the weak must be aroused that they may not be a drag upon the strong. The team that represents a school must be chosen purely on the merits of its members. The less attractive and more tedious positions in the field must be conscientiously filled without a murmur, the pride of success felt without conceit. As the credit of the school demands the best effort of every individual, there must be patient practice and steady perseverance. If wrangling and ill-feeling are to be averted, respect must be shown to the referee, even when his decisions seem palpably unfair." Mr. Tabor's picture of English school sports is calculated to impress Americans with the marked advantages of regulated sport.

Mr. W. Kinnaird Rose, Reuter's special war correspondent in the Soudan campaign last year, describes "War's Aftermath." Mr. Rose has made a careful study of sanitary conditions in the British army, especially the efficiency of the hospital and medical corps, and the food, drink, and clothing of the troops. He gives statistics of losses in previous wars, from which we gather that the improvement in hygienic conditions, in the British army at least, within the last thirty years has been remarkable. He is convinced, however, that under the very conditions under which war is waged the sanitary condition of armies can never be absolutely good.

Mr. Henry G. Kittredge, editor of the *Textile World*, gives a *résumé* of the textile industries since 1890. From figures that he presents it appears that the present value of cotton manufactures in the United States is considerably less than the value of the same products in 1890, notwithstanding the fact that there has been an increase of 24 per cent. in the number and 10 per cent. in the productive capacity of the spindles. The loss, or decrease, in value is entirely due to the great depreciation in the market price of the goods, which Mr. Kittredge places at 30 per cent.

President Jordan, of the Leland Stanford University, writes on "Lessons of the Paris Tribunal of Arbitration." President Jordan declares that five years of "protection and preservation" of seals under the regulations of the Paris tribunal have achieved the commercial destruction of the two most valuable and almost sole remaining seal herds.

Prof. Brander Matthews says of William Archer, "a critic of the acted drama:" "In the main Mr. Archer's criticism is sympathetic, although his sympathy is sane always and never sentimental. Certain things in the theater of to-day he detests, and he says what he thinks; but he does not dwell on these things again and again, losing his temper. He drops on them a few words of scorching scorn in passing by, and then gives

his attention to things that he likes, to things that are worth while. Here he is at odds with those who cry aloud for a crashing criticism that shall free the land of humbugs, pretenders, and quacks. But he is in agreement with the practice of all the foremost critics of the past."

Mr. John J. O'Shea writes on "The Irish Leaven in American Progress;" Mr. Oscar P. Austin, of the United States Bureau of Statistics, describes "The Colonies of the World and How They Are Governed;" and Mr. Jacob Schoenhof attempts "A Centennial Stock-taking: A Retrospect."

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.



COL. GEORGE B. M. HARVEY,
Editor of the *North American Review*.

THE May number of the *North American*—the first under the editorship of Col. George B. M. Harvey—is a notable issue, quite worthy of the traditions of our pioneer review. Americans may be pardoned a little honest national pride in the vigor and alertness of this dignified periodical, now in its eighty-fifth year, in whose pages so much of the best work of our native writers has made its first appearance.

In the days of Channing, the Everetts, Francis Bowen, A. P. Peabody, and James Russell Lowell the review which these men successively conducted was "American" in an exclusive sense; its writers were almost all Americans, and the point of view taken on all subjects was therefore distinctively an American one. Mr. Allen Thorndike Rice, in 1877, changed the plan of the magazine by incorporating in its contents the treatment of topics interesting to Americans by contributors having expert knowledge on those topics, without regard to nationality. Mr. Rice's successors have followed in his path, and it has come to be a matter of course to see the names of distinguished foreign writers on the *North American's* cover. We observe that the new editor is disposed to continue the practice, since of the thirteen articles comprising the contents of the May number seven bear the signatures of foreigners. The subjects treated, however, are without exception matters of interest to

American readers, whose horizon has greatly widened within the past few years.

The *North American's* partiality to international and colonial politics is marked; the following articles in the May number are clearly within this field: "The War with Spain—I," by Gen. Nelson A. Miles; "China and the Powers," by Rear Admiral Beresford; "The Nicaragua Canal," by Thomas B. Reed; "England and Egypt in the Soudan," by Col. Charles Chaillé Long; "Conditions and Needs in Cuba," by Gen. Leonard Wood; "Work of the Joint High Commission," by a Canadian Liberal; and the paper by Señor Estévez on "What Spain Can Teach America," which we have reviewed in our department of "Leading Articles."

In the department of science and invention the May number has two important articles on wireless telegraphy—one by Signor Marconi himself, on the origin and development of his invention, and one by Professor Fleming, the English expert in electrical engineering, on the scientific history and future uses of this system of communication.

"The Religious Situation in England" is presented by "Ian Maclaren;" literary criticism is represented in an article by Mr. William Dean Howells on "The New Poetry;" Rebecca Harding Davis describes "The Curse in Education;" and the Rt. Hon. Sir F. H. Jeune, judge advocate-general of the British army, writes on "Courts-Martial in England and America."

THE ARENA.

THE leading feature of the *Arena* for May is a rather sensational *exposé* of "Christian Science and Its Prophetess" by two former disciples of the faith-healing cult, Mr. Horatio W. Dresser and Josephine Curtis Woodbury. These writers are evidently thoroughly familiar with the record of Mrs. Eddy's apostleship from the days of her alleged cure by Dr. Phineas P. Quimby. Mr. Dresser himself is now convinced that a disruption of the "Christian Science" church is at hand.

Writing on "The Republic of Cuba," Mr. Richard J. Hinton says: "We are, for the time being, in honest control of Cuba, but there are things we may not honestly do. We do not need an army in Cuba, for a small garrison is sufficient. We should let the Cubans do their own police work. We must not allow them to be despoiled of their franchises, utilization of which must be to enrich the island and not our speculators and investors. We must for our own health's sake, as well as the safety of the Cubans, set them to planning and working for sanitary improvement."

Mr. Albert L. Blair raises the heretical question, "Was Jefferson a Democrat?" He declares that in only one important aspect—namely, in his views on nullification and secession—was Jefferson a true Democrat. In his other political principles and public efforts, especially in relation to protection and anti-slavery, Mr. Blair declares that Jefferson was the forerunner of the Republicans of to-day. "Even in his chief act as President—the Louisiana purchase—an act to which the country owed incalculable good and for which he will ever be most gratefully remembered, he patriotically departed from his theory of strict constitutional adherence and set the example, followed by Lincoln's administration, to employ if necessary the inferential powers of the Government for the obvious benefit of the people. Republicans have really more reason than

Democrats for political pilgrimages to Monticello and Jefferson birthday banquets."

Mr. W. J. Corbet, M.P., writes on "Illustrious Lunatics;" Jean Porter Rudd on "The Divine Opulence;" and Mrs. Dario Papa on "The Italian Revolt;" while Mr. A. C. Coursen attempts an answer to the question, "Is Bellamy's Idea Feasible?"

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE *Nineteenth Century* for May is a good number. We have dealt with several of its leading articles elsewhere.

THE THEORY OF BRAIN WAVES.

One of the most interesting papers is the last, in which Mr. Knowles reproduces, apropos of Marconi's wireless telegraphy, a letter which he wrote to the *Spectator* in 1899, suggesting that the phenomena of telepathy, etc., might be explained on the theory of "brain waves." He tells us that the suggestion came to him from seeing the way in which a hypnotist was able to impress his thought upon the mind of his subjects. Marconi's success leads him to reprint his letter and press home his conclusions.

THE INFLUENCE OF WOMEN IN ISLAM.

Mr. Justice Ameer Ali, under this head, once more surprises the Western world by an exposition of the marvelous virtues of Mohammedanism. It is always a pleasure to read his articles, although in this case their perusal occasions the same kind of regret as that with which we read of the passing of the Amazons, for according to him the women immediately after Mohammed—and still more when the Arabs were supreme in Spain—had a position of influence and equality of opportunity for which the sex may now sigh in vain, not only in Mussulman countries. He declares that "the ethical movement created by the Arabian prophet was intimately connected with the elevation of women." One of the first persons to illustrate the improved position of women was the prophet's own daughter Fatima, who deserves a high place in the annals of female worthies:

"She lectured to mixed congregations of both sexes often in the court-yard of her house and sometimes in the public mosque. Many of her sermons are still extant. The remains of her sayings reveal to us a nobleness of spirit and high feeling that would do honor to the best women of any age or country."

His practical point is that if women did all those things in the old days, there is no reason why they should be forbidden similar liberties and opportunities at present.

THE TRIUMPH OF PEACE AT THE HAGUE.

Mrs. Lecky, writing on "The House in the Wood," where the peace conference will meet, describes a great allegorical picture, painted by Jordaens, a disciple of Rubens, in honor of the triumph of Prince Frederick Henry:

"We see the noble figure of the Prince seated in the triumphal car and crowned by Victory, who reserves another crown for his son and successor, William II. The young Prince, at the head of a band of cavaliers, rides near the car, which is drawn by four white prancing horses, led by Pallas and Mercury. The statues of William the Silent and Maurice on either side are surrounded with spectators. Hatred and Discord are trod-

den under foot. Death hovering above vainly struggles with Fame for the mastery, while Peace, one of the last wishes of the Prince on earth, is seen descending from heaven, holding an olive and a palm branch and accompanied by angels bearing the symbols of the arts and sciences, and an unfolded scroll with the '*Ultimus ante omnes de parta pace triumphus*.' The figure of Peace is dressed in white, as the painter tells us, to symbolize that peace should be 'of sincere intention and without fraud or guile.'"

THE FAILURE OF PARTY GOVERNMENT.

Prof. Goldwin Smith writes on the modern system of party government. He explains that "it is the permanent division of the nation into two political organizations, to one of which each citizen is bound through life on pain of being regarded as an apostate to adhere, and which are to carry on a perpetual struggle for the offices of state, each of them assailing and traducing the other with much of the moral bitterness of a civil war, though the theory is that both of them are equally necessary to the operation of the political machine. Such a system appears to me neither rational nor moral, nor do I believe that it can forever endure."

HOMING PIGEONS IN WAR-TIME.

Mr. George J. Larnier, an officer, pleads in favor of greater utilization of the pigeon by the English War Office. He says:

"After the fall of Paris many of the powers immediately inaugurated pigeon systems that have ever since been growing in utility. Spain, Italy, Russia, France, Germany, Austria, and Roumania have all established military lofts, and to-day large amounts of money are annually spent on their maintenance."

Pigeons, he thinks, will be of great service in war-time in keeping up communication between the fleet in the channel and the English coast. Of course Marconi's system may obviate the need for such messengers, but until it is perfected the pigeons would no doubt be invaluable.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mrs. Alexander Ross quotes extensively from Lady Byron's letters, which show that she was a very religious, philanthropic person, who took a keen interest in everything that was going on around her:

"During eight years of widowhood and thirty-six of widowhood, Lady Byron found relief from personal griefs which she did not wish published to the world in an enlightened philanthropy. She made friends with the best workers and thinkers of her day."

Mr. Edmund Robertson, M.P., writing on "The Church of England as by Law Established," combats the arguments of the high churchmen concerning the judicial committee of the privy council.

Sir G. S. Clarke, writing on "Germany as a Naval Power," describes the naval programme of the German Government, and predicts with some degree of confidence that it will soon be discovered to be insufficient.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE *May Contemporary* is an unusually brilliant number. The names of many of its writers form quite a constellation of eminence, while for range, variety, and opportuneness it would be difficult to find an issue so high above the average. Several of the articles claim separate notice elsewhere.

RURAL VICE IN PRUSSIA.

It is a heart-zickening tale which Mr. Richard Heath recounts in his paper on the Prussian rural laborer and the evangelical Church. He recalls the ancient prosperity of the German peasant, his overthrow in the peasants' war, and his subsequent serfdom. At last in 1807 the serfs were freed and day-wage laborers took their place. In 1821 the partition of the common lands left the laborer at the mercy of the landowner. His wage averages 1.17 marks a day. A woman laborer rarely gets more than a mark a day. Two volumes published by German pastors in 1895 on "Sex Morality of the Evangelical Rural People in the German Empire" show the result of this expropriation. The people live in cottages of one or at most two rooms, frequently unsanitary and in bad repair. "The reports use the strongest and most graphic language in describing the licentiousness which prevails among the young." It is, according to these volumes, universal and equally marked in both sexes.

PLEA FOR RESPECTABLE DRUNKARDS.

Mr. Thomas Holmes pleads for some extension of help to habitual inebriates who are not yet convicted criminals. He says:

"Since this act has been talked of numbers of men, mostly young men, have consulted me personally, wishing to be committed to some inebriate reformatory. And when I have told them the conditions—four times in one year before a magistrate—they have gone away sorrowing, for self-respect was not yet dead within them. I have on my list of friends a number of men, splendid fellows in every sense but one; good workers, with intelligence more than common; good husbands and loving fathers when free from drink."

PHANTOMS EXPLAINED AWAY.

Mr. Sydney Olivier contributes an interesting dialogue on portraits and phantoms. The naturalist tells how he had mourned over the death of his sister, until one night he suddenly woke and saw her there before him, so vividly outlined in the dark that he put out his hand to his drawing materials to sketch her. Then she vanished. He proceeds:

"Since that time I have never felt any trouble at all because of her death. It seemed to me as though what had been diffused in pain, as I said, all about me, had gathered itself together into one sense—the most joy-giving of all the senses—and so passed out in the form of a figure seen, outside of me, leaving joy only. It would not have consoled me at all simply to think that my sister had herself been there and had gone; my loss of her would have remained just as great. I did not think so; I felt quite sure of the contrary; and always since then I have been satisfied that there are no such things as ghosts, because I had seen one; for no one ever saw a soldier ghost than that."

THE OLD MAN HUMANE.

Mr. W. J. Stillman presents a plea for wild animals, which is steeped in the reverent tenderness of a beautifully humane old age. He claims that "if a man is punishable for cruelty to a beast which is recognized as his, he is more responsible morally for cruelty to the beast which is not his." He argues that the susceptibilities of men like himself who cherish the "religion of the heart" should be protected from the outrage done

them by cruelties practiced on wild animals. Here are two incidents which the old man tells:

"A baby squirrel, brought to me by a village boy, and which I bought in order to give it more effectual protection, first taught me, by its devotion and its almost human sympathy, the community of all sentient being, and awakened in me the perception of the common parentage of the great Creator.

"I do not remember in all my life a more exquisite sensation of pleasure than when, last summer, in the great and crowded Central Park of New York, thronged with its heterogeneous public, all classes and nations meeting there, I saw a squirrel go about among the children on the broad footpath, stopping before each one and standing up on his hind legs to ask for his daily bread. It was an ideal of the millennium, when the lamb shall lie down with the lion and a little child shall lead them; and to me it has a pathos finer than the finest music."

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE *Fortnightly* for May is a good number, marked by much variety and actuality. Some of its principal articles have received separate notice.

LORD SALISBURY AS HOME RULER.

"Milesius" writes on the Irish County Council elections and their bearing on home rule. After recounting and emphasizing the Nationalist victories, he concludes with a rather confident claim on the Unionist government. He recalls the famous Newport speech of 1885 and says:

"Lord Salisbury surely will, by a measure of home rule, relieve the loyal minority from ostracism from public life in Ireland. If, however, home rule be not granted, the loyal minority will soon join the ranks of their fellow-countrymen, and Ireland, with one voice, will demand the restoration of her native Parliament."

THE TITLE OF CARDINAL.

The recent alarm about the Pope's health leads Mr. Richard Davey to explain the procedure connected with the death, lying in state, election, and coronation of popes, under the title "Cardinals, Consistories, and Conclaves." The consistory is a meeting of the college of cardinals. When held under lock and key it is called a conclave. Of the word "cardinal" he says:

"The title of cardinal makes its first appearance in history in the fourth century, when Constantine assembled the council of Rome. Cardinal Belarmin, a great authority, tells us that in the early ages of Christianity the word cardinal was bestowed upon the principal churches of Italy, which were known as *Cardinales*. From these churches the title, in course of time, became synonymous with the chief pastors who directed them. Pope Pius V., however, by a constitution dated March 13, 1567, ordered them to relinquish this title in favor of the chief priests of the Church of Rome."

THE FIRST GREAT NOVELIST.

Mr. Arthur Symonds contributes a very vivid study of Balzac, born one hundred years ago, whom he hails as the first great novelist and the creator of the modern novel. As Dante with his "Divine Comedy" was the father of modern poetry, so Balzac with his "Human Comedy" has made the novel the modern epic. The writer observes in conclusion:

"A great lover, to whom love, as well as every other passion and the whole visible world, was an idea, a flaming spiritual perception, Balzac enjoyed the vast happiness of the idealist. I do not know, among the lives of men of letters, a life better filled or more appropriate."

THE DOOM OF THE SOLILOQUY.

Mr. H. M. Paull turns on the dramatic convention of the soliloquy—for it is a pure convention—a cold douche of common sense. He says:

"A man does not speak to himself, unless indeed he is beside himself; when we hear any one muttering and talking to himself we are apt to think that he is not in full possession of his senses. Is it allowable, then, to introduce into a representation of ordinary life a convention not absolutely necessary, which is contrary to actual practice instead of merely a modification?"

But is it necessary in order to lay bare the inner workings of the soul? Mr. Paull offers a strong instance:

"If there is one dramatist who is introspective in the highest degree, whose every recent play is the history of a soul, it is Ibsen. Now, Ibsen uses the aside and soliloquy very rarely; in some of his later plays he abandons them entirely. . . . We may conclude that the soliloquy not being necessary, and being false to real life, it is desirable that its use should be abandoned. Even those who will not go quite so far must acknowledge that to an increasing section of intelligent audiences it is becoming irksome. If so, it is condemned. A convention that is questioned is doomed; its existence depends upon its unhesitating acceptance."

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

THE principal papers in the May number of the *National* are Mr. Arnold White's on the Uitlanders, Mr. Leslie Stephen's on the Browning letters, and Mr. Stillman's on "The Belligerent Papacy," which claim separate notice.

AMERICAN PARTIES IN TRANSITION.

Mr. Maurice Low holds out a doleful prospect for Mr. Bryan's friends:

"The Democratic party appears to be fast drifting to destruction, and at the present time is more hopelessly divided than it has been for years. It is rent into factions; it has no recognized leader; its titular chiefs are squabbling among themselves, and having no common ground on which to unite against the common enemy are fighting one another."

PALMERSTON AND GARIBALDI IN 1860.

The Right Hon. Evelyn Ashley gives a vivid picture of his trip to Naples in 1860. His Garibaldi reminiscence throws an instructive light on the attitude of England toward the insurrection in south Italy. Her "benevolence" was much more evident than her "neutrality," for the writer was then private secretary to Lord Palmerston, and this was his lordship's answer to his parting request:

"I do not want to know what you are going to do for a holiday. All you ask me is to give you a letter of introduction to Count Cavour. What you want it for is no affair of mine. I will hand you a letter asking his good offices on your behalf. That is what Lord Palmerston said to me with a chuckle. It was all I wanted, and with eagerness I started off in great spirits."

So it came to pass that he joined Garibaldi and witnessed his peaceful entry into Naples.

A NEW IRISH POET.

The Earl of Lytton introduces with warm commendation the poetry of an Irish writer whose identity is hid under the initials A. E.; and the passages quoted seem to warrant his lordship's eulogy. The writer says:

"The central idea of his poetry is the revelation of the divine in nature. Humanity is dwarfed and cramped and surrounded by a 'vestiture of pain,' but in rare moments when nature speaks to us through cloud or sunshine, dawn or twilight, mountain or sea, we transcend the limits of mortal sense and feel thrillingly our divine birthright. Another most fascinating characteristic of these poems is their author's firm belief in the connection between our own world and a world of fairies."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. M. M. Beeton, secretary of the Anti-Bounty League, rejoices over the countervailing duties which Lord Curzon has imposed on imports into India of bounty-fed sugar. He also lays stress on the fact that similar countervailing duties levied by the United States on European beet sugar have enabled the British West Indies to increase their exports of cane sugar to this country. The "moral" which the writer urges is that the home government should follow suit.

Sir John Sterling Maxwell criticises Sir William Richmond's work in St. Paul's, and while admiring the "very glorious roof" of mosaics, declares much of the new work under the dome to be on "essentially wrong lines."

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

STRENUOUS, hortatory, and doctrinaire, the May number of the *Westminster Review* has in it much that is interesting.

LEADERSHIP OF THE BRITISH LIBERALS.

"Will He Lead?" is the title of the first article. The writer generally approves the commencement of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's leadership and asks for a resolute and explicit policy. This is the programme which he cuts out for Sir Henry:

"Let him proclaim from the house-tops the glorious truth that the House of Lords cannot block financial measures; and let him also proclaim from the house-tops that if returned to power at the next general election the Liberal party will in their very first budget impose on present values the existing land tax of four shillings in the pound, introduce payment of members and of election expenses and old-age pensions, and abolish the breakfast-table duties. Let him further pledge the Liberal party to introduce in their very first session a bill to empower local bodies to tax land values."

PIETY IN MODERN FICTION.

Writing on "religion in novels," Mr. H. H. Bowen expresses much dissatisfaction with the stories descriptive of New England life. In them, he says, "we have simply a series of wooden, hypocritical, conscience-riven figures. So much stress has been placed upon their tendency to religion and religious subjects that all sense of symmetry and propriety has been lost. . . . The discerning reader will admit that the prevailing schools of fiction of the day are those of New England and Scotland, and that a prominent characteristic of

their pages is a continued revelry of churches, parsons, and catechisms. The goodness is so dense as to be almost impenetrable."

He hopes that people are not really as these novels show them to be.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Miss Isabel Foard writes somewhat depressingly on the power of heredity. She argues that though education, sanitation, and longevity advance, there is a growing loss of concentrative brain power. "Originality is becoming rarer every year." Everything must be done with rapidity. A "casual type of mind" is being developed. This is largely due, she holds, to alcoholic parentage.

"Liberalism and Empire" is a subject discussed by Mr. A. C. F. Boulton. He says that the idea of empire with the Tories is the domination of a central government, exercising its patronage in colonial appointments; with the Liberals it is empire by home rule.

Mr. Charles E. Hooper advances what he calls an abstract scheme of democracy, an ingenious speculation for securing mathematically exact proportional representation.

Madeleine Greenwood pleads for the extension of trade unions among women. Oliphant Smeaton defends Grosart as a great Elizabethan scholar from Mrs. Humphry Ward's disparagement. Mr. O'Neil Daunt asks, "Has there been a deluge?" and exercises himself to disprove the universality of the flood.

BLACKWOOD.

"BLACKWOOD" for May has in it some interesting material. The splendid service rendered by the Gurkha scouts in the Tirah campaign is outlined and cordially commended. Mr. Alexander Macdonald describes his adventures "pioneering in Klondike."

There is a sketch, not wanting in humor, of what an unbeliever saw at a Christian scientist meeting in London. Christian science, says the writer, is important, because for the moment it is gaining ground rapidly in London; but he predicts for it "schism, mutual vituperation, and extinction."

Germany's influence at Constantinople is recognized ungrudgingly by a writer who strongly urges England, whose influence there at present is *nil*, to assume the rôle of sympathetic coöperator with Germany and Turkey, siding with the triple rather than with the dual alliance in relation to the Porte.

A very curious chapter of English expansion is brought to light in a paper on "A Forgotten Puritan Colony"—the island of Old Providence, off the coast of Honduras, now known as Santa Catalina. A patent was granted to an "intensely Puritan" company of adventurers in 1630, but the attempt to make the island a home of Puritan industry was "hopeless from the beginning." The place sank into being a nest of pirates. It was taken by the Spaniards in 1641 and its inhabitants deported to Cadiz. It was an illustration of Puritan and buccaneer in one, and showed how the old buccaneering policy toward Spain persisted long after Drake's death.

The "Looker-on" regrets that though there is a rage for the theater—and there are a thousand playgoers in the British Isles to-day where in 1860 there were not twice ten—there is no corresponding increase in the number or genius of playwrights.

CORNHILL.

THERE is not such a profusion of anecdote as usual, but the May number of *Cornhill* is full of good matter. Reference has been made elsewhere to Mrs. Little's account of the Chinese Emperor.

Mr. W. E. G. Fisher supplies the centenary tribute to Balzac, who was, he says, "the first novelist who had the courage to conceive and the genius to depict a world as real and complex" as the one we are educated to call real. The three or four thousand personages of the *Comédie* possess a strange vitality; they were to him more real than his own friends of flesh and blood. The writer quotes Mr. Browning's saying about him: "He is a writer of most wonderful faculty—with an overflow of life everywhere—with the vision and the utterance of a great seer."

Prof. R. Y. Tyrrell takes up the discussion on "Sense of Humor in Women" in a paper which does not heighten one's appreciation of the sense of humor in man. It is a solid attempt to vindicate the position that of all English writers George Eliot shows conspicuously the Shakespearean quality of humor. Dickens he sets down as possessed of overflowing fun, but no insight into human nature, no humor that will stand the test of time.

"Urbanus Sylvan," in his conferences on books and men, deplores the lack of patriotic songs to stir the heart of the empire, laments that even Kipling leaves Demos cold, and offers—whimsically burlesquing his own suggestion—a lot of doggerel on parish councils. He makes one suggestion which sets thought astir: what if Milton, instead of writing "Paradise Lost," had put his blood into battle-songs of Worcester or Dunbar? Would he not have merited more of an imperial people?

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

THERE are a few articles of exceptional interest in the April number of the *Edinburgh*. We have noticed elsewhere papers dealing with the past and future of Asia Minor, with the origin of diamonds, and with the Browning letters.

FRENCH BLUNDERS IN MADAGASCAR.

The story of Madagascar as a French colony is told in no unfriendly spirit, but it leaves the impression of a fatuous series of blunders. It was a blunder to break up and discredit the Hova ascendancy—the one important instrument of government ready to hand. It was a blunder to carry out the *politique des races*. Even the too sudden emancipation of the slaves was a blunder, though generous in intent: it dislocated the economic system, as the upsetting of the Hovas had dislocated the political system. The sudden and general imposition of taxes, as on cattle and rice, and the differential duties in favor of French imports, which simply reduced the takings at the custom-houses, were other errors. Nevertheless civilization is advancing:

"No doubt the French have created some enormous improvements throughout the island. Tananarive has been transformed into a fine town of almost European aspect. The roads and communications are rapidly being made fit for vehicular traffic. The railroad from Tamatave to Hivondro is laid down, and the 'pangalena' or isthmuses, which divide the series of lagoons between Tamatave and the Iharoka, are now nearly cut through to allow water transit throughout their length.

A new line has been traced across the Angavo range, and a concession for a railroad from Tananarive to the east coast has been granted to a company."

"WHERE PARNELL AND GLADSTONE FAILED."

A review of Parnell's life declares him to have been "badly treated in the end both by his Irish followers and his English allies." It leads up to this conclusion:

"Irish patriotism, as time goes on, will, we cannot doubt, develop on lines very different from that of the late Nationalist leader. After all, among the majority of Irishmen, love of their country does not mean hatred of England; and the day will come when all educated Irishmen will look upon John Bright as a far truer friend of Ireland than ever was Parnell. Parnell failed utterly and completely in the object he had set before himself, the making Ireland a nation, and the instrument by which he was to achieve it broke in his hands. His party could not, as an independent party, impose its will on Parliament, and when it entered into a close alliance with the Gladstonians it lost the independence of even choosing its own leader. Where Parnell and Gladstone failed it is not likely that lesser men will succeed. It is impossible to arrest the tendency of our times toward national consolidation."

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

LOVERS of literature and art will find a feast of fat things in the April *Quarterly*. Students of affairs are less sumptuously provided for. We notice elsewhere an article on the Catholic reaction in France.

♦ PAINTERS, CLASSIC AND TEUTON.

Velasquez and Rembrandt are finely compared and contrasted. One essential point of likeness is found in their marked individuality. "Each, undisturbed by contact with great painters and foreign influences, was himself and no other." Both paint what they actually see; "but Velasquez leaves us alone with the sitter." Rembrandt, on the other hand, "seems present at the interview; his personal influence is distinctly felt." Velasquez fixes his attention on the permanent alone. Rembrandt on the transitory also. Velasquez was a Greek of the Greeks:

"If Velasquez is severe, symmetrical, classic in his fiber, Rembrandt is a Teuton of the Teutons, mysterious, vague, passionate, tender."

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE LONG BOW.

Recent works on mediæval warfare lead to a singularly high valuation of the long bow and its function in the evolution of Europe. The long bow first came into use possibly in South Wales, certainly in the dominions of Edward I., who first made intelligent and systematic use of it in battle. It was practically a new weapon, surpassing the short bows preceding it, as the rifle the musket. It won Falkirk for the English, but its advantage was thrown away by Edward II. at Bannockburn:

"In England, on the contrary, the lessons alike of Falkirk and Bannockburn were thoroughly taken to heart. The archers, properly supported, won for England the astonishing series of victories which laid France prostrate at the feet of her insular neighbor, and broke forever the supremacy of mailed horsemen on the field of battle, and with it the political system which the mailed horsemen represented."

HOW MAHOGANY "ARRIVED."

A paper on "old oak" utters a warning against the spurious antique, with its worm-holes cleverly carved in newly manufactured furniture. The writer tells how oak was superseded—for a time—by a more showy wood from the West:

"In the year 1724 the master of a West Indian ship brought home some logs of wood called mahogany as ballast, and gave them to his brother, Dr. William Gibbons, a London physician of some repute, who was building a house. The carpenters declared that it was too hard for their tools and refused to use it. Mahogany as we know it is more easily worked than oak; but it must be remembered that the early importations consisted of what is known as Spanish mahogany from the island of St. Domingo, an extremely hard variety, and the use of English oak had then for some time been largely superseded by soft-grained woods. A candle-box was afterward made of the new wood, which looked so well that a bureau was taken in hand. This attracted the admiration of the doctor's visitors and, among them, of the Duchess of Buckingham, who ordered another of the same material. A supply being easily obtained, mahogany became the rage."

WHAT BRITISH WORKINGMEN HAVE "PUT BY."

From Mr. Brabrook's recent work on provident societies, an article treating of the "Wages and Savings of the Workingmen" quotes the following list of investments made by the working class:

Trade unions.....	£2,138,206
Friendly societies.....	25,408,253
Workingmen's clubs.....	107,988
Other societies under the friendly society acts.....	535,301
Industrial and provident societies...	28,451,328
Building societies.....	56,397,457
Trustee savings banks.....	53,699,532
Post-office savings banks.....	103,098,641
The railroad savings banks.....	3,124,069
The loan societies.....	265,869
	£278,216,684

This sum, taken with the annuities and assurances granted by the national debt commissioners, accounts, says Mr. Brabrook, "for not far short of £300,000,000." To this may be added £14,000,000 for industrial insurance companies and a good many millions for the "ordinary" insurances effected by the working class. The rate of increase of this total may be indicated by the statement that in 1877 a similar computation would have brought out the total of £111,500,000 and in 1891 £220,000,000.

OTHER ARTICLES.

A writer on the government of London reviews its progress up to the present bill. He describes Lord Salisbury's famous "suicide" speech as "casual and inexplicable words." He recognizes the county council as a permanency, but traces to its jealous influence the opposition to the bill.

"Ecclesiastical Courts" is the subject of a solemn talking to Lord Halifax and the Church Union, in which the writer sees great triumphs in store for the Anglican Church if she can consolidate her forces, but insists that consolidation must be on central lines—not on either wing.

THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN REVIEWS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

THE interest of M. Brunetière's review for April is considerable; there is no lack of variety in the contents and the topics treated are important.

A BELGIAN IN PEKING.

M. d'Ursel describes in the first April number his mission to Peking on the part of the Congo Free State in May of last year. The traveler does not linger long over the stopping-places on the way from Marseilles to China, but it is interesting to note that he admires Singapore as a model town of the English style, while at Hong Kong he is struck by the magnificent appearance of the English soldiers, with their air of being the conquerors of the world. When he gets really into China he gives an extremely vivid picture of the state of transition in which the Middle Kingdom finds itself. Though, as is well known, railroads cannot be built in China without desecrating an enormous number of ancestral tombs, M. d'Ursel nevertheless prophesies that in ten years the empire will be covered with a network of iron roads. The strain of life among the small group of Europeans in Peking must be terrible. With few exceptions they belong to some embassy or legation, and the aims of their respective governments being necessarily kept as far as possible secret, conversation tends to be centered on the most banal subjects. It is interesting to note that the traveler at the time when he left Peking last July was able to traverse every street in the city without being insulted by the native Chinese, and he attributes this, in part, at any rate, to the presence of the detachments of troops which were ordered to guard the various legations. He does not believe much in the thrilling newspaper stories of what went on recently in the imperial palace. He defends the Empress' action in snatching the reins of power from the enfeebled grasp of her nephew, on the ground that the latter's policy of reform was an attack upon the essential bases of Chinese society, and he points out that from a Chinese point of view the present position of the Emperor is not a humiliation at all, but simply a family arrangement. It will have been gathered that M. d'Ursel is a firm believer in the opening up of China to Western civilization. Will it, he asks, be accomplished pacifically? He thinks this very doubtful, but he suggests the possibility of the Czar's peace conference resulting in another conference, which would deal with the Chinese question as a whole.

HOW WE ARE WARMED.

M. d'Avenel continues his interesting series on the mechanism of modern life with a paper on the various methods of warming houses. France is a country which displays the most astonishing variations of temperature, and to this fact he attributes no small portion of the tact and mental agility for which his countrymen are famous. They pay in hard cash nearly 1,000,000,000 francs (\$200,000,000) every year on various methods of warming themselves. On coal about 540,000,000 francs are spent, on wood about 360,000,000 francs, and the rest goes in petroleum, methylated spirit, and gas. Altogether, Frenchmen spend about 5 per cent. of their total annual incomes in warming themselves, though, of course, it must be remembered that a certain propor-

tion of the warmth serves also for cooking purposes. It is a curious fact that the French words for home—namely, "hearth" or "fire"—are both becoming obsolete, because the old-fashioned open fire is being more and more replaced, especially in the towns, by stoves, which no doubt give out more heat, but have not the same associations in poetry and history. Of course before the introduction of coal the staple fuel was wood, which is now becoming, especially in Paris, the luxury of the rich. In Paris, as in the United States, the competition of electricity has driven those who are interested in gas to develop the utility of that product for cooking purposes—indeed, in France gas has ousted charcoal from the kitchens of the people. Moreover, there is nothing like gas for certain operations, such as grilling a steak, because the heat can be applied from above, and the principles of Brillat-Savarin can be perfectly carried out. M. d'Avenel tells an amusing story, showing for how long the south of Europe remained ignorant of the existence and use of coal. An Italian cardinal, who was on a visit to a bishop in the Netherlands, saw with astonishment a distribution of alms in the court-yard of the palace of his host. "They gave," he said, "to each poor person a piece of black stone, with which he went away as pleased as if he had been given a loaf of bread." Electricity is still too expensive to serve as a general heating medium, though it is sometimes employed for ladies' curling-irons. M. d'Avenel looks forward to the time when our houses will be warmed on a coöperative plan, as is already done in some quarters of New York, by means of hot air conveyed in pipes through a practically unlimited number of houses.

FRANCE IN THE LEVANT.

M. Lamy continues his series of articles on "France in the Levant" with an examination of the causes of her decline there. The French protectorate over the Catholics of the East is of old standing and has been ratified by many treaties; indeed, at one time Russia herself, or what afterward became Russia, had to rely upon the protection of the French flag. It is well known that nowadays there is no love lost between the Greek Orthodox and the Catholics, and the quarrel seems to have arisen over the custody of the holy places in Palestine. In 1757 the persistent intrigues of the Greek Orthodox were rewarded by obtaining from the Sultan the guardianship of the holy places. M. Lamy evidently has no very high opinion of Russian intrigues in Jerusalem, which are aimed, he thinks, at the acquisition of as many of the holy places as possible; and the curious thing is that the Franco-Russian alliance was a signal, not, as might have been expected, of an agreement between the two powers, but of renewed activity and rivalry on the part of the Greek Orthodox—that is to say, of the Russian—propaganda. Whatever the Franco-Russian alliance has gained for France in other ways, it has certainly been followed by a diminution of her prestige in the near East. Protestantism has begun to play a part in this conflict between the Roman and the Greek Orthodox churches. The extraordinary proceedings in connection with the Anglo-German Jerusalem bishopric, as well as the recent visit and speeches of the German Emperor, have rendered the problem still more complicated.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Among other articles may be mentioned a remarkable account by the Marquis de Gabriac of a visit which the Duchess de Guiche paid in 1801 to Napoleon, with the view of inducing him to play the part of a General Monk in restoring the old dynasty, and an able review by M. Valbert of Miss Mary Kingsley's "West African Studies."

NOUVELLE REVUE.

THE articles in Madame Adam's review for April are scarcely of so much immediate interest as is usually the case.

PITY THE FRENCH SCHOOLBOY.

M. de Coubertin, in the first April number, pleads for what he calls the urgent reform of the day in France. It is nothing less than a radical reform of the system under which the French schoolboy apparently groans. M. de Coubertin says that at first sight the proceedings of last year seemed of good augury for the advocates of reform. There was a highly successful meeting at the Sorbonne; a public school on the English model was set up; and the Chamber appointed a commission to inquire into the possible improvements of secondary education. But M. de Coubertin is very pessimistic. It is an old story in France, he says, and he does not expect much from these new efforts, because every reformer rides off on his own particular hobby-horse, and the French parent remains enveloped in the old foggy apathy. The fundamental vice of French education is that old fallacy of confusing education with instruction. Instruction is only a part, and not by any means the most important part, of education. French parents and the French state alike ask about every pupil, not, what can he do? but, what does he know? and the success of the schoolmaster is measured by the amount of information he has contrived to cram into his pupils' heads, regardless of the character, the power of initiative, and the moral energy which they have almost certainly failed to acquire under this one-sided and hide-bound system.

It is a barren task to denounce Napoleon or the Jesuits for bringing about this state of affairs. Whoever is responsible in the past, there can be no doubt that the future of France as a great power depends almost entirely on whether she will perceive and remedy the defects of her national education. Future historians will tell how much the British empire of to-day owes to the English public-school system with its organized confidence in schoolboy honor, its tactful policy of keeping the terrors of discipline in the background, and its persistent cultivation of that indefinable sentiment of *esprit de corps* and of reciprocal loyalty between the school and the boys, who regard themselves as belonging to it, not for a few years of childhood, but for the whole of their lives. M. de Coubertin rightly brushes aside the absurd theory that Frenchmen are not made for liberty. They are the inheritors of the oldest civilization of modern Europe, and if the parents of to-day have had their initiative ground out of them by the iron discipline of the *lycées*, that is all the more reason why their children should be submitted to the influences of a wiser system. M. de Coubertin places his finger unerringly on the first and most important reform. The schools or *lycées* must be made self-governing; they must be emancipated from the iron cen-

tralization which checks all individual effort and cuts down originality to an official routine of red tape. In other words, the way must be cleared in France for great educators like Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, and Edward Thring, of Uppingham—men of individual enthusiasm and originality for whom the present system leaves absolutely no scope. Such a reform would inevitably bring in its train subsidiary changes such as the abolition of the degrading espionage which saps the self-respect of the French schoolboy.

MADAME ADAM ON FOREIGN POLITICS.

Madame Adam praises the ability of M. Delcassé in his conduct of the Anglo-French negotiations, but she still believes that England is animated by hostile sentiments toward France. The reception of "Sir" Cecil Rhodes at Berlin makes Madame Adam somewhat uneasy. As for the relations between Italy and England, Madame Adam represents the government of King Humbert as the dupe of British perfidy in China and in Africa. As to the peace conference, Madame Adam tells us that the young Queen Wilhelmina is deeply interested in its success. Madame Adam considers on the whole that wars undertaken out of greed and ambition may be suppressed, but she thinks that defensive wars against invasion will always be holy wars, and she drops a terrible hint of the "yellow peril" which seems to threaten Western civilization.

REVUE DE PARIS.

THE *Revue de Paris* keeps up an extraordinary high level of excellence and general interest, and its contents reflect more truly than do those of any other French review the French life and thought of the moment. Wagnerians will find much to interest them in a curious article contributed by M. Saint-Saëns, entitled "The Wagnerian Illusion." In it the writer draws a comparison between Wagner and Homer, Æschylus, Shakespeare, and Dante; still he warns composers of the future against what he styles the Wagnerian tradition, apparently holding the view that genius is essentially unique in its manifestations.

DAUDET AND MEREDITH.

Of very general interest is the concluding chapter of Daudet's "Notes on Life." In the first few pages the great novelist attempts to transcribe on paper some of his most curious dreams, including even some verses which he composed while asleep. He must have been a man singularly open to varied impressions, for in giving his impressions of London he speaks with enthusiasm, though of course with a very different choice of language, of the Zoo, of the Tower Bridge, and of the Abbey, and he suggests that an admirable story might be written explaining the feelings of a grandchild of Dickens who in early childhood finds himself shut up one night in the Abbey, close to his grandfather's tomb. Exceedingly charming is the account of a visit to George Meredith. "George Meredith was waiting for us at the station; though of medium height, he appears tall; he has a delicate fine face and short white beard." He was also much impressed by Holland House, which he considered with truth one of the unique mansions of London. Eton struck him more than Windsor; but it is to Oxford that he devoted most of his space, for, as he truly says, there is nothing in France that gives the slightest idea of a great university town. French in-

terest in England is further shown in the *Revue de Paris* by a second article on Rudyard Kipling and by a translation of one of the same writer's short stories.

FRANCE AND THE FINNS.

The only political articles in either number are two entitled "The Right of the Feeble," which deal with the Schleswig-Holstein question and with Finland. M. Bernadini's article on the Finnish question is the first criticism of Russian policy which has appeared in a French publication during the last four years.

THE INFANTICIDE QUESTION IN FRANCE.

Perhaps the most notable example of modern French philanthropic methods is that embodied in *L'Assistance Maternelle*, by which an attempt is made to deal with the infanticide question, a vital one for France, owing to the fact that the population is steadily decreasing.

In the year 1811 a law was passed by which the state adopted all children abandoned by their parents; the mother had only to bring her baby to a kind of central hospital, there to be rid of it forever. In the year 1812 there were 235 centers where children could be abandoned, and very few of these *crèches* were really looked after properly. The child was put in a basket, which turned on a swivel placed in the door of each *crèche*, the theory being that the mother would be too much ashamed to bring her baby in. It was finally decided, however, that it would be much more practical to assist the girl-mother with money and medical aid at the time of her confinement, and later to help her to support her child. Accordingly *L'Assistance Maternelle* was founded, and the results have been very satisfactory. Instead of taking the baby away from the mother a small sum toward its keep is allowed her, and everything is done to secure that each child shall be brought up with his or her mother. In other words, the old system encouraged women to abandon their illegitimate offspring, while the present system helps them to develop the maternal instinct. Since the year 1869 poor married women are also given temporary help at the time of their confinement, though even now greater favors are showered on the unmarried mother.

One serious difficulty constantly confronting the officials whose duty it is to deal with this delicate problem is that concerning the period before the birth of an illegitimate child. The town of Paris took the matter in hand some years ago and built a very suitable building, *L'Asile Michelet*. There not only *filles mères*, but also poverty-stricken married women, are welcomed some time before the birth of their children, and no inmate is compelled to prove more than extreme poverty. They are not even obliged to give their names. In the year 1897, 1,994 women were for longer or shorter periods inmates of *L'Asile*; of these 1,641 declared themselves to be single, 259 were married women, 82 widows, and 12 *divorcées*. The fact that 1,248 were domestic servants throws a sad light on the conditions of French service. On the whole, *L'Asile Michelet* has been a very great success; an astonishing improvement in the health of the women always takes place during their stay there. The inmates are not obliged to work, but are encouraged to make the garments for the little strangers whose

arrival they are expecting. In one matter France is very much behind many great countries, notably Germany, Austria, Norway, and Holland, where no woman is allowed by law to begin work until a month after the birth of her child. Notwithstanding the incessant efforts of Jules Simon, the Comte de Mun, and Jules Guesde, no analogous law has been passed in France.

THE ITALIAN REVIEWS.

IN the *Nuova Antologia* Prof. G. Sergi draws a parallel, interesting as coming from an Italian and highly flattering to the English, between the modern English and the ancient Romans, in respect both of individual character and national policy. Referring to Demolins' much-discussed book, he declares English superiority to be a question not of education, but of race.

Prince Baldassare Odescalchi continues his sporting reminiscences, and gives an amusing account of his first fox-hunting experiences in England.

The mid-April number republishes the address on Gladstone which Signor Luzzatti recently delivered at the *Institut de France* on his election to that body in succession to the English statesman. The address is an able and sympathetic appreciation of Mr. Gladstone, such as one might expect from an Italian source, and is in great measure a reply to the recent onslaught of Mr. Lecky. Signor Luzzatti dwells especially on his genius for finance. Admitting that a great politician can scarcely also be a great saint, he sums up his subject in the following passage: "He too had to present himself before the divine mercy with the burden of his sins as a man, an Englishman, and a minister; but assuredly he has been absolved by the sincerity of his faith in God, by his horror of blood-stained glory, by his eloquent defense of the weak and the oppressed, by his immortal invective against Bourbon tyranny, by the reparation made by him to the Irish nation, the victim of centuries of injustice, and finally by his invincible faith in the goodness of human nature."

The *Civiltà Cattolica* celebrated in April the fiftieth year of its existence by a special jubilee number (April 1). This is prefaced by a warm letter of congratulation in Latin from Leo XIII. and by a historical sketch of the progress of the magazine. From it we learn that the *Civiltà* was founded with the express sanction of Pius IX. in order to counteract in a measure the evils that sprang from the disorders of 1848, and in spite of the numerous practical difficulties in the way of distribution at a time when Italy was subdivided into a number of independent states, the magazine soon reached a circulation of 11,000. In general it may be said to have maintained the interests of an *intransigent* Catholicism.

Considerable space is given in the various reviews to the question of the recent acquisition of San-Mun and an Italian forward policy in China, but nowhere does the policy seem to call forth enthusiasm or even approval.

The *Rivista Politica e Letteraria* in an unusually strong number contains a good critical essay on D'Annunzio and the criminal tendencies of his various heroes, by S. Sighele; an article on Sir Cecil Rhodes and African railroads, and an illustrated account of the Spanish Academy in Rome.

SUMMER READING.

NOTES UPON THE NEW BOOKS.

RECENT FICTION.

Nobody has been able to discover just what quality in a book gives it the success that is attested by large sales and wide reading. A good many well written American novels have appeared within the past few months, but not many of them show signs of making a wide or deep impression. The story that has for the past two or three months led all others in demand has been *David Harum*. It appeared, if we mistake not, last October. Its success came gradually rather than immediately. It is the story of a country banker of Central New York,—a quaint and original personage, whose sayings are likely to become proverbial. The author of *David Harum*, the late Edward Noyes Westcott, was himself a banker who was born in Syracuse in 1847, and died there in March, 1898, of consumption.—just as he completed the book, and six months before it was published. It is pathetic to note the remarkable favor with which *David Harum* has been received in every part of the country, when one remembers the months of pain and ever increasing weakness in which the author wrote it.

Next to *David Harum*, the best selling American novel of the season has also been a first book by a previously unknown author, namely, the romance entitled *When Knighthood Was in Flower*, by Mr. Major, of Indiana. Thomas Nelson Page's *Red Rock*, a book already strongly recommended by this magazine, fairly ranks with these other two by the market tests. No other American novels that have lately appeared begin to approach these three in popularity; for one could

not call Mr. Dooley in *Peace and in War* a novel. Mr. Howells' new story, *Ragged Lady*, is evidently destined to achieve success in the popular sense, and Mr. Cable's *Strong Hearts* makes a propitious start in the race.

The American actress, Miss Elizabeth Robins, has achieved in her last novel, *The Open Question*, an international reputation. The book was published in London last fall, and had received an abundance of favorable mention from the



Courtesy of D. Appleton & Co.

EDWARD NOYES WESTCOTT.

pens of the most competent European critics before a copy of it appeared in the author's native land. Miss Robins was born and brought up in Zanesville, Ohio, and came to New York at the age of seventeen to begin her career on the stage, and within a few years was playing *Jessie* with Booth and Barrett. A few magazine stories, and a novel called *George Manderville's*

Husband were favorably received by the public, but gave little indication of the rare power shown in *The Open Question*. Since its publication in this country Miss Robins' story has had an enthusiastic reception.



Courtesy of Harper & Brothers.

MISS ELIZABETH ROBINS.

The hero and heroine of this tale, Ethan and Val Gano, while they figure as representatives of a physically degenerate Southern family, are themselves types of anything but degeneracy. The "open question" suggested by the story relates to intermarriage between families in which consumption is hereditary. The question is merely stated without an attempt at an answer.

Another book that has been warmly welcomed on both sides of the Atlantic during the past spring is Mr. Richard Whiteing's *No. 5 John Street*, which can hardly be properly described as a novel, since it is quite destitute of plot. It is a partially disguised study of social conditions, and in more than one respect it reminds us of Mr. Wyckoff's *The Workers*, but the characters in *No. 5 John Street* are more self-assertive than the people who figure in *The Workers*, and one cannot help thinking that Mr. Whiteing took a more vital interest in the people themselves than in the problems with which they were concerned. Mr. Whiteing, like Mr. Wyckoff, disguised himself as a working-man, burned his bridges behind him, and went to live among those who toil with their hands. Mr. Whiteing is an artist, a word-painter, and the portraits that he has drawn of *Corey*, and *Tilda*, the flower girl, are more than merely realistic. Mr. Whiteing's literary style is precisely adapted to such work as this, and we

trust that we shall have more studies from his pen in the same line.

One more "international" novel has recently appeared. *The Market-Place*, by Harold Frederic, was announced before the lamented author's death. It is a study of Americans in England, dealing with certain phases of English life, which have never been so fully described before in works of fiction. Mr. Frederic was evidently familiar with the financial and business side of London social life, and certain matters that have been recently exposed in the Hooley scandals were exhibited in *The Market-Place*. It is a matter of gratification to the many American friends of Mr. Frederic that the author's last book is fairly representative of his best work.

Eden Phillpotts, the author of *Down Dartmoor Way*, has written *Children of the Mist*, a realistic novel, the scene of which is laid in a Devonshire village. Mr. R. D. Blackmore, the author of *Lorna Doone*, has said of this book: "I was simply astonished at the beauty and power of this novel. A pleasure is in store for many, and literature is enriched with a wholesome and genial and noble tale."

Across the Campus is a bright story of an American girl's college life by Caroline M. Fuller. Miss Fuller is a graduate of Smith College in the class of '95 of that institution, which is believed to be the class whose fortunes are related in this story.

Even the most consistent and devoted realist of them all might well hesitate before choosing an Indian half-breed of our Western plains as his hero, but Mr. Frederic Remington understands just how to utilize such material. The short stories brought together under the title of *Sundown Leflare* are, with one exception, Sundown's own productions; Mr. Remington has simply transcribed them—at any rate, that is what Mr. Remington would like to have us believe. However that may be, the stories have a basis in personal experience on the plains, and they present a phase of life that is rapidly becoming obsolete. It goes without saying that Mr. Remington does his own illustrating.

Several months ago there appeared a very bright, original and wideawake story of sea adventures off the California coast, from the pen of a new writer, Mr. Frank Norris, entitled *Moran of the Lady Letty*. It won prompt attention from the discriminating who like to welcome really strong, fresh, and vital work in American fiction. That first story has been followed by another entitled *McTeague: A Story of San Francisco*. This story moves in a wholly different sphere, but, even more strongly than its predecessor, it shows power and directness of method. It is about the most unpleasant American story that anybody has ever ventured to write. It is a study of life and character among a class of people that story-tellers generally avoid, or at least seldom select for their chief characters. *McTeague* is an ill-born lad of the mining country, who learns something of dentistry as a trade from a traveling dentist who makes the rounds of the camps. The young fellow finally opens an office as a dentist on a side street in San Francisco, where he lives in his office and takes his meals at a third-class restaurant near by. He falls in love with a girl of German-American family who happens to find her way into his dentist's chair, and their marriage leads to ever-increasing wretchedness through the development of the brutal side of *McTeague's* nature, and of a miserly quality in that of his wife. It is unnecessary to follow this story to its

hideous end. Mr. Norris has shown us in this powerful study of life an ability that it is to be hoped he may henceforth use in the writing of books that will be not less true but a good deal more agreeable.

Mr. Howells' latest novel, *Ragged Lady*, has been acclaimed with a chorus of praise as conceived in his happiest and most delicate vein, and as relieved from a certain air of responsibility for the working out of social problems that had weighed down some of his more recent work and really reflected Mr. Howells' personal views of our contemporary conditions of life. "Ragged Lady" is a New England girl of Mr. Howells' favorite type, and there is a transition from the New England atmosphere to Florence and other Italian spots, where Mr. Howells is so perfectly at home that he knows just how to make those Americans behave who are anything but at home in a place like Venice.

Mrs. Burton Harrison has made a firmly established reputation as a writer of attractive, wholesome, and thoroughly representative American stories. There is differentiation enough to lend fresh interest to each new book of hers as it appears, while there is a sameness of quality that seems to make these stories all of one piece. They have certainly come to be "standard goods." Her new story, *A Triple Entanglement*, like its predecessors, deals with the class of Americans who travel abroad a good deal, and the love story is worked out with the usual accompaniment of travel incidents, and of sojourn in various parts of Europe.

Mrs. Schuyler Crowninshield's story, *Latitude 19°*, will probably be read more generally for its presentation of the romantic and strange side of life in the West Indies, and particularly in Haiti, in the early part of



Courtesy of the Century Company.

RICHARD WHITEING.

the century than for its literary qualities. It is evidently based upon a study of the accounts that are to be found in the libraries of the remarkable period in the history of the Black Republic that followed the death of Toussaint. The adventures described in this story purport to be those of an American skipper and his companions, who were captured by pirates, and who, as fugitives in Haiti, had strange adventures and witnessed still stranger things.

Mr. George W. Cable in the volume entitled *Strong Hearts* has collected three short stories, namely, *The Solitary*, *The Taxidermist*, and *The Entomologist*, and he returns for his scenes and characters to New Orleans and the Creoles. This new work has much of the quality of the delightful stories which gave him his first fame, but their method is a little more serious. There is reason to expect a great deal of excellent fiction yet from Mr. Cable's pen.

The Armenian question, for the time being, is somewhat in abeyance. It has not been settled, however, and it cannot be dismissed. A very valuable contribution to its literature (*Through the Storm*) comes from the pen of one of the leaders of the party that represents Armenian aspirations, who is the editor of the principal organ of that party, his name being Avetis Nazarbek. This book, which was written in French, has been well translated by Mrs. Elton, and appears with a preface by Professor F. York Powell, of the University of Oxford. In the form of descriptive sketches and narratives one finds most of the history of the recent Armenian massacres and disturbances recounted in a manner at once eloquent and appealing.

Mr. R. Nisbet Bain, the translator of one of Dr. Maurus Jokai's most important novels, under the title of *A Hungarian Nabob*, has taken what would seem a questionable liberty in cutting down the book by a full third. But surely none of us would ever have discovered this ourselves if the translator had not frankly told us about it. Jokai is one of the greatest story-writers of our time, or of any other time; and we ought to be thankful when his books are made accessible to us. Just now his readers in Hungary are making it worth while for his publishers to bring out a new uniform edition of the more than one hundred novels that he has produced. This particular story is a characteristic account of Hungarian life in the early part of the present century, and is delightful reading.

Mr. S. R. Crockett, in the opinion of many of his readers, is decidedly strongest in those stories of his which are distinctly devoted to phases of Scotch history. His contemporary tales of rural love are a trifle insipid and pallid, but when he writes of Covenanters and border raiders he gives us a stronger diet. His new novel, *The Black Douglas*, deals with the Scotland of the 15th century, and its theme is the fall of the great house of Douglas, which, he informs us, is the most popular of all the traditional tales that have been handed down in Galloway. Mr. Crockett has had this story on hand for a number of years, and it will enhance his reputation.

Dr. Conan Doyle's new novel entitled *A Duet, with an Occasional Chorus* is as readable as possible, and is deserving of entire approbation. It is a London story of happy married life, with enough external incident and description to keep the movement rapid.

Swallow: a Tale of the Great Trek is another African novel from the pen of Mr. Rider Haggard. The heroine is a maiden of the nation of Oom Paul

Kruger, and the hero is an Englishman, who very properly weds the heroine. The villain is a half-breed, and he steals the Boer heroine, who is, of course, happily rescued in the end. Mr. Haggard supplies all the thrilling adventure that the most exacting reader could possibly demand.

Mr. Robert Barr's contributions to literature are always welcome in summer vacation time, and his collection entitled *In a Steamer Chair and Other Ship-board Stories* will not fail to serve the purposes of light reading for idle moments. It is only fair to say, however, that these stories—or some of them—appeared some years ago, and the present volume appears to be, in the main, a reprint.

Mr. Henry Gillman, author of a romance of Palestine entitled *Hassan: A Fella*, is said to have derived his materials from a knowledge gained by a residence of some years in the Holy Land. The story is romantic enough, certainly; but the book derives such importance as it possesses from its accurate portrayals of present-day life in the East, with the commingling of races and the sharp distinction of types. There stands out from these pages the Turk, the Syrian and the Jew, and one may gain from the book a great deal of instruction concerning the land, its people and its problems.

The one humorist brought to light and to high favor in our recent war period, is the author of a now widely-famed book entitled *Mr. Dooley in Peace and in War*. Mr. F. P. Dunne is a Chicago newspaper man, whose little sketches, reprinted in book form, were first contributed day by day to the columns of the *Chicago Journal*. These sketches purport to contain the conversations and reflections of an Irish philosopher named Martin Dooley. Mr. Dooley's comments are drawn out by contact with the more or less stimulating mind of his friend Mr. Hennessy. Dooley talks on diplomacy, on war preparations, on appointments, on the Anglo-Saxon, on our Cuban allies, and many kindred matters, while war is the theme of the day. In peace times he discusses new year's resolutions, paternal duty, the new woman, football, the Victorian era, anarchists, the Dreyfus case and any other matter of interest that happens to engage his attention. These sketches are often wise, and they are always exceedingly funny.

The Professor's Daughter by a Western writer, Miss Anna Farquhar, is a story that has earned very favorable attention and that evinces much talent. It is a characteristic American love story.

Miss Mary E. Wilkins' newest story, *The Jamesons*, appears in book form after having appeared as a serial in *The Ladies' Home Journal*. It is as clever as one expects her work to be, and it is a good deal more free than her usual writing from painful analysis of the unpleasant side of New England life. The Jamesons are simply a city family who make their appearance in a New England village which had never before taken any summer boarders; and the manner in which Mrs. H. Boardman Jameson undertakes to make over the village is highly diverting.

Miss Beatrice Harraden's new novel is called *The Fowler*, in allusion to that text of the Psalms which refers to the escape of the soul as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers. This is a story of contemporary life in London, somewhat in the analytical mood of Henry James. The heroine—who is the highly intelligent and modern sort of young woman that Mrs. Humphry Ward and others have frequently told us about—comes

somehow under the influence of a disagreeable cynic and pessimist, whose unpleasant and objectional attitude towards life and all that is worth while is presumably the "fowler's snare" in which the able-bodied and intellectual heroine is in danger of being entangled. She gets out of the net eventually, and, having escaped from Mr. Theodore Bevan, she goes out to Lower California. In the end she makes an unromantic but appropriate marriage. The best character in the book is a London trained nurse.

The Rev. William Barry, the author of a new novel entitled *The Two Standards* which has caused no little comment, is an English Catholic clergyman, whose story *The New Antigone* a dozen years ago was a pronounced success. The present book deals in the main with ethical questions as illustrated in the history of the life and career of its heroine, and it is a versatile and scholarly piece of writing that derives its chief charm from its atmosphere of music and art.

There is no just reason why the romantic and pathetic history of the Acadians should be closed to all subsequent writers on the ground that Longfellow had immortalized *Evangeline*. Professor Charles G. D. Roberts, probably better than any one else, is qualified to write a sympathetic and charming story of those times and people, and he has certainly done this in the narrative (*A Sister to Evangeline*) which tells how Yvonne de Lamourie went into exile with the villagers of Grand Pré.

Mr. Rounseville Wildman, who has been a conspicuous personage in our recent public affairs in the far East, through the fact of his being Consul General at Hong-Kong, is, first of all, an accomplished writer. His nine years of residence and experience on the Malayan coast have given him the material for a very readable volume, entitled *Tales of the Malayan Coast*, made up partly of descriptive sketches and partly of short stories.

Miss Murfree does not like to wander far from her beloved Tennessee mountains; but in her *Story of Old Fort Loudon*, instead of a tale of the contemporary mountaineers she carries us back to the days when the English-speaking pioneers overcame the wilderness, successfully resisted the French claims, and faced the still fiercer opposition of the Indians. The book contains a charming story, but it is even more valuable as a chapter in the history of what Mr. Roosevelt calls "the winning of the West."

As a record of a phase of life on our Western plains that will soon have disappeared, the book entitled *A Texas Ranger*, by N. A. Jennings, will probably come to have a considerable value as testimony. It is a simply written and transparently truthful account of the experiences in Texas of the well educated son of a Philadelphia merchant, who had read of frontier life until he was determined to try it, and who went at the age of eighteen, in 1874, to become a cowboy. The book is one, of course, that will appeal most strongly to boys,



Courtesy of Charles Scribner's Sons.

JESSE LYNCH WILLIAMS.

but it has peculiar value, apart from the interesting adventures it recounts, in its quality as an historical document.

Mrs. Coates, who continues to be known as "Sarah Jeanette Duncan," has added to her growing series of readable books a novel called *Hilda*, which deals with social life in India, with an actress and a Salvation Army girl as the principal characters.

Mr. Jesse Lynch Williams brings out in an attractive volume the newspaper stories which have been so successful in their magazine publication. It is not because Mr. Williams is a good newspaper man and understands the technique of newspaper making that these stories are so successful, although his special knowledge is, of course, a factor. He has given us good stories of newspaper life and work simply because he has the knack of making good stories. It is to be hoped that he will venture into wider fields and deal with more varied material, for he has certainly earned a right to rank with our best short story writers, in *The Stolen Story and Other Newspaper Stories*.

The love story in *Young Mistley*, Mr. Henry Seton Merriman's last novel, is not remarkably exciting, but from first to last the hero passes through a number of varied and startling adventures, displaying much courage. As a picture of modern social life in London, the story is what might have been expected from Mr. Merriman.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION.

Dr. Sven Hedin is a learned Swede who possesses a knowledge of many sciences, but who is particularly eminent as a geographer. It is no small feat to go across Asia, even as a mere traveling adventure. But it is a colossal feat to take four years in going across, making daily record of geographical, geological and various other scientific data. Dr. Hedin has produced a work of about as fascinating a quality as Nansen's *Farthest North*, and it is as original and instructive as it is entertaining. We have known very little, after all, about Central Asia,—its deserts, its vast mountains and its nomadic tribes. All Europe is uniting to praise and honor Dr. Hedin for the wonderful study he has now given us of the almost inaccessible Pamir region. The two volumes contain about 200 illustrations and some very valuable maps. Although they are especially praised by scientists, they are written avowedly for the general reader, and are as attractive as travel books can well be made.

It is wonderful how the systematic opening up of Africa, by virtue of the division of the continent into spheres of influence, has been resulting in the establishment of order and peace, and has rendered accessible great regions which only five or ten years ago were practically closed to the outside world. This is well illustrated by a remark on the first page of Dr. Anson's *Under the African Sun*. This attractive volume is an



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SVEN HEDIN.

account of life in Uganda. The author says that he made his first journey to Uganda in 1894. At that time the caravan route to Port Alice, a distance of 800 miles, was very difficult and dangerous; but "now a gentleman can travel the whole distance in absolute safety, armed with nothing but his walking stick." This change has come about through the British protectorate. There is a railway running 200 miles inland from Mombasa. It will, of course, in due time go much further, connecting with the prospective Cape-to-Cairo trunk-line upon which Mr. Cecil Rhodes has set his heart. Dr. Anson is a distinguished naturalist and a great authority on animal life in Africa, with an especially famous collection of African birds. This volume abounds in descriptions of African hunting, and is full of the valuable observations of a highly trained naturalist. Dr. Anson was formerly a professor in Mauritius.

A good many Americans will have played some part in the work of opening up the African continent. It was as an American newspaper man that Stanley first went to Africa; and American missionaries in various parts of the dark continent have done their full share. In the adventurous work of developing the mining resources of South Africa and of opening up the great region now called Rhodesia, Americans have been particularly active. One of these Americans, Mr. William Harvey Brown, gives us an excellent volume entitled *On the South African Frontier*. Brown, while in the University of Kansas, was active in zoological work, and spent his vacations in studying western fauna, from bison and grizzly bears down to butterflies. Subsequently he went to Africa as naturalist of a United States Government expedition. That was in 1889. He remained in Africa eight years, and this book recounts his experiences, "mainly as collector, big-game hunter, gold seeker, landowner, citizen, and soldier during seven years' participation in the settlement and early development of Rhodesia." Our English friends will approve of this book, since it contains glowing defenses of the value to the world of British imperial development in the dark continent.

Our budget of books on Africa includes two devoted to the British possessions on the west coast. The one by Miss Kingsley is not her first volume on West Africa. Miss Kingsley is an indefatigable inquirer, and a very charming and breezy writer. The volume is almost encyclopedic in the range of its information and discussion. It is historical, descriptive, political, and at the same time devoted especially to the study of such questions as fetish worship. It has some valuable contributed appendices by expert authorities on the negro tribes of West Africa and on West African trade.

A projected "Imperial Library," so-called, which is to contain a series of books on the different parts of British Empire, begins with an opening volume on British West Africa, by Major Mockler-Ferryman, of the Oxfordshire Light Infantry, who has previously written of Africa and is accounted an authority. The book is a systematic historical account of the opening up of Western Africa. It discusses very frankly the great bane of West Africa for white men, namely, the malarial fever. The author admits that the climate is very bad, but shows that with due precaution it is not necessarily fatal.

Major Younghusband's book about the Philippines, and that part of the world, will be especially appreciated in the United States because of its outside testi-



"IN CAMP—THE DOGS' PORRIDGE."
(From "In the Klondyke.")

mony upon our own men and their achievements. Major Younghusband is a well-known English author of interesting books of travel and exploration, and he reached Manila at a lucky time. He pays tributes to Admiral Dewey that will be very grateful to all American readers, and he gives a good account of our soldiers and their behavior in the Philippines. His story of the difficulties between the American and German fleets will attract especial attention. Like all of Major Younghusband's writing, this book is turned off in an easy, gossipy style.

Few current writers in this country have so great a capacity for rapid production as Miss Hamm. She has been one of the foremost of the writers who have contributed valuably to the contemporary literature of the war period. It was her good fortune to have lived and traveled extensively in the far East, and to have known the Philippines through recent and extended observation. Thus, a few months ago she gave us a very useful volume entitled *Manila and the Philippines*. More lately she has been in Cuba and Porto Rico, both before and during the war, and she was active in hospital and relief work. With the experience of a trained journalist she has gathered and presented just the sort of information about Porto Rico that American readers would be most likely to desire. Besides the chapters about the people,—their life, industry, productions, political, social and religious institutions,—Miss Hamm gives us much information of a zoological and botanical sort that enhances the value of her book, and lifts it safely out of the class of merely ephemeral performances.

Mr. Frank T. Bullen's *The Cruise of the Cachalot* is one of those books that will go on a shelf with Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast*, Kipling's *Captains Courageous*, and a few books of that same quality. This

book is by the first mate of a whaling ship, who has been many years at sea, and whose object is to tell in a direct way the most interesting and least known things about the life and adventures of men engaged in that little understood calling, the taking of whales in the south seas. Mr. Kipling has indorsed it with glowing enthusiasm. It will rank as a classic.

To Mr. Frederick Palmer, the well known newspaper correspondent and magazine writer, must be accorded the credit of writing what is, on the whole, the most satisfactory account of Klondike experiences that has yet issued from the press. Mr. Palmer made the winter journey to Dawson City, and records its unique hardships and perils. During the early summer he was able to explore the mining camps of the region, taking the first steamer down the Yukon. Mr. Palmer's pictures of life in the gold seeker's country are free from sensation, and the general reader will find them invariably bright and entertaining.

HISTORY.

In the field of modern history new books are not lacking this season. Professor E. A. Grosvenor of Amherst College has prepared a brief *Contemporary History of the World* which covers the period 1848-1890, and serves very conveniently as a continuation of Duruy's *General History*. Professor Grosvenor outlines in this volume of 160 pages the most prominent political events in Europe and America during the past half-century. Taking the year 1848 as a turning-point in history, we are almost amazed when we consider the changes that have been wrought since that date. The German Empire has been created; the unification of Italy has been secured; the Balkan provinces have become independent States; Africa and Oceania have been divided and seized by European powers; Asia, too, has undergone considerable dismemberment; the United States has moved westward to the Pacific Ocean, more than trebling its population, and the British colonial system has developed into an empire. All these and many other important transformations are described in Professor Grosvenor's little book. It is a compact and handy volume for reference.

For a more detailed study of England's part in this nineteenth century advance the reader is referred to Mr. Justin McCarthy's *Story of the People of England*, just published in two volumes. The first volume brings the narrative down to the year 1832. It was noticed in our last number. The second volume is almost entirely taken up with the events of Queen Victoria's reign. Such topics as the treatment of criminals, the movement for church disestablishment in Ireland, the foundation of the Dominion of Canada, the Chartist agitation, the opium question, the Irish national movement, the Crimean War, Mr. Gladstone's career, and the development in literature, art and science are sketched in Mr. McCarthy's graphic style.

Returning to the continent of Europe, a volume on *Austria* has just been added to the "Story of the Nations" series, by Mr. Sidney Whitman, the author of *Imperial Germany*. As the story of Hungary already had a place in the series, Mr. Whitman's volume attempts no more than a record of that particular part of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire which has always, to a great extent, been German in race and character, just as its ruling dynasty, the House of Hapsburg was itself German in origin. In a word, he has written the story of Austria proper, the home of the Hapsburg dynasty.

This story he brings down to the assassination of the Empress in 1898. His discussion of Austrian literature, science and art will open a new vista to many American readers. Like its predecessors in this series, the volume is well illustrated.

Mrs. Augusta Hale Gifford has written *Germany: Her People and Their Story*, a popular history of the German Empire from Arminius to William II. The book is especially adapted to the needs and demands of American readers. Mrs. Gifford has had in mind not only the youth of American parentage, but the young German-Americans who desire to obtain a fuller knowledge of the country of their ancestors.

At first glance it would seem that Mr. Justin Huntly McCarthy's *Short History of the United States* must have been intended for British consumption, since it traverses so much ground already familiar to Americans, and so very little that is unfamiliar; while it contains a great deal of information that would doubtless be new and strange to English readers. It is evident that Mr. McCarthy's sympathies are with the United States from the beginning, and he does not

attempt to conceal them. Very few Englishmen have ever written our history from a like point of view—but Mr. McCarthy happens to be an Irishman. There is this to be said of his book, that in style it is far superior to many works covering the same ground by American writers. Furthermore, it is well up to date and includes the Spanish-American War. It is not to be relied on as



JUSTIN HUNTLY MCCARTHY.

a text-book, since better works of that kind are abundant; but as a broad and readable sketch of our national history it is to be cordially commended.

Ever since Daniel Webster uttered his famous remark about Massachusetts, "There she is; behold her," Massachusetts men seem to have interpreted it to mean "write about her," for certainly no American State has had her history so exhaustively treated, and probably no State has been the scene of so much historical romancing. It is certainly true that every school history studied by the youth of the land from Maine to California has a disproportionate amount of space devoted to the record of Massachusetts. Nevertheless, much of this material is worthy of preservation, and we would not willingly let it die, if there were the slightest danger of such a catastrophe. The latest addition to this voluminous literature is a little book by Elbridge S. Brooks, entitled *Stories of the Old Bay State*. Mr. Brooks justifies the publication of this work on the ground that it is meant to foster a broad national spirit rather than simply to gratify State pride. And it is true that the names of its heroes belong to the whole

country, not to Massachusetts alone. These stories are calculated to inspire patriotism the country over.

The election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency marks the epoch to which historians commonly assign the beginning of popular rule in the United States. Prior to that time popular sentiment did not control in our national politics. For this reason the period of Jackson is a peculiarly important one, involving as it does the development of a remarkable group of public men. We do not need to accept the opinion recently expressed in the *New York Sun* that the statesmen of Jackson's time were the most distinguished ever brought together in this country; but we have only to recall the names of Calhoun, Clay, Webster and Benton, and the issues that these men debated on the floor of Congress, to appreciate the importance of the times in which they lived and the policies which they shaped. Mr. Charles H. Peck has just given us a volume of 470 pages entitled *The Jacksonian Epoch*. This work includes a critical survey of the political history of the United States from the first candidacy of Jackson to the accession of Tyler, with a preliminary review of the period beginning with the War of 1812. Mr. Peck has combined in this work the methods of the biographer with those of the historian, and the result is a remarkably life-like picture of the period. The writer's evident attempt to present all the facts on the controverted points gives the impression of candor and fairness; and all the positions which he takes are stated with moderation. So much has been said of Jackson's relations to the spoils system that Mr. Peck's treatment of the subject seems to minimize the evil. He places the responsibility, however, on the people, rather than on their chosen rulers.

The West Indies, by Amos Kidder Fiske, is the latest accession to Putnam's "Story of the Nations" series. In this volume of 400 pages Mr. Fiske has not only recorded the history of the islands, but has given a very compact and useful account of their physical characteristics and resources. In short, his book is an encyclopedia of the West Indies, and will probably be recognized for years to come as the best brief compendium of the subject in the English language.

Mr. William A. Johnston has entitled his brief account of the war of 1898 between the United States and Spain *History Up to Date*. Mr. Johnston is inclined to minimize the importance of the war from a naval and military point of view. The relation of the events of the war to the future of the country, and especially to the colonial and foreign policy of the United States, makes their accurate preservation important; and this is Mr. Johnston's reason for publishing his little book. It will be found convenient for reference as to the leading facts of the war.

The first complete story of the war with Spain for younger readers that we happen to have seen comes from the pen of Mr. Elbridge S. Brooks. The narrative has movement and life, and will not fail to interest young Americans for years to come. The book is illustrated with snap-shot photographs taken at the front.

BIOGRAPHY AND CORRESPONDENCE.

The country has waited a long time for the authorized life of Edwin M. Stanton, the great War Secretary, who died just thirty years ago after completing eight years of heroic and unsparing public service rendered in the cabinets of three presidents, namely, Buchanan, Lincoln and Johnson. Stanton was an Ohio boy, like so

many of the strong men who came to the front in the war period. His success in some important law business for the Government lifted him into Buchanan's cabinet towards the end of the administration, where he showed great strength in resisting the movement for the breaking-up of the Union. He was a Democrat, and was not a member of Lincoln's cabinet as originally formed; but a necessary vacancy in the secretaryship of War soon gave Lincoln an opportunity to appoint to that supremely important post a "war Democrat" who had won the confidence of the entire North. Mr. Gorham, who writes these volumes, deals only briefly with Stanton's personality apart from his eight years of public service. No other member of the Government excepting Lincoln himself, and probably no general in the field, had so difficult and arduous a labor to perform during the war as Secretary Stanton. He was a man of iron will and dauntless courage. He made many enemies and was subjected to bitter criticism. Mr. Gorham's biography does not purport to be written from the outside and critical point of view. It has been done with the aid of all the valuable data preserved by the Stanton family, and is in avowed sympathy with Stanton's position in all controverted matters. This detracts nothing from its value, but on the contrary adds much to its real worth, as supplying a needed point of view for the study of the politics of the war period. Mr. Gorham has done his work admirably, and to him and to the members of the Stanton family—without whose materials and aid, doubtless, these volumes could never have been written—the public is indebted. There is evidence of abundant patience and painstaking; and this important biographical work



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EDWIN M. STANTON.



THADDEUS STEVENS.

has gained, rather than lost in value and real significance, through the calm deliberation which has matured it and ripened the public judgment for its reception thirty years after the death of the great American whose public services it recounts.

Another of the great statesmen of the Civil War period, hardly second in personal power to the great War Secretary himself, was Thaddeus Stevens, the leader of the House of Representatives. It seems strange that no complete biography of Stevens has ever before been published, but it is certainly most appropriate that such a volume should now appear in the "American Statesmen" series. Mr. McCall has devoted his special attention to Stevens' vigorous campaign in behalf of free schools in Pennsylvania, his anti-slavery record during his first term of service in Congress, and his leadership in that body after the outbreak of the war in 1861; including his chairmanship of the Committee on Ways and Means, and, after the war, his chairmanship of the committees on Appropriations and Reconstruction, noting particularly Mr. Stevens' identification with the financial measures of the war, such as the legal tender acts, all the important war revenue measures, and the tariff. After the war the various reconstruction plans and the impeachment of President Johnson, together with the great Constitutional amendments of that period, absorbed Mr. Stevens' energies down to the day of his death in 1868. There are, of course, many other matters with which Mr. Stevens had to do in those days, but this biographer has wisely confined the narrative to the events which monopolized public attention at the time. In a very true sense this volume is a history of the times. The life of no other man of that period would embrace so

much of the really vital and essential legislative history of the Civil War. Like the other volumes in this series, Mr. McCall's book has been carefully written and carefully edited.

As one of the small circle of Lowell's lifelong friends Dr. Edward Everett Hale has been chosen to write for the benefit of the present generation the story of Lowell's early life and especially of his Cambridge and Boston associations. Dr. Hale has written often and delightfully about the Boston and Harvard of half a century ago; and no one was more intimate than he with the whole group of Boston men and women of letters of whom Lowell was for years the natural leader. In this volume Dr. Hale adds to his personal reminiscences many interesting notes that throw helpful side-lights on the history of our country for the past fifty years. His recollections of the anti-slavery agitation and of the Civil War are especially full. The book has been illustrated with many portraits and facsimiles of manuscripts. Not the least important service rendered by Dr. Hale in this volume is the bringing into notice of more than one of Lowell's contemporaries who had become well-nigh forgotten. The papers comprising this volume have appeared in the *Outlook* during the past year.

If any one knew the Cambridge of Lowell's time more intimately than Dr. Hale did it was Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, whose *Old Cambridge* has just appeared as the initial volume in the Macmillan Company's series of "National Studies in American Letters." Colonel Higginson describes the three literary epochs



JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

(Frontispiece of "Lowell and His Friends.")

of the *North American Review*, the *Dial*, and the *Atlantic*, and adds entertaining reminiscences of Holmes, Longfellow, and Lowell.



THOMAS CARLYLE.
(Frontispiece of "Letters.")

For his series of brief essays on Bismarck, Napoleon III., Kossuth, and Garibaldi, Mr. William Roscoe Thayer has chosen the appropriate title *Throne-Makers*. In the lives of these men is embodied a great part of the history of continental Europe in the nineteenth century. Mr. Thayer has pictured these personalities in an attractive way, and the historical student will find these papers very suggestive. The latter half of the volume is devoted to portraits of "Carlyle, Tintoret, Giordano Bruno and Bryant." The sketch of Bryant was written for the REVIEW OF REVIEWS in 1894 on the occasion of the Bryant centenary.

Controversy still continues about the propriety of Mr. R. B. Browning's action in publishing the letters of his father and mother. To many it seems an unnatural course for a son to take, and almost to imply a lack of true filial respect for his mother's memory. But to others the impression left by the letters is so attractive that it would seem unjust to the memories of both parents for the son to have withheld these letters from publication. There is little to be said of the two published volumes except that they contain the letters written by Robert Browning to Elizabeth Barrett in the years 1845 and '46, just preceding their marriage. These letters have the greater significance since they comprise the sum total of correspondence between Browning and his wife. After their marriage they were never separated. Browning's wishes in the matter of the publication of these letters had never been stated. He had destroyed all the rest of his correspondence, and in reference to these letters he said: "There they are; do with them as you please when I am dead and gone." The son thinks that his own alternative was to publish them or destroy them all. Why a selection could not have been made for publication is not apparent. However that

may be, the letters have been published precisely as they were originally written, and no publication of the kind for many months has aroused so much interest. Both writers indulge in characteristic comment on literary topics of the times; and the addition of these volumes to the Browning literature already in existence is a matter for congratulation.

Felix Moscheles, the amiable portrait painter, whose personal acquaintance has ranged from Mendelssohn and Rossini to Robert Browning and Grover Cleveland, has just published *Fragments of an Autobiography*. M. Moscheles will be best remembered by American readers as the author of *In Bohemia with Du Maurier*. This keen and versatile Frenchman has taken advantage of his privileges as a portrait painter to interrogate the eminent personages who at different times have been his clients. Various were the replies of the "sitters" to M. Moscheles' insinuating questions; but perhaps the most sphinx-like of all were the utterances of Governor Cleveland in 1884. M. Moscheles invented a name for Mr. Cleveland while the sittings were in progress; he labeled him "Solid and Stolid." As for the "solid," that needed no apology. "Physically, any weighing machine would prove his substantial solidity; and intellectually, even a slight acquaintance with him would show him to be a powerful man." One of Mr. Cleveland's sayings that M. Moscheles has thought it worth while to preserve is this: "They'll have to find out sooner or later, and the sooner they find it out the better, that I'm not a figure-head to be put in front of a tobacconist's store."

Wordsworth and the Coleridges, with Other Memories, Literary and Political is the title of a volume just published by Ellis Yarnall, whose span of reminiscences extends through seventy years and upwards, taking in the visit of Lafayette to America in 1824. This writer made a visit to Wordsworth in 1849, and in the same year became acquainted with the son and



By Courtesy of Harper & Brothers.

BROWNING IN 1845.

daughter of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. He contributes a chapter on Mr. Justice Coleridge, of whom no adequate memoirs have ever been published. There are also reminiscences of Charles Kingsley, John Keble, William Edward Forster and other eminent Englishmen.

Among the recent literary "discoveries" of importance is a collection of letters written by Thomas Carlyle to his youngest sister, Mrs. Robert Hanning, who died in Toronto on December 13, 1897. The first of these letters was written in 1832 and the last in 1875. In the volume now published under the editorship of Prof. Charles T. Copeland of Harvard University, other letters are included, notably several from Carlyle to his mother, a few from the mother to her oldest and to her youngest child. Professor Copeland contributes an essay on "Carlyle as a Letter-Writer," growing out of a comparison between Carlyle's correspondence with his family and his letters to other persons, already published.

In *The Martyrdom of an Empress* we have an account, apparently written by a lady of the Austrian court, of the life and sad death of the Empress Elizabeth of Austria. The writer, it appears, was an intimate friend of the Empress from the early years of the latter's marriage down to the day of her assassination. So intimate was her association with the Empress that after offense had been given at Vienna by the refusal of the Empress to take part in some court ceremony the two together left Vienna and remained away on hunting expeditions for months at a time. The writer indignantly repudiates the intimation that the Empress was of unsound mind.

Many readers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS will recall the sketch of George Müller which appeared in this magazine in May, 1898. Dr. Arthur T. Pierson has written a life of Müller which has just been published by the Baker and Taylor Company. The book is illustrated with views of the Bristol orphanages and other buildings connected with Mr. Müller's work, and there is a frontispiece portrait of Mr. Müller himself.

NATURE STUDY.

Miss Alice Lounsberry's *Guide to the Wild Flowers* has had its value to the student greatly enhanced by the insertion of 64 colored plates by Mrs. Ellis Rowan, who also contributes a series of drawings in black-and-white to the same volume. These plates, like those in the *Butterfly Book* and other recent works in natural history, illustrate the great practical importance of the new process of color photography. This new form of illustration for such books is not only attractive for young readers, but it conduces greatly to accuracy in the study of natural history. A suggestive introduction to the volume is furnished by Dr. N. L. Britton, the director of the New York Botanical Garden.

Mrs. Frances Theodora Parsons, formerly Mrs. William Starr Dana, the author of *How to Know the Wild Flowers*, has written a guide to American ferns under the title *How to Know the Ferns*. Not a great deal has been done heretofore in the way of popularizing knowledge of our native ferns, and indeed Mrs. Parsons' book is practically without a rival in its field. *How to Know the Wild Flowers* was perhaps the most successful book of its class ever published in the United States, and the methods of that work have been largely followed in the present one. The illustrations are from original drawings and photographs. We shall expect that hereafter the names, haunts and habits of our American ferns will be far better known to intelligent Americans than they have been in the past.

Mr. Frederick L. Sargent has brought out a book on *Corn Plants: Their Uses and Ways of Life*. The

author describes the six important grain plants of the world,—wheat, oats, rye, barley, rice and Indian corn. Familiar as these plants are, the young student or indeed the reader of an older growth will be surprised to find how much there is to be learned about them which the untrained observer would never notice. Mr. Sargent's book is designed for use in schools, but not strictly as a text-book. It forms admirable supplementary reading for classes in elementary botany.

The multiplication of books about home-making, with particular reference to landscape gardening is a very good sign of the times. Nature has given us a beautiful country, some portions of which have been sadly disfigured by the ruthless hand of man. With the constant improvement in the average standard of taste, and with some practical guidance by experts, our country districts—particularly in the vicinity of large towns—are destined in the near future to become as beautiful as the best parts of rural England. Among the books that give just the sort of guidance that is needed, we have found nothing more sensible and sound than Professor Samuel T. Maynard's *Landscape Gardening as Applied to Home Decoration*, which has just made its appearance. It is free from the stilted language and rhapsodical quality of some of the books that have been written by landscape architects, and it is a perfect mine of useful information about grading, road-making, preparation of soil, trees, shrubs and kindred matters.

LITERARY HISTORY AND CRITICISM.

A comparatively obscure field has been invaded by Mr. Leo Wiener, instructor in the Slavic languages at Harvard, who has essayed to write *The History of Yiddish Literature in the Nineteenth Century*,—a literature which, as Mr. Wiener very truly remarks, is less known to the world than that of the Gipsy, the Malay, or the North American Indian. Mr. Wiener tells us that when the suggestion to write this book first reached him in the spring of 1898, his library contained several hundreds of volumes of the best Judeo-German literature, which had been brought together with great difficulty owing to the absence of bibliographies or guides of any sort and what he terms the "whimsicalness" of the Yiddish book trade. He therefore resolved to visit Slavic countries for the purposes of gathering data. First, however, he familiarized himself with the Oppenheim collection of Judeo-German books of the older period in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. In the British Museum he also found a few modern works now difficult to procure. In Warsaw he discovered many books, and obtained valuable information. At St. Petersburg, Odessa and Cracow he also added greatly to his collection, and in the course of his journeyings he succeeded in seeing nearly all of the living Yiddish writers of note. Mr. Wiener has found a collection of data on Yiddish writers in America even more difficult than in Russia. Most of the periodicals published here, he says, have been of an ephemeral nature, and the newspapers, of which there have been forty at one time or other, can no longer be procured. These are a few of the difficulties that beset Mr. Wiener in his investigations. He is certainly entitled to great credit for having rescued so much perishable material and presenting it to the American reading public in such a systematic and interesting form. An appendix of the volume contains a bibliography covering 25 pages.

René Doumic's volume entitled *Contemporary French Novelists*, translated into English by Miss Mary D. Frost, contains critical essays on the following authors: Octave Feuillet, the Goncourt brothers, Émile Zola, Alphonse Daudet, Paul Bourget, Guy de Maupassant, Pierre Loti, Édouard Rod, J. H. Rosny, Paul Hervieu, J. K. Huysmans, and René Bazin. These novelists would generally be accepted outside of France as fairly representative of modern French fiction. It is instructive to have a competent French critic's estimates of his contemporaries so tersely and forcibly presented as they are in this series of essays.

Dr. Edwin H. Lewis has written *An Introduction to the Study of Literature*, for the use of secondary and graded schools. Nothing could serve better to show how wide a departure has been made from the old educational methods than to compare this volume with the familiar school readers of a quarter of a century ago. Dr. Lewis' book is modestly described by the author as "a tentative body of lyrics, ballads, and short stories." The authors represented belong chiefly to the nineteenth century. So far as wise selection can accomplish it, Dr. Lewis' attempt to make good literature interesting to a fourteen-year-old boy or girl ought to meet with success.

PHILOSOPHY, ESSAYS, AND MISCELLANY.

Several of the present season's books appeal to professional men, and especially to the teacher, in a peculiar way. Professor William James of Harvard, of whom it has been said that he is a psychologist who writes like a novelist, while Mr. Henry James is a novelist who writes like a psychologist, has just brought out an interesting volume entitled *Talks to Teachers on Psychology: and to Students on Some of Life's Ideals*. If the epigram just quoted is true, this book ought to interest many readers who are neither teachers nor psychologists. A few of the topics of these "talks" are: "The Child as a Behaving Organism," "The Laws of Habit," "Memory," "The Will," "The Gospel of Relaxation," "On a Certain Blindness in Human Beings" and "What Makes a Life Significant." Professor James says that he has found by experience that what the hearers of his lectures care most for is concrete practical application. The lectures as he has revised them for publication are all practical and popular.

Almost simultaneously with Professor James' new book appears a volume on the same general topic by his colleague, Professor Hugo Münsterberg, who is also desirous of popularizing his studies in this field. Such topics as "The Danger from Experimental Psychology," "Psychology and the Real Life," "Psychology and Art," "Psychology and Mysticism," are treated in Professor Münsterberg's essays. This book appeals with especial force to teachers, clergymen and students of social conditions.

Mr. Samuel T. Dutton, the efficient superintendent of schools at Brookline, Mass., has written *Social Phases of Education in the School and the Home*. The chapters which make up this volume are selected from lectures at universities and papers read before scientific and educational bodies, and deal with educational problems in their more formal and practical phases. They are addressed to parents as well as teachers. The introductory chapter is entitled "The Social Aspects of the Home and the School," and this, in a measure, sounds the keynote of the volume. The last chapter is an admirable exposition of the unique methods and work of the Brookline Education Society.



Courtesy of T. Y. Crowell & Co.

RENÉ DOUMIC.

A second edition of Sir Frederick Pollock's *Spinoza: His Life and Philosophy* has recently appeared. This is the fullest statement in English of Spinoza's system, and was prepared by Sir Frederick Pollock with great care, after minute study and research.

Mr. Norman Bridge has written a series of essays that ought to be read by all school-masters. These are the titles of the papers: "The Penalties of Taste," "Two Kinds of Conscience," "Bashfulness," "The Nerves of the Modern Child," "Some Lessons of Heredity" and "Our Poorly Educated Educators." The last of these essays is an amusing description of the ignorance about practical things often displayed by people who are supposed to know more than ordinary mortals. The teacher is supposed to go out on a vacation tour with a lot of inquisitive young students who continually ask questions which, though simple enough, are sufficient to hopelessly tangle up the pedagogue a dozen times within twenty-four hours. "The boys see the fog appear to approach from the ocean, and they ask what fog is, and does it really come from the ocean? And what is dew, and where does it come from? And why does it ruin? The replies of the professor are a fine attempt to talk without committing himself, for he does not answer one of the questions."

Mr. Francis Watt's *The Law's Lumber Room* (second series), while it deals exclusively with matters of English law, will not be without interest to American lawyers, who are, as a matter of course, familiar with the details of English criminal procedure. In this volume Mr. Watt deals with such subjects as "Tyburn Tree," "Pillory and Cart's Tail," "State Trials for Witchcraft," "A Pair of Parricides," "Some Disused Roads to Matrimony," "The Border Law," and "The Sergeant-at-Law." These papers were originally published in the *New Review*, the *Yellow Book* and the *Ludgate*, but additions have been made to them.

The last published volume of Sidney Lanier's essays—*Retrospects and Prospects*—should be read by all admirers of Mr. Lanier's verse; to many such these essays will reveal a new aspect of their favorite poet's character—a certain healthful optimism in the presence of facts and problems that in themselves might well have baffled a less courageous soul. The "Confederate Memorial Address" and "The New South" remind us of the bitter years of "reconstruction" in the South, but there is no trace of bitterness in Lanier's utterances, which are only strong and sensible and just. The men of the South who could write as calmly and wisely of what they believed to be their wrongs as Lanier wrote in the '70s were not many; the men who could write as hopefully of the prospects of their section in those dark days were fewer still.

In the field of political philosophy one of the most noteworthy books of the season is Professor James S. Hyslop's *Democracy: A Study of Government*, "affectionately dedicated to all those who despise politics." This is a racy and spirited discussion of the evils and dangers of our political system; but the author does not stop with mere theorizing, since more than half of his volume is given up to a setting-forth of "Practical Remedies." Many of his readers are likely to take issue with both his statement of the problem and the proposed solution. But his book as a whole is stimulating, and calculated to lead the mind into lines of profitable thinking on the questions discussed.

It is with a feeling akin to relief that we turn from Professor Hyslop's rather somber conclusions to the more calm and optimistic views of political and social conditions expressed by his colleague at Columbia University, Professor George E. Woodberry, in a little book of essays entitled *Heart of Man*. Professor Woodberry, far from despising politics, seeks to illustrate in his essays "how poetry, politics, and religion are the flowering of the same human spirit, and have their feeding roots in a common soil 'deep in the general heart of men.'"

The discussion of the historical aspects of the same problem is contained in Mr. Frederick A. Cleveland's *The Growth of Democracy in the United States*, in which the evolution of popular cooperation in government and its results are described. Mr. Cleveland has brought together a large amount of valuable material on this subject, which he has arranged in a systematic and logical order.

Another recent work which deserves mention in this connection is George W. Walthew's treatise on *The Philosophy of Government*. This work contains a chapter on "The Government of Cities," and, in an appendix, a form of a city charter.

Those of our readers who are familiar with thirteenth century French will enjoy a perusal of *Li Livres du Gouvernement des Rots*, a version of Colonna's treatise on the education of princes, recently published under the auspices of Columbia University.

MUSIC.

Mr. James Hunker, one of the ablest of our writers on musical themes, has only recently been persuaded to arrange his articles in book form. The result is a volume entitled *Mezzotints in Modern Music*, a sort of critical commentary on Brahms, Tschalkowsky, Chopin, Richard Strauss, Liszt and Wagner. Perhaps the book is chiefly notable for its comprehensive study of Brahms and his compositions—something that no previous

writer in English, it is said, had ever attempted. Mr. Hunker writes from a fullness of knowledge, and his book cannot fail to interest and instruct all students of instrumental music.

Another musical critic, Mr. W. J. Henderson, has brought out a small volume on *The Orchestra and Orchestral Music* in the "Music Lover's Library," published by the Scribners. Mr. Henderson does not address himself so particularly to students of music, but rather to music lovers in general. He puts before the reader a description of each instrument, with an illustration which will enable him to identify its tone when next heard in the delivery of the passage quoted. Another feature of Mr. Hunker's book is the history of the development of the orchestral conductor. The volume is illustrated with portraits of eminent composers and conductors.

A book well calculated to make the judicious grieve is Mr. George Bernard Shaw's *Perfect Wagnerite: A Commentary on the Ring of the Niblungs*. This work is unselfishly offered by its author to such imperfect Wagnerites as are not able to follow the ideas of the master, and are therefore in urgent need of instruction. The distinctly novel idea of the book is the association of Wagner with social and political revolution. This, according to Mr. Shaw, was all that was lacking to explain the mysteries of the Wagnerian drama. Whatever may be thought of Mr. Shaw's conclusions, his essays are not lacking in lucidity and pungency.

RELIGION.

Those among our readers who cherish affection for the Church of England, and are weary of the ritualistic controversy of the past few months, will be interested in a volume by the Rev. Arthur Rogers on *Men and Movements in the English Church*, a series of sketches of such eminent churchmen as Newman, Pusey, Keble, Arnold, Robertson, Tait, Stanley, Wilberforce, Maurice, Kingsley, Lightfoot and Church. These sketches purposely avoid controversy and criticism. The author's point of view is apparently that of a broad churchman in the broad sense of the word, seeking to take each man of whom he wrote at his own terms; that is to say, he has tried to see each man as he was at his best, and to judge of his action, so far as possible, by the man's own standard of conduct.

Dr. Henry van Dyke has written *The Gospel for a World of Sin* as a companion-volume to *The Gospel for an Age of Doubt*. In the latter volume an attempt was made to find an answer to the questioning spirit of modern times. The present book deals with the actual human need of a deliverer from sin, not as a theory, but as a fact. As Dr. van Dyke himself expresses it in his preface, the book is not meant to present a theory of the Atonement; on the contrary, it is meant to teach that there is no theory broad or deep enough to embrace or explain that fact.

President John Henry Barrows of Oberlin has published under the title of *The Christian Conquest of Asia* his studies and personal observations of Oriental religions, made during his recent journey to the far East. President Barrows cherishes no expectations of the swift evangelization of the countries now dominated by Mohammedanism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism, but he finds in the giving-way of national isolation more and more hope for the Christianization of those lands. "The echoes of Admiral Dewey's artillery from the harbor of Manila have brought the

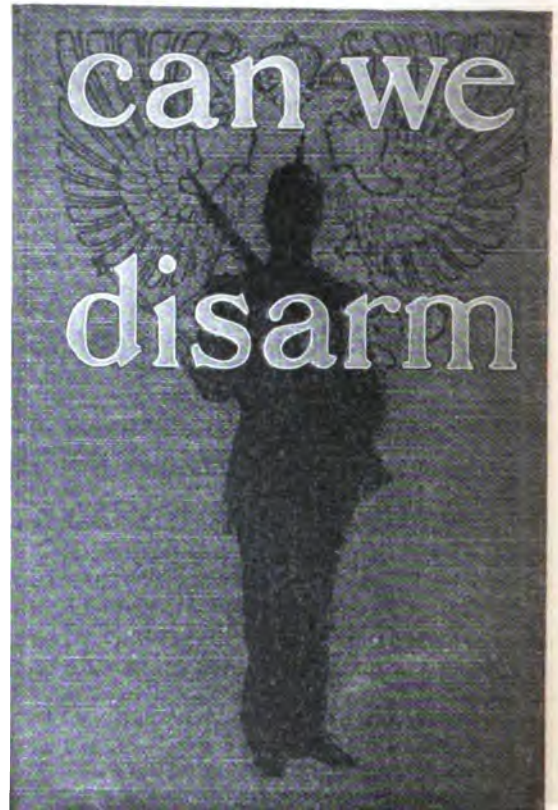
Asiatic peoples eleven thousand miles nearer to many Americans than ever before."

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS.

Of all the contributions that America can well make to the cause of international peace as discussed in the parliament of nations now in session at The Hague, by far the most substantial is embodied in the six noble volumes entitled *International Arbitrations* that have issued from the Government Printing Office at Washington just in the nick of time for this noteworthy occasion. The American delegates might, indeed, distribute sets of this monumental work among their European colleagues, and, as the lawyers say, "rest their case." For these volumes do not set forth a theoretical plan for the settlement of disputes between nations without resort to brute force, but they give the history of many actual instances wherein the United States has employed the dignified and honorable method of arbitration. The facts are all here, together with the treaties that have related to such arbitrations, and with ample historical and legal notes relating to the whole subject of international arbitration. The first volume is made up of the history of arbitrations between Great Britain and the United States. Such negotiations have been carried on between the two English-speaking countries from time to time for more than a hundred years. Beginning with the settlement of a boundary dispute provided for in the Jay Treaty of 1794, not less than seventeen treaties between Great Britain and the United States,—the earliest in 1794 and the latest in 1896,—have involved arbitration of certain specified questions. These treaties, or as much as relates to arbitration, are all published in an appendix, together with treaties between the United States and other countries of similar purport, to the total number of sixty-five or thereabouts. Seven such treaties have been made between Spain and the United States, the first in 1795 and the last in 1893. Between the United States and France there have been three, all of them in the '80s. Portugal has been concerned with three of these arbitration treaties, and all the others have provided for the settlement of questions between the United States and powers in the Western Hemisphere,—six, for instance, with Mexico, five with Venezuela, several with Colombia, three with Peru, and so on. The second volume is devoted to the history of arbitrations between the United States and countries other than England. The third and fourth volumes are in the nature of a digest, and deal in a systematic way with the questions, principles, and doctrines involved in all the arbitrations to which the United States has been a party, together with the methods of procedure, rules of evidence, etc. Volume V. contains appendices, the first of which gives an account of domestic commissions for the adjustment of international claims, beginning in the early years of the republic and coming down to the Alabama Claims Court. The second appendix is made up of the text of arbitration treaties, while the third contains more than 200 pages of extremely valuable historical notes. The first of these notes relates to arbitration prior to the nineteenth century, the second to arbitrations of the nineteenth century other than those with which our own country has been concerned, the third to mediation, the fourth to plans for permanent arbitration. The sixth volume is made up entirely of maps under Articles VI. and VII. of the Treaty of Ghent, having to do with the settle-

ment of the boundary line between the United States and Canada along the St. Lawrence and the great lakes. Professor Moore, who wrote for this magazine last month concerning "International Law in the War with Spain," is the author of this great history and digest of international arbitration. The work is printed under a joint resolution of Congress of April 2, 1894, and has, therefore, been in preparation for a number of years. Its appearance at the present time is opportune and auspicious. International disputes ought to be settled rationally, and upon their merits in accordance with principles of law and justice. Arbitration, as one such method, is particularly applicable to boundary disputes, and to all differences which can be settled by the payment of monetary damages.

The actual political state of Europe on the eve of the disarmament conference could not fail to be a subject of surpassing interest. Mr. W. T. Stead, who was profoundly desirous that the overtures of the Czar should obtain the serious and general support of the world at large, and particularly of the English-speaking peoples, determined to prepare himself for the advocacy of the peace movement in England by a journey to Russia and, if possible, an interview with the Emperor. His journey was successful in its primary object, for he secured some long and satisfactory private conferences with the Czar. He also visited all the principal capitals of Europe, with certain definite objects of inquiry. The result is a book not only entertaining and brilliant, but exceedingly instructive in the great array



COVER DESIGN (REDUCED).

of clearly presented information it gives concerning the personages and the questions now uppermost in the chief European countries. Mr. Stead calls his book *The United States of Europe on the Eve of the Parliament of Peace*. Even to suggest the scope of the book would be almost impossible in any brief space. Perhaps no other living man gathers impressions as swiftly as Mr. Stead, and he evidently made this three months' journey with his faculties at their keenest, and all his training as journalist invoked for the collection of data concerning political affairs current in every part of Europe. Portraits and maps are liberally supplied.

The title of Mr. Joseph McCabe's little volume, *Can We Disarm*, seems to have been chosen with more reference to the Czar's conference than to the subject matter of the book, which proves on reading to be a discussion of contemporary politics and international relations in continental Europe,—all with a tone and air of knowing everything, that does not, somehow, carry conviction. The chapters purport to be written in collaboration with Georges Darien, who had given the world some previous information about certain aspects of French militarism, and to whom the valuable part of the present book is evidently due.

As a matter of fact, the growing tendency towards the federation of the world and the abolition of war are due most of all to the practical working out of the problems of federal government by such political organisms as the United States, and of world-wide empire under such auspices as those of Great Britain. There are many complicated problems yet to be solved in the evolution of the British Empire, and every time some gain is made in the methods by which the principles of colonial liberty and imperial unity are kept in harmonious action, the world has gained something towards the ultimate plan under which the nations will be able to work out their individual destinies while living together in peace and harmony. An interesting and very valuable discussion comes to us from the press of the Allahabad *Pioneer*, India, entitled *The Lines of Imperial Union*, by F. J. Stevenson. Mr. Stevenson advocates a policy which, in one sense, would render Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand more independent than at present, while in another sense tying them more completely to the mother-country.

Mr. Thomas Balch, of Philadelphia, twenty-five years ago published an essay on *International Courts of Arbitration*, a reprint of which is now given to the public. It is a most excellent essay, advocating what has now come to be recognized as highly desirable in the conduct of arbitrations, namely, the appointment of jurists who will deal on legal principles with questions of dispute between nations, rather than the choice as arbitrator of the sovereign of some neutral nation.

ECONOMICS AND STATISTICS.

A book containing a remarkable amount of well-digested practical information is entitled *Municipal Monopolies*, and is edited and partly written by Professor Edward W. Bemis, formerly of the University of Chicago and now of the Kansas State Agricultural College. Professor Bemis has for a long time given very special attention to the economics of public lighting, and has also given much consideration to passenger transit in cities. He is the author of chapters in this volume on electric lighting, gas, and street railroads.

Mr. M. N. Baker, of the *Engineering News* of New York, writes about water-works; Professor Frank Parsons, of Boston, about the telephone, besides a chapter on the legal aspects of monopoly; and Professor John R. Commons and Professor F. A. C. Perrine contribute chapters relating to phases of the question of the cost and control of electric lighting in cities. Dr. Max West provides a chapter on municipal franchises in New York, which sums up in a careful and thorough way a great deal of information that it is convenient to have in a compact and trustworthy form. The volume on the whole is rather favorable than otherwise to the idea of the extension of municipal functions in the direction of the ownership and operation of supply enterprises. The book is not, however, intended to promote a municipal ownership propaganda; and it succeeds remarkably well in its purpose to be accurate in the statement of facts and fair in the presentation of conclusions.

The *Statesman's Year-Book*, as our readers are reminded every year, is indispensable in its own field as a work of reference. It seems to grow a little better, moreover, with each annual issue. The conspicuous improvement in the issue for 1899 is the differentiation of an American edition of the work. This edition is the same as the one which appears in England, except that it omits from their accustomed alphabetical place, as prepared by the English editors, the forty pages or thereabouts usually devoted to the United States, and substitutes, at the very opening of the volume, nearly 300 pages on the United States, especially prepared by Dr. Carroll D. Wright. No one in the country is so well qualified or so well situated as Colonel Wright for the undertaking, and he has supplied the one thing that has long been needed to make the *Statesman's Year-Book* completely satisfactory to American readers. The political and statistical information for the United States now occupies almost as much space as that for the British Empire. It opens with information about the organization and personnel of the United States Government, including the Army and Navy. There follow numerous tables relating to the area, population and production of the country, the movement of trade, and many other subjects of general concern. It gives one a novel sensation to find included under the general head of the United States an elaborate section devoted to the statistics of Hawaii, and others devoted to Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines. Guam, of the Ladrões, has also its brief mention as an American possession. State and municipal statistics hold a subordinate place, but are not neglected.

The Committee of Fifty, which has been engaged for some years in a scientific study of the liquor problem in this country, has just published a volume entitled *Economic Aspects of the Liquor Problem*, by John Koren. This is the report of the investigation made for the committee under the direction of Prof. H. W. Farnham, the secretary of the economic sub-committee. It will be remembered that the first publication of the Committee of Fifty dealt with the question in its legislative aspects. The present volume treats of the liquor problem in its relation to poverty, pauperism, the destitution and neglect of children, and to crime. Several special collateral subjects are also discussed, such as the relations of American negroes and Indians to the liquor problem, and the social aspects of saloons in large cities. The statistical information presented, while compactly stated, covers a wide range of inquiry.

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- History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to Which the United States Has Been a Party. By John Bassett Moore. 6 Vols., 8vo, pp. xcvi-5220. Washington: Government Printing Office.
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Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index.

[All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

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| AHR. American Historical Review, N. Y. | Dial. Dial, Chicago. | NatR. National Review, London. |
| AJS. American Journal of Sociology, Chicago. | Dub. Dublin Review, Dublin. | NEng. New England Magazine, Boston. |
| AJT. American Journal of Theology, Chicago. | Edin. Edinburgh Review, London. | NIM. New Illustrated Magazine, London. |
| ALR. American Law Review, St. Louis. | Ed. Education, Boston. | NW. New World, Boston. |
| AMonM. American Monthly Magazine, Washington, D. C. | EdR. Educational Review, N. Y. | NineC. Nineteenth Century, London. |
| AMRR. American Monthly Review of Reviews, N. Y. | Eng. Engineering Magazine, N. Y. | NAR. North American Review, N. Y. |
| ANat. American Naturalist, Boston. | EM. España Moderna, Madrid. | Nou. Nouvelle Revue, Paris. |
| AngA. Anglo-American Magazine, N. Y. | Fort. Fortnightly Review, London. | NA. Nuova Antologia, Rome. |
| Annals. Annals of the American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, Phila. | Forum. Forum, N. Y. | OC. Open Court, Chicago. |
| APB. Anthony's Photographic Bulletin, N. Y. | FrL. Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y. | O. Outing, N. Y. |
| APS. Appleton's Popular Science Monthly, N. Y. | Gent. Gentleman's Magazine, London. | Out. Outlook, N. Y. |
| Arch. Architectural Record, N. Y. | GBag. Green Bag, Boston. | Over. Overland Monthly, San Francisco. |
| Arena. Arena, Boston. | Gunt. Gunton's Magazine, N. Y. | PMM. Pall Mall Magazine, London. |
| AA. Art Amateur, N. Y. | Harp. Harper's Magazine, N. Y. | Phil. Philosophical Review, N. Y. |
| AI. Art Interchange, N. Y. | Home. Home Magazine, N. Y. | PhoT. Photographic Times, N. Y. |
| AJ. Art Journal, London. | Hom. Homiletic Review, N. Y. | PL. Poet-Lore, Boston. |
| Art. Artist, London. | HumN. Humanité Nouvelle, Paris. | PSQ. Political Science Quarterly, Boston. |
| Atlant. Atlantic Monthly, Boston. | IJE. International Journal of Ethics, Phila. | PRR. Presbyterian and Reformed Review, Phila. |
| Bad. Badminton, London. | IntS. International Studio, London. | PQ. Presbyterian Quarterly, Charlotte, N. C. |
| BankL. Bankers' Magazine, London. | IA. Irrigation Age, Chicago. | QJEcon. Quarterly Journal of Economics, Boston. |
| BankNY. Bankers' Magazine, N. Y. | JAES. Journal of the Ass'n of Engineering Societies, Phila. | QR. Quarterly Review, London. |
| Bib. Biblical World, Chicago. | JF. Journal of Finance, London. | RasN. Rassegna Nazionale, Florence. |
| BSac. Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O. | JMSI. Journal of the Military Service Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y. H. | RefS. Réforme Sociale, Paris. |
| BU. Bibliothèque Universelle, Lausanne. | JPEcon. Journal of Political Economy, Chicago. | RRL. Review of Reviews, London. |
| Black. Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh. | Kind. Kindergarten Magazine, Chicago. | RRM. Review of Reviews, Melbourne. |
| BTJ. Board of Trade Journal, London. | KindR. Kindergarten Review, Springfield, Mass. | RDM. Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris. |
| BB. Book Buyer, N. Y. | LHJ. Ladies' Home Journal, Phila. | RDP. Revue du Droit Public, Paris. |
| Bkman. Bookman, N. Y. | LeisH. Leisure Hour, London. | RGen. Revue Générale, Brussels. |
| BP. Brush and Pencil, Chicago. | Lipp. Lippincott's Magazine, Phila. | RPar. Revue de Paris, Paris. |
| Can. Canadian Magazine, Toronto. | LQ. London Quarterly Review, London. | RPP. Revue Politique et Parliementaire, Paris. |
| Cas. Cassell's Magazine, London. | Long. Longman's Magazine, London. | RRP. Revue des Revues, Paris. |
| CasM. Cassier's Magazine, N. Y. | LuthQ. Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, Pa. | RSoc. Revue Socialiste, Paris. |
| Cath. Catholic World, N. Y. | McCl. McClure's Magazine, N. Y. | Ros. Rosary, Somerset, Ohio. |
| Cent. Century Magazine, N. Y. | Mac. Macmillan's Magazine, London. | San. Sanitarian, N. Y. |
| Cham. Chambers's Journal, Edinburgh. | MA. Magazine of Art, London. | School. School Review, Chicago. |
| Char. Charities Review, N. Y. | Men. Menorah Monthly, N. Y. | Scrib. Scribner's Magazine, N. Y. |
| Chaut. Chautauquan, Meadville, Pa. | Met. Metaphysical Magazine, N. Y. | SelfC. Self Culture, Akron, Ohio. |
| CAge. Coming Age, Boston. | MRN. Methodist Review, Nashville. | SR. Sewanee Review, Sewanee, Tenn. |
| Contem. Contemporary Review, London. | MRNY. Methodist Review, N. Y. | Str. Strand Magazine, London. |
| Corn. Cornhill, London. | Mid. Midland Monthly, Des Moines, Iowa. | Sun. Sunday Magazine, London. |
| Cos. Cosmopolitan, N. Y. | MisH. Missionary Herald, Boston. | Temp. Temple Bar, London. |
| Crit. Critic, N. Y. | MisR. Missionary Review, N. Y. | USM. United Service Magazine, London. |
| Dem. Demorest's Family Magazine, N. Y. | Mon. Monist, Chicago. | West. Westminster Review, London. |
| DH. Deutscher Hausschatz, Regensburg. | Month. Month, London. | Wern. Werner's Magazine, N. Y. |
| Deut. Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart. | MunA. Municipal Affairs, N. Y. | WWM. Wide World Magazine, London. |
| | Mun. Munsey's Magazine, N. Y. | WPM. Wilson's Photographic Magazine, N. Y. |
| | Mus. Music, Chicago. | Yale. Yale Review, New Haven. |
| | NatGM. National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C. | YM. Young Man, London. |
| | NatM. National Magazine, Boston. | YW. Young Woman, London. |

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